00036871

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

THE HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE

FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1453 TO THE WAR IN THE CRIMEA IN 1857

36871
ac

BY THOMAS HENRY DYER

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

IN FOUR VOLUMES—VOL. I.

W'n a 43

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1861

The right of translation is reserved

God
940.2
Dye/His
36871

PREFACE.

CONSIDERING the present state of historical knowledge, and the fact that the only book of convenient size which we possess on the History of Modern Europe was written almost a century ago, it has been thought that a fresh work on the subject might perhaps not be unacceptable to the public. Since the time when Dr. Russell wrote his History, a new light has been reflected on the affairs of Europe by the publication of State Papers and other documents not before accessible: as the Archives of Simancas, the Belgian Archives, the *Documens inédits de l'Histoire de France*, the *Relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors, our own State Papers, and numerous other historical materials of the same important character. Many distinguished historians have also arisen who, aided by these documents as well as by that improvement in our social ideas which naturally attends the progress of civilisation, have been enabled to place the great events, as well as the leading characters, of history, in an altogether novel point of view; thus compelling a modification of the facts and opinions delivered by their predecessors in the last century, on whose labours Dr. Russell founded his work.

But besides these reasons, which may be alleged in excuse for attempting a new History of Europe, others may be found in the objectionable plan and faulty execution of Dr. Russell's book. From the period when modern history properly commences, to the end of that part of the work actually completed by Dr. Russell himself, a full half of the pages is devoted to the history of England

alone, whose proper share at that period, without any reference to the wants of the English reader, would be, perhaps, about a tenth. Hence the glimpses which we get of the continental States are scanty and unsatisfactory, and the book will be found scarcely to fulfil the promise which it holds out by its title. The important reigns of Louis XI. of France and his contemporary, Charles the Bold of Burgundy, occupy four pages. The conquests of Mahomet II. after the fall of Constantinople are despatched in a dozen lines (vol. i. p. 451, ed. 1850), in which we do not find that he subdued the Morea, Negropont, Servia, Wallachia, &c.; though by way of compensation we are told that "he *fixed* the Mohammedan power on the coast of *Calabria:*" whence the uninstructed reader would infer that the Turkish occupation of Otranto during a year was a permanent conquest. Scarce anything is said about Italy, and what is told is mostly erroneous. We find at p. 471 that Ludovico Sforza endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of Charles VIII. "almost as soon as he had crossed the Alps;" though Sforza had invited that monarch into Italy, and did not turn against him till he had reached Naples. We next learn that Charles entered Florence *in triumph*, and that "the family of Medicis *still* held the chief authority." Yet we have heard nothing of the Medici before; and in this short sentence there are two blunders. The Medici had been driven from Florence before the entry of Charles; nor did he enter it "in triumph," which would imply a victory, but with the consent of the Florentines, who were able to defend their rights. At p. 551, we find Sultan Solyman in 1529, "ready to break in upon the Austrian territories with a formidable army;" from which the reader would hardly infer that he not only did break in, but even beleaguered Vienna nearly a month — one of the most memorable feats of arms of the sixteenth century. The revolt of the Netherlands from Philip II. is despatched in seven pages, and no account is given of its origin. We suddenly find Alva there in 1568 (vol. ii. p. 55); but the reason of his coming is left unexplained, except in some vague and general terms about Philip's bigotry and tyranny. From Dr. Russell's pages it would seem to have been a result of the Great Catholic League formed in 1565 at Bayonne for the suppression of heresy (see p. 33);

which is related as an unquestionable fact; and said to have been joined by Mary Queen of Scots. The celebrated party name of *Gueux* is bestowed on the Beggars of the Sea alone (p. 72). No mention is made of the circumstances which helped to induce Spain to make peace with the Dutch (vol. ii. p. 195); namely, the disturbances in Sicily, and the revolt of Masaniello at Naples; nor of the terms which the Hollanders obtained. In the account of the Thirty Years' War, the extraordinary career of Wallenstein is unnoticed, except in a few lines couched in vague and general expressions (pp. 156 and 162). The establishment of the Prussian monarchy is dismissed in a single sentence. But it would be tedious to make a list of all Dr. Russell's shortcomings or to enumerate his mistakes; such as his making Anne of Brittany in love with the Duke of Orleans when she was a child eight years old (vol. i. p. 440, 442, 476); his telling us that Francis I. married *Anne* of France (p. 479); and in the same page that the Archduke Philip, "to the astonishment of all Europe" left the French King governor of his son Charles,—an error long ago refuted by Robertson; his describing the French (p. 482) as compelling Pope Julius II. to raise the siege of Bologna, of which he was already in possession; and their being defeated, and Bonnivet slain at Biagrasso *on the Sesia;* that place, or rather Abbiate Grasso, being in the valley of the Ticino, and the real scene of action, Romagnano on the Sesia. With many others of the same description, which the patient and curious reader may discover for himself.

The writer of the following pages has endeavoured to avoid presenting the reader with a mere string of separate histories of the various European States, and to view the subject, so far as its very extensive and complicated nature will allow, as *a whole.* That it is capable of a certain degree of unity may appear when we reflect that the greater part of the European populations are descended from a barbarian ancestry possessing very similar laws and customs; that all have derived a common civilisation from Rome; that a large portion of them trace their language and their laws to the same source; that Latin was long the common idiom of the learned throughout Europe; and especially, that all the European nations, under the title of Christendom, are united

together by a common religion. Viewed in this light, the great Roman Empire may still be said to subsist in Europe in effect if not in form; and to testify its presence, not, indeed, by the trammels of political obedience, but by the nearly uniform standard it imposes in dress, manners, literature and art.

The religious unity of Europe which prevailed during the middle ages, as shown by the Crusades, the General Councils, and more permanently by the authority exercised by the Pope as the common father of Christendom, was severed by the Reformation; but already what has been called the European system was arising to supply another bond of union. During the dark ages the aggressions committed by one state upon another were viewed with indifference by the rest; and thus, for instance, the conquests of the English in France were utterly disregarded in Europe. But when by the destruction of feudalism, the rise of the middle class, the consolidation of the great monarchies, and the institution of standing armies, the various European States were enabled to enter into long and distant wars with one another, the aggressive ambition of one became the common concern of all; leagues and alliances were made to check and repress the domination of grasping monarchs, and to preserve the balance of power; and Europe began to form one large republic of nations, acknowledging the same system of public law, and becoming in their transactions amenable to the voice of international opinion. The history of Europe, in fact, presents as much unity as that of Greece in early times. Composed of a cluster of independent states, of which one, now Sparta, now Athens, now Thebes, was always aspiring to the hegemony, the only rallying cry of Greece was against the *Barbarian*, as that of Europe once was against the *Infidel*, whilst her sole bond of union was also a religious one, manifested in the Amphictyonic Council and the national games at Olympia and other places, which bear some analogy to the General Councils and the festivals and jubilees of the Roman Church.

It is, then, the change from a unity cemented by religion to a political unity that chiefly distinguishes modern Europe, regarded universally, from the Europe of the middle ages. The commencement of this change dates from the French wars in Italy towards the close of the fifteenth century; but as the capture of Constanti-

nople by the Turks and the destruction of the last vestiges of the Greek Empire, have commonly been regarded as the true epoch of modern history, it has been adopted in the present work. The real importance of that event, however, and what renders it truly an epoch, lies not so much in the fall of the Greek Empire, which had long been effete, and must at no distant period have either perished of natural decay or have been swallowed up by some of its more powerful Christian neighbours, as in the final and complete establishment in Europe of the Ottoman power.

The bond of modern Europe being its policy, its history necessarily becomes a political history. Europe, indeed, as already remarked, has also a common civilisation, and in some degree also a common literature and art; but marked in each nation by peculiarities which render an account of those subjects proper rather to the histories of its particular states than to one comprising its general affairs. The history of European literature, moreover, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, has been already written by Mr. Hallam, nor could it be treated in the present work without swelling it to an inconvenient bulk, at sufficient length to be either instructive or entertaining. When we arrive at the eighteenth century, it will, however, be necessary to take a general survey of the literature of the age, as one of the causes which produced the French Revolution.

From the method of viewing European history as a whole, also arises the question to what extent the domestic affairs of its separate states should be related? In such a plan it is evident that our attention should be chiefly directed to those events in which the whole European commonwealth, or at least two or more of its states, are interested. But such a narrative would be incomprehensible to the reader, unless he possessed at least a general knowledge of the condition and interests of the different states concerned in such events; whence it becomes necessary to enter to a certain extent into their domestic history. To this remark, however, in a book designed for English readers, England forms an exception. Few will sit down to read a general history of Europe who have not acquired a tolerable knowledge of that of their own country; and even in the contrary case, the means of obtaining such a knowledge are readily at hand. But though the purely domestic

history of England has been omitted, great attention has been paid to those foreign affairs in which she has been implicated; for which by this method of treating the subject, a more ample space has been gained.

In any long-continued series of events, the human mind, unable to take in the whole at a single glance, finds a support by dividing it into portions or epochs. Philosophically considered, such a method is but a mask for ignorance. It is easier to note effects than to trace their causes; and the periods usually selected as epochs, are, in fact, only a striking display of results from causes that had long been in operation. These results become themselves in turn the springs of further revolutions; and thus the history of mankind presents only one continually revolving cycle of events and their causes. But as the mind naturally seeks some period where it may rest and look around—a perch, as it were, whence it may resume its further flight—the history of the four centuries embraced in this work has been divided into eight Epochs, or Books, each containing in itself a species of revolution. The first, extending from the capture of Constantinople to the Pontificate of Leo X., and the commencement of the Reformation, embraces the consolidation of the great monarchies and the rudiments of the European system. The second, which goes down to the Council of Trent, shows the origin and progress of the Lutheran Reformation. The third, concluded by the Peace of Vervins, contains one of the phases of the struggle between France and the House of Austria, as well as the French wars of religion, and the final establishment of Protestantism in England and Holland, accompanied in the latter country with the assertion of civil liberty. The fourth, extending to the Peace of Westphalia, shows Germany settling down after a thirty years' war into its present condition, the rise of the Scandinavian kingdoms as European powers, the decline of Spain, and France emerging, through the policy of Richelieu, as the leading power of Europe. The fifth, ending with the Peace of Utrecht, exhibits the predominance of France during the brilliant reign of Louis XIV. The sixth, which is carried down to the French Revolution, displays, besides the causes leading to that event, the rise of England, Russia and Prussia as first-rate powers, and the general political

action of Europe according to the basis settled by the peace of Westphalia. The seventh comprehends the mighty changes and events of the French Revolution, which shook that basis to its foundation, and produced a new order of European policy and ideas. And the eighth and last embraces the occurrences from the close of the French Revolution down to the war in the Crimea.

A work so extensive can of course pretend to be little more than a compilation; yet the writer may assert that, with regard to facts, he has on all occasions of any importance referred, when possible, to the original authorities; and that, with regard to opinions, he has not servilely adopted those of any author whatsoever. The modern writers to whom he has been principally indebted in composing the two volumes now offered to the public are Ranke, K. A. Menzel, Schlosser, Von Hammer, Zinkeisen, Geijer, Sismondi, Martin, Michelet and Prescott. Many others whom he has used, and whose names it would be tedious to recount, are mentioned in the notes. Part of these volumes was written in Germany; and the author cannot close this Preface without acknowledging his obligations to Dr. Von Sybel and Dr. Wuttke, the professors of history at the Universities of Munich and Leipsic, for some valuable suggestions respecting the books which it would be proper to consult.

LONDON: 1861.

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION.

VIEW OF THE STATE OF EUROPE AT THE TIME OF THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE (pp. 1—73).

	Page
Fall of Constantinople	1
Ottoman Turks.	
Ertoghrul	2
Osman	—
Orchan	3
Institutions of Alaeddin	—
Turkish Army	4—8
Civil Institutions	8
The Sultan	9
The Grand Vizier	—
The Sublime Porte	10
Viziers of the Cupola	—
The Divan	11
Provincial Administration	12
Justice and Religion	—
Cadiaskers, Mollas, &c.	—
The *Mufti*	13
Mahomet I. (1413—1421)	—
The Peloponnesus	—
Venetian and Genoese Settlements	14
Amurath II. (1421—1451)	—
His Conquests	15
John of Hunyad	16
Efforts of Pope Eugenius IV.	—
Expedition of Wladislaus	17
Peace of Segedin (1444)	—
Battle of Varna (1444)	18
Campaign of Hunyad (1448)	18
Albania, Scanderbeg	19
Mahomet II. (1451—1481)	20
Germany	—
The Emperor and King of the Romans	—
Sovereign Houses	21
House of Hohenzollern in Brandenburg	—
House of Wettin in Saxony	22
House of Wittelsbach in Bavaria and the Palatinate	—
	23
Duchy of Würtemberg	—
The Seven Electors	—
The Golden Bull	24
Vicars of the Empire	—
German Knighthood	—
Private Wars	25
The *Landfriede*	—
The *Vehm-gericht*	—
Hanseatic League	—
Free Imperial Cities	26
The Diet	—
House of Habsburg in Austria	27
Rodolph of Habsburg	—
Austrian hereditary Dominions	28
Albert I. and II.	—

	Page
Frederick III.	28
Crowned at Rome	29
Switzerland	—
Its Revolt	—
The Forest Cantons	30
The Eight ancient Cantons	—
Swiss Mercenaries	31
Hungary and Bohemia	32
Albert II. King of Hungary and Bohemia	—
Hussites in Bohemia	—
Ziska	33
Compactata of Prague	—
Albert in Hungary	—
The Hungarian Palatine	—
Poland	34
Its Constitution	—
House of Jagellon	—
King Wladislaus seizes the Crown of Hungary	35
Ladislaus Posthumus	36
Podiebrad, Regent of Bohemia	—
John Hunyad, Regent in Hungary	37
Accession of Ladislaus (1453)	—
Italy	—
The **Pope**	—
Papal Dominions	38
Claims to Romagna and Naples	—
The Roman Curia	—
College of Cardinals	39
The Consistory	—
Papal Officers	—
Rota Romana and other Courts	40
Papal Revenues	—
The Conclave	41
Venice	—
Her Dominions	—
Queen of the Adriatic	42
Venetian Government	—
—— Ambassadors	43
The Doge	—
Commerce of Venice	—
Genoa	44
Genoese Colonies and Commerce	—
—— Government	—
Florence	45
Florentine Constitution	—
—— Nobles and Plebeians	46
Maso de' Albizzi	—
Prosperity of Florence	47
The Medici	—
Milan	48
Erected into a Duchy	—
The Visconti	48
Guelf and Ghibelins	—
Francis Sforza	49
Various Claims to Milan	—
Milan an Imperial Fief	50
Milanese Republic	—
Sforza becomes Duke	51
Treaty of Lodi, 1454	52
Ferrara, Mantua, Savoy	—
Savoy erected into a Duchy	—
Naples	52
First House of Anjou	—
Second House of Anjou	53
House of Aragon	—
Alphonso V.	—
Louis III. of Anjou	54
Queen Joanna bequeaths the Crown to René of Anjou	—
Anarchy at Naples	—
Alphonso obtains the Crown	55
John of Anjou attempts its recovery	—
Spain	—
Its various Kingdoms	56
Castile	—
John II.	—
Alvaro de Luna	57
Henry IV.	—
Aragon	58
The Catalans	—
Union of Aragon and Catalonia	—
Minorca, Valencia and Sicily added to the Kingdom	—
Alphonso V.	—
John II., 1458	59
Constitution of Castile	—
—— of Aragon	—
Estates of Catalonia and Valencia	60
Spanish Military Orders	—
Private Wars	61
Aragonese *Privilege of Union*	—
Granada, Moorish Kingdom	—
Portugal	61
John the Bastard	62
Battle of Aljubarota	—
Maritime Enterprises	—
Alphonso V.	—
France	63
Lunacy of Charles VI.	—
Burgundians and Armagnacs	—
Treaty of Arras or Troyes	63
Henry V. at Paris	64
Bedford, Regent	—
Charles VII. of France	—
Henry VI. crowned at Paris	—

	Page
Burgundy	65
Capetian Line	—
House of Valois	—
Philip the Good	—
Extent of his Dominions	—
Connection with England	—
Treaty with Charles VII.	66
Prosperity of Belgium	—
Siècle de fer	67
Painting, Architecture &c.	—
Death of Bedford	—
The English evacuate Paris	—
——— expelled from France	68
Their Position in Europe	—
Desolate Condition of France	69
Contrast with Burgundy	—
Ministry of Charles VII.	70
Standing Army	—
Progress of Despotism	71
Etats-Généraux	—
Parliament of Paris	—
Contrast with England	72
The *Praguerie*	—
Great Fiefs	—
Progress of Centralisation	73
England	—
Union of the Houses of York and Lancaster	—

BOOK I.

FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1453, TO THE PONTIFICATE OF LEO X. 1513 (pp. 75—297).

CHAPTER I.

Establishment of the Turks in Europe and their Wars with the Hungarians, Venetians, &c., till the Death of Mahomet II.—Affairs of Italy down to the Turkish Invasion in 1481 (pp. 75—112).

A.D.		
1453.	Capture of Constantinople	75
	Mahomet consolidates his Empire	—
	The Greek Patriarchate	—
	State of the Peloponnesus	76
1454.	Revolt of the Albanians	—
1460.	Mahomet II. reduces the Morea	77
	Fate of the Despots Thomas and Demetrius	—
	Duchy of Athens	78
	Annexed with Thebes to the Turkish Empire	—
	Reduction of Greek Towns and Islands	79
	Nature of the Turkish Government	—
	Greece sinks into Barbarism	80
	Alarm in Europe	—
	Æneas Sylvius	—
	Bull of Pope Nicholas V.	81
1454.	Venice and Genoa make peace with the Turks	—
	Mahomet enters Pera	82
	Genoa pledges her Colonies	—
	Helpless State of Europe	—
	Disturbances in Austria and Hungary	83
1454.	Weakness of the Emperor Frederick III.	83
	Revolts of Count Cilly and Eyzinger	—
	Mahomet invades Servia	84
	The Turks defeated by Hunyad	—
1455.	Death of Pope Nicholas V.	—
	Giovanni da Capestrano	—
	Zeal of Pope Calixtus III.	85
1456.	Mahomet besieges Belgrade	—
	Repulsed by Hunyad and Capestrano	86
	Death of Hunyad and Capestrano	87
	Plots of Count Cilly	—
	He is slain by Hunyad's sons	88
	Who are seized by King Ladislaus, and the elder executed	—
1457.	Death of Ladislaus Posthumus	—
	Competitors for the Crown of Hungary	—
1458.	Election of Matthias Corvinus	89
	Podiebrad chosen King of Bohemia	—
1459.	Frederick III. crowned King of Hungary	90
1463.	Resigns the Crown to Matthias	—

A.D.		Page
1463.	Insurrection in Austria	90
1458.	Mahomet annexes Servia	91
1462.	——— reduces Wallachia	—
1469.	The Turks overrun the Herzegovina	—
1464.	Mahomet conquers Bosnia	92
1459.	Pope Pius II. calls the Council of Mantua	—
	Project of a Crusade	—
1461.	The Pope's Letter to Mahomet	—
1463.	Venetian and Turkish War	93
	Alliance between Venice, Hungary, and the Pope	—
	Exertions of Pius II.	94
	War in the Morea	—
1464.	Death of Pius II.	95
	Election of Paul II.	—
	His Character	—
1465.	Scanderbeg allied with Venice	96
1467.	His Death	—
1470.	The Turks conquer Negropont	—
	Their Progress in the north	—
1475.	Defeated by Matthias Corvinus	—
1477.	The Turks penetrate into the Venetian Territory	97
1479.	Treaty between Venice and the Porte	—
	Ruin of the Genoese Commerce	98
	Defeat of the Turks by Paul Kinis	—
	Mahomet conquers three of the Ionian Islands	—
	Retrospective view of Italy	99
1458.	Death and Character of Alphonso of Naples	—
	Character of Pope Calixtus III.	100
	He opposes the accession of Ferdinand, illegitimate Son of Alphonso	—
	Pius II. recognises Ferdinand	—
	Revolt of the Neapolitan Barons	—
	John of Anjou invades Naples	101
1460.	Defeats Ferdinand	—
	Great qualities of Ferdinand's Consort Isabella	—

A.D.		Page
1461.	Ferdinand assisted by Scanderbeg	101
1462.	John of Anjou defeated at Troia	102
1464.	Retires from Italy	—
	Death of Cosmo de' Medici	—
	His Character	—
	Conspiracy against Peter de' Medici	103
1467.	Battle of La Molinella	104
1468.	Paul II. publishes a Peace	—
1469.	Death of Peter de' Medici	—
	Accession of Lorenzo and Julian	—
1471.	Death of Pope Paul II.	105
	Election and Nepotism of Sixtus IV.	—
	Profligacy and Tyranny of Galeazzo, Duke of Milan	106
1476.	Conspiracy against him	—
	Regency of his widow Bonne	—
	Leagues of North and South Italy	107
	Enmity of Sixtus IV. towards the Medici	—
1478.	Conspiracy of the Pazzi	108
	Sixtus IV. attacks the Florentines	109
	Excites an Insurrection at Genoa	—
	Instigates the Swiss against Milan	—
1479.	Louis the Moor obtains possession of Milan	110
1480.	Lorenzo de' Medici proceeds to Naples, and forms a League with Ferdinand	—
	The Venetians incite Mahomet to invade Naples	111
	The Pope absolves the Florentines	—
	The Turks take Otranto	—
	The Pope forms a League against them	—
1481.	The Turks repulsed by the Duke of Calabria	112
	Death of Mahomet II.	—
	Character	—

CHAPTER II.

Affairs of France and Burgundy down to the Truce of 1472; *with a brief View of English Affairs under Edward IV.* (pp. 113—140).

1456.	The Dauphin Louis in banishment	113
	He flies into Brabant	—
	Character of Louis	114
	——— of the Heir of Burgundy	—
	Dauphiné united to France	115
1458.	Charles VII. acquires the temporary Sovereignty of Genoa	—
1461.	Death of Charles VII.	116
	Sacre of Louis XI.	—
	Splendour of the Duke of Burgundy	—
	Singular Tournament	—
	Cynicism of Louis	117
	He creates the Parliament of Bourdeaux and University of Bourges	—

A.D.		Page
1461.	His proceedings against the Clergy	117
	And against the great Vassals of the Crown	118
	Duchy of Brittany	—
	—— of Normandy	—
1462.	Louis acquires Rousillon	119
	Allies himself with the Swiss and the Duke of Milan	—
1463.	Recovers the Towns on the Somme	—
	Truce of Hesdin with Edw. IV.	—
	Louis threatens Brittany	120
	Attempts to seize its Vice-Chancellor at Gorcum	—
	Rupture with Burgundy	121
1464.	*Ligue du Bien Public*	—
	Its principal Leaders	—
	Preparations of Louis	122
	He establishes Posts	—
1465.	Civil War in France	—
	Battle of Montlhery	123
	Louis incites a Revolt in Belgium	—
	Treaties of Conflans and St. Maur	124
	Importance of the latter to the French Monarchy	—
	Contrast of the French and English Nobles	—
1466.	Normandy reannexed to the French Crown	125
	Cruel Treatment of the Burgundian Rebels	126
1467.	Death of Philip the Good	—
	Accession and Character of Charles the Bold	127
	Insurrections at Ghent and Liége	—
1468.	Marriage between Charles and Margaret of York	128
1468.	States-General in France	128
	Treaty of Ancenis with Duke of Brittany	—
	Louis entrapped by Charles	129
	Treaty of Péronne	—
	Louis serves under the Duke of Burgundy	—
	Punishment of Liége	130
	Ambitious views of Charles	—
	Character of Louis's Ministers	131
	Cardinal La Balue	—
	Connection between Louis XI. and the Earl of Warwick	132
	Part played by Warwick in England	133
	His ambiguous conduct	—
1470.	Warwick sheltered by Louis XI.	134
	Reconciliation of Warwick and Queen Margaret	135
	Edward IV. flies into the Netherlands	—
	Treaty of Péronne declared void	136
	The Duke of Burgundy summoned by Parliament of Paris	—
1471.	Edward IV. relands in England	—
	Defeats Warwick at Barnet and Margaret at Tewkesbury	—
	Charles invades France	137
	Louis enters into a Truce	—
	His popular Arts	—
	Disaffection of his Brother the Duke of Guienne	—
1472.	League against Louis	138
	Death of the Duke of Guienne	—
	Guienne annexed to the Crown	—
	Charles invades France	139
	A Truce	—
	Louis's privilege to La Rochelle	140
	His attention to Commerce	—

CHAPTER III.

Affairs of France and Burgundy continued down to the Year 1493 (pp. 141—173).

1472.	Ambition of Charles the Bold.	141
	He acquires Guelderland and Zutphen	—
	Plan of a Burgundian Kingdom	—
1473.	Projected Marriage between Mary, Daughter of Charles and Maximilian, Son of the Emperor Frederick III.	142
	Interview between Charles and Frederick at Trèves	—
	Frederick gives Charles the slip	143
1474.	Charles besieges Neuss	—
1475.	The Swiss invade Burgundy	144
	Neuss relieved by the Imperialists	—
1475.	League between Charles and Edward IV.	144
	Edward invades France	145
	Peace of Pecquigny	—
	Claims to the Duchy of Lorraine	—
	It is overrun by Charles the Bold	146
	Execution of the Constable St. Pol	—
	Perpetual Alliance between France and Switzerland	147
1476.	Charles the Bold attacks the Swiss	—
	Defeated at Granson	148
	And again at Morat	149

A.D.		Page
1476.	Duke René II. recovers Nanci	149
	Despondency of Charles	—
1477.	Killed in attacking Nanci	150
	René recovers Lorraine	—
	Indecent joy of Louis XI.	—
	He seizes Burgundy	151
	Embarrassment of Charles's Daughter Mary	—
	She grants the "Grand Privilege" to the Dutch	152
	Louis's machinations against her	—
	Execution of Hugonet and Humbercourt	153
	The French enter Flanders	—
	Mary's Suitors	154
	She marries Maximilian	—
	Truce with Louis	155
1478.	Peace between the Flemish Sovereigns and the Swiss	—
	War renewed with France	—
	The French defeated at Guinegate	156
1480.	Another Truce	—
1481.	Provence annexed to France	—
1482.	Death of Mary of Burgundy	157
	Opposition of the Flemings to Maximilian	—
	Declining Days of Louis XI.	—
	His Diversions	158
	His Intrigues with the Flemings	—
	Peace of Arras	—
1483.	Death of Louis XI	159
	His Policy and Government	—
	Anne, Sister of Charles VIII., rules for him	160
	Opposed by the Duke of Orleans	—
	Anne's popular Measures	—
1484.	Disturbances in Brittany	161
	Revolt of the Duke of Orleans	—
	Earl of Richmond in Brittany	162
	Richard III.'s Plots against him	—
1485.	Battle of Bosworth	163
	Richmond obtains the English Crown as Henry VII.	—

A.D.		Page
1485.	Effect of this Revolution in Brittany	163
	Termination of *la Guerre folle*	—
1486.	Attempts of Anne to procure Brittany for her Brother	—
	Maximilian's proceedings in the Netherlands	164
	Elected King of the Romans	—
1487.	Renews the War with France	—
1488.	Maximilian imprisoned at Bruges	165
	Fresh Revolt of the French Princes	—
	Battle of St. Aubin, and capture of the Duke of Orleans and Prince of Orange	166
	Death of the Duke of Brittany	—
1489.	Henry VII. engages to protect Anne of Brittany	167
1490.	Anne marries Maximilian	—
1489.	Treaty between Charles VIII. and Maximilian	168
	Maximilian chastises the Flemings	—
1490.	The French Council declares the Marriage of Anne and Maximilian null	169
1491.	Insurrection in the Netherlands	—
	Charles VIII begins to reign	—
	He reduces Anne of Brittany to capitulate	170
	Is married to her	171
	His Person and Character	—
	Rage of Maximilian	—
1492.	Henry VII.'s pretended Invasion of France	172
	Treaty of Etaples	—
1493.	Treaty of Barcelona between France and Spain	—
	Peace of Senlis between Charles and Maximilian	—
	Fate of Maximilian's Daughter Margaret	173

CHAPTER IV.

Affairs of Italy.—Spanish History down to the Conquest of Granada.—Affairs of Hungary, the House of Austria, &c., till 1492 (pp. 174—202).

1482.	Nepotism of Pope Sixtus IV.	174
1483.	League against Venice	—
	The Venetians excommunicated	175
1484.	Peace of Bagnolo	—
	Death of Sixtus IV. and Election of Innocent VIII.	—
	War between Naples and Rome	—
1486.	Ferdinand of Naples chastises his rebellious Nobles	176
1486.	John de' Medici made a Cardinal	176
	Government of Lorenzo de' Medici	—
1492.	His Death	177
	Succeeded by his Son Peter	—
	Death of Innocent VIII.	—
	Election of Pope Alexander VI.	178
	Tyranny of Louis the Moor at Milan	—

A.D.		Page
1493.	He invites Charles VIII. into Italy	179
	Retrospect of Spanish History	—
	Reign of Henry IV. of Castile	—
1465.	He is deposed by his Nobles	180
1468.	Alphonso, anti-King, dies	—
	Isabella, Sister of Henry IV. refuses the Crown	—
	Henry names her his Successor	—
1469.	She marries Ferdinand of Aragon	181
	Their Characters	—
1452.	Birth of Ferdinand	182
	Reign of his Father John II.	—
	Persecutes his Son Carlos	—
	Beaumonts and Agramonts	—
1461.	Death and Character of Carlos	183
	John II. makes Ferdinand his Heir	—
	The Catalans revolt	—
1467.	Proclaim John of Anjou King	184
1470.	His Death	—
1472.	John II. recovers Barcelona	—
1473.	Roussillon and Cerdagne rise against the French	—
1475.	Are reduced by Louis XI.	185
1474.	Death of Henry IV. of Castile	—
	Accession of Isabella	186
	Alphonso V. of Portugal supports the claim of Henry IV.'s Daughter Joanna, whom he marries	—
1475.	Alphonso invades Castile	—
1476.	Alphonso defeated by Ferdinand	—
1479.	Establishment of Isabella's claim	187
	Ferdinand succeeds John II. in Aragon	—
	The *Santa Hermandad*	—
1480.	The Inquisition established in Castile	188
	Its political Character	139
	Moorish Kingdom of Granada	—
1481.	Origin of the War between the Moors and Spaniards	190
	Its Progress	191

A.D.		Page
1491.	Conquest of Granada	191
	Consolidation of the Spanish Monarchy	192
1492.	The Jews expelled from Spain	—
1493.	Columbus at Barcelona	193
	Retrospect of Austrian and Hungarian History	—
1465.	Pope Paul II. deposes Podiebrad, King of Bohemia	—
	Matthias Corvinus prepares to seize the Crown	—
1468.	Podiebrad invades Austria	—
	Matthias invades Bohemia	194
	Crowned by the Legate	—
	Frederick III. visits Rome	—
1470.	Matthias at Vienna	195
1471.	Death of Podiebrad	—
	The Bohemians elect Wladislaus of Poland	—
1473.	Duplicity of Frederick III. towards Matthias	196
1474.	Matthias invades Bohemia, Austria and Poland	—
1476.	Hostilities between Matthias and Frederick III.	—
1477.	Peace of Korneuburg	—
1479.	Peace of Olmütz between Matthias and the Kings of Bohemia and Poland	197
	War renewed between Matthias and Frederick	—
1485.	Vienna captured	—
	Office of the Hungarian Palatine	—
1489.	Negociations for a Peace	198
1490.	Death of Matthias Corvinus	—
	Competitors for the Hungarian Throne	199
	Election of Wladislaus	—
	Maximilian recovers Austria	—
1491.	Treaty of Presburg	200
1492.	Death of Casimir of Poland	—
1493.	Death of the Emperor Frederick III.	—
	Character	—
	Account of the Suabian League	201
	Maximilian I. Emperor	202

CHAPTER V.

Wars of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. in Italy.—Pontificate of Alexander VI.—Intervention of Ferdinand the Catholic in Italy (pp. 203—240).

1494.	Projects of Charles VIII	203
	Death of Ferdinand of Naples and Accession of Alphonso II.	—
	His Alliance with Pope Alexander VI.	204
1494.	Charles VIII. supported by Louis the Moor, invades Italy	204
	Louis, on the Death of his Nephew Galeazzo, seizes Milan	205

A.D.		Page
1494.	Treaty of Peter de' Medici with Charles VIII.	205
	The Medici expelled	—
	Savonarola at Florence	206
	Charles enters that City	—
	His March to Rome	207
	Trepidation of Alexander VI.	208
	Alliance between the Pope and the Sultan	—
	Story of Zizim	209
1495.	Treaty between the Pope and the French King	210
	Death of Zizim	—
	Ferdinand of Aragon protests against the Invasion of Naples	—
	Alphonso of Naples, abdicates in favour of his Son Ferdinand II.	211
	Charles VIII. enters Naples	212
	His impolitic Conduct	—
	League against France	213
	Charles quits Naples	—
	His Retreat and Interview with Savonarola	214
	Successes of the Duke of Orleans in Lombardy	215
	Battle of Fornova	216
	Treaty of Vercelli	—
	Charles returns to France	217
	Ferdinand II. re-enters Naples	—
1496.	The French evacuate the Neapolitan Territory	218
	Death of Ferdinand II., and Accession of Frederick	—
	Failure of the Emperor Maximilian at Leghorn	219
	Marriages of Don John and Margaret, and of the Archduke Philip and Joanna	—
	Marriage of Catherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur	220
1497.	Marriage of the Infanta Isabella with Emmanuel of Portugal	—
	She stipulates the Banishment of the Jews from Portugal	—
	Pope Alexander forbids Savonarola the Pulpit	—
	Florentine Factions	—
	Crimes of Pope Alexander VI. and the Borgian Family	221
1498.	Savonarola burnt	222
	Death of Charles VIII.	223
	Accession of Louis XII. (House of Orleans.)	—
	Governed by Cardinal d'Amboise	224

A.D.		Page
1498.	Louis's liberal domestic Policy	224
	Procures a Divorce from his Wife Joanna through Cæsar Borgia	225
	He marries Anne, the Dowager Queen	226
	Borgia made Duke of Valentinois	—
1499.	Louis allies himself with Venice	—
	Other Treaties	—
	The French invade Italy	227
	Duke Sforza flies from Milan	228
	Louis XII. enters that City	—
1500.	Trivulzio evacuates it at the approach of Sforza	—
	Sforza betrayed by the Swiss at Novara	229
	Imprisoned in France	230
	The French assist the Borgian Family	—
	Ambition and Crimes of Cæsar Borgia	231
	He reduces Romagna	—
1501.	Marriage of Lucretia Borgia and Alfonso d'Este	232
	France and Spain agree to divide Naples	—
	Duplicity of Ferdinand the Catholic	—
	French Expedition to Naples	233
	Pope Alexander sanctions its Partition	234
	Frederick II. retires into France	—
	Gonsalvo of Cordova captures his son Don Ferrante	—
	Louis's Negociations with Maximilian	235
	Louis and Ferdinand quarrel about the partition of Naples	—
	The French expel the Spaniards	—
1502.	Journey of Philip and Joanna to Toledo	236
1503.	Treaty between Philip and Louis XII. respecting Naples	—
	Ferdinand instructs Gonsalvo not to observe it	—
	Gonsalvo drives the French from Naples	237
	Louis attacks Spain	—
	Progress of Cæsar Borgia	238
	Death of Pope Alexander VI.	—
	Election and Death of Pius III.	239
	Election of Pope Julius II.	240
	Disappointment of D'Amboise	—

CHAPTER VI.

Affairs of Italy, Spain and the Empire, down to the League of Cambray in 1508 (pp. 241—265).

A.D.		Page
1503.	Position of Cæsar Borgia	241
	Projects of Pope Julius II.	—
	Last Adventures and Death of Borgia	242
	Rout of the French on the Garigliano	243
	Death of Peter de' Medici	—
	Peace between France and Spain	244
	Ferdinand obtains Naples	—
1504.	Triple Treaty of Blois	—
	Retrospect of Turkish History	—
	Reign of Bajazet II.	245
	Venetian and Turkish War (1498—1502)	—
	Death of Isabella of Castile	246
1405.	Louis XII. invested with the Duchy of Milan	—
	Arrangement between the Venetians and the Pope	—
	Ximenes de Cisneros	247
	The Archduke Philip and King Ferdinand dispute the Regency of Castile	248
	Ferdinand courts the Friendship of Louis XII.	249
	Marries Germaine De Foix	—
1506.	The Concord of Salamanca	250
	Philip and Joanna in England	—
	The *Malus Intercursus*	—
	Interview between Philip and Ferdinand in Spain	251
	Philip and Joanna Sovereigns of Castile	—
1506.	Death of Philip	252
	Melancholy of Joanna	—
	Ferdinand's Voyage to Naples	253
1507.	Ferdinand and Louis XII. at Savona	254
	Louis reduces Genoa	—
	Ferdinand resumes his Authority in Spain	255
	His Ingratitude to Gonsalvo of Cordova	—
	Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands	256
	Reforms in the German Empire	257
	Circles of Germany	—
	Council of Regency	258
	Diet of Constance	—
	Systems of Taxation	259
1508.	Maximilian's Expedition into Italy	260
	He assumes the Title of *Emperor Elect*	—
	He outlaws the Venetians	—
	But is compelled to make Peace with them	261
	Their insolent Triumph	—
	Conquests of Pope Julius II.	262
	Machinations against Venice	—
	League of Cambray	263
	Hypocritical Pretences of the Allied Sovereigns	264
1509.	Pisa sold to the Florentines	265

CHAPTER VII.

From the League of Cambray in 1508 *to the Death of Pope Julius II. in* 1513 (pp. 266—297).

1509.	Pope Julius II. excommunicates the Venetians	266
	Battle of Agnadello	—
	Successes of Louis XII	—
	The Papal Army reduces Romagna	267
	Lukewarmness of the German Diet	—
	Distress of the Venetians	268
	They release their Italian Subjects	—
	Inactivity of Maximilian	269
	He besieges Padua	—
	The Venetians recover several Places	270
1510.	They are reconciled with the Pope	270
	Project of Julius II. to clear Italy of Foreigners	271
	He courts King Henry VIII.	—
	And forms an Alliance with the Swiss	272
	Death of Cardinal d'Amboise	—
	Julius connects himself with King Ferdinand	273
	Quarrels with the Duke of Ferara	—
	Campaign in North Italy	274
	Diet of Augsburg	—
	Cruelties at Vicenza	275

A.D.		Page
1510.	Alphonso of Ferrara excommunicated	275
	Louis XII. assembles a Council at Tours	276
	Treaty of Blois	277
	Julius II. beleaguered by the French at Bologna	—
1511.	He captures Mirandola	278
	Congress at Bologna	279
	The French drive the Papal Forces from Bologna	280
	Julius cited before the Council of Pisa	281
	He summons the Council of St. John Lateran	282
	Retrospect of Spanish History	—
	Expedition to Africa	283
	Ximenes founds a University at Alcalà	—
	Hypocritical Policy of Ferdinand	—
	The *Holy League*	284
	Treaty between Spain and England	—
	Council of Pisa adjourned to Milan	285
	Maximilian assumes the Title of Pontifex Maximus	—
	Campaign in Italy	286
1512.	Exploits of Gaston de Foix	287
	Louis XII. instructs him to depose the Pope	288
	Battle of Ravenna	289
	Death of Gaston	290
	His Victory fatal to the French	—
	Council of the Lateran opened	—
	Julius II. seizes Parma and Piacenza	291
	The Members of the Holy League combine against Florence	292
	State of that City	—
	The Medici restored, and a Ransom extorted	293
	Character of the new Government	294
	Ferdinand's Designs on Navarre	—
	Claims of his Wife, Germaine de Foix, to that Kingdom	295
	He uses the English Forces for his purpose	—
	He overruns Navarre	296
1513.	Effects a Truce with Louis XII.	297
	Navarre incorporated with Castile	—
	Death of Pope Julius II.	—
	His Character	—

BOOK II.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE LEO X. IN 1513 TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT IN 1545 (pp. 299–619).

CHAPTER I.

View of the three great Revolutions marking the Transition from the Middle Ages to Modern Times; viz. 1. *The Extinction of Feudalism;* 2. *The Commencement of Ocean Navigation and Discovery of the New World;* 3. *The Causes which led to the Reformation of the Church* (pp. 299—340).

	Page
Feudalism at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century	299
Power of the Royal Houses in Spain, France, and England	300
Feudalism in Germany	—
Lawlessness of the German Knights	301
Feudalism extinguished by the Invention of Fire-arms	302
Application of Gunpowder in War	—
Introduction and Progress of Artillery	303
Hand-guns and Arquebuses	304
Cavalry the chief Force in ancient times	—
Swiss Infantry and German Lansquenets	305
English Bowmen	—
Cavalry Forces of Eastern Europe	306
Introduction of Standing Armies	307
Rise of the European System	—
Treaties and Embassies	308
Venetian *Relazioni*	309
Papal Legates and Nuncios	—
Commencement of Ocean Navigation.	
Invention of the Compass	310
Maritime Discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese	311

Page

Papal Claims to undiscovered Lands 312
Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope 313
Vasco de Gama sails to Calicut . . —
Ancient Theories concerning the Globe 314
Geography of the Church . . . . —
Circumnavigation of Africa . . . 315
Earliest Voyages to America . . . —
Christopher Columbus 316
Origin and Progress of his Theory . —
His Search for a Patron 317
His Bargain with Queen Isabella (1492) 318
He discovers the West Indies . . . 319
Pope Alexander VI. divides the World between Spain and Portugal . . 320
Treaty of Tordesillas. 321
Second Voyage of Columbus . . . —
Amerigo Vespucci . . . . . —
Columbus brought home in chains . 322
His last Voyage and Death . . . —
Further Discoveries of the Spaniards 323
Portuguese Conquests in the East . —
Voyage of Sebastian Cabot. . . . 324

The Papacy and the Reformation.

Rise and Progress of the Papal Power 325
Reaction against Rome 326
The Papal Schism 327
Councils of Pisa and Constance . . 328
Reformation of Wiclif . . . . . —
The Hussites in Bohemia 329
French Reformers. . . . . —
Burning of Huss and Jerome . . . 330
German and English Grievances . . —
Council of Basle 331
Pope Felix V. and the Hermits of Ripaille . . . . . —
The Gallican Church 332
German Concordats 333
Relation of England and Spain to Rome . . . . . —
Triumph of the Roman See . . . 334
Vices and Profligacy of the Clergy . —
Atheism of the Italian Priesthood . 335
Classic Tastes and Liberality of Rome 336
Learning of the Middle Ages . . . —
Scholasticism and its Effects . . . 337
Revival of Classical Literature . . —
Classical Precursors of the Reformation. 338
Restorers of Hebrew Learning . . —
Italian Art and Literature 339
Lingering Barbarism in Europe . . —
Sorcery, Astrology, and Alchemy . 340

CHAPTER II.

From the Election of Pope Leo X. to the Election of Charles V. as Emperor and the Diet of Worms, 1513—1521 (pp. 341—381).

1513. Education and Character of Leo X. 341
His Nepotism and Policy . . 342
Alliance of Louis XII. and the Venetians. . . . . —
Treaty of Mechlin . . . . —
The French overrun the Milanese 343
But are speedily expelled . . 344
Battle of Flodden 345
Henry VIII. invades France . —
Maximilian serves under him . —
Battle of the Spurs 346
Capture of Tournay . . . . —
The Swiss invade Burgundy . —
Louis XII. reconciles himself with the Pope 347
A general Truce . . . . . —
Rise of Wolsey 348
1514. Marriage of Louis XII. and Mary of England 349
1515. Death of Louis XII. . . . . —
Accession of Francis I. . . . 350
His Characteristics . . . . —
He abandons the Government to his Mother Louisa. . . . 351
1515. Charles of Bourbon made Constable 351
Francis prepares for an Italian Campaign 352
Enters into a Treaty with the Archduke Charles . . . . —
And with Henry VIII. . . . —
Appoints his mother Louisa Regent. 353
The French cross the Alps . . 354
Surprise Prosper Colonna at Villa Franca. . . . . —
Treachery of the Swiss . . . 355
Battle of Marignano 356
Sforza abdicates Milan in favour of Francis I. . . . —
Francis allies himself with Leo 357
Their interview at Bologna . —
Conspiracy against Leo . . . 358
French Concordat . . . . . —
Francis's Treaty with the Swiss 359
League against France . . . —
1516. Death of Ferdinand the Catholic 360
His Character . . . . . —
Austrian and Hungarian Marriages 361

A.D.		Page
1516.	Maximilian's bootless Expedition against Milan	362
	Education of Charles V.	363
	Will of Ferdinand the Catholic	—
	Ximenes and Adrian Regents in Spain	364
	Harsh Treatment of Navarre by Ximenes	—
	Treaty of Noyon between Charles and Francis	365
	Henry of Nassau marries the Heiress of Orange	—
	Peace of Brussels	366
	Decline of Venice	—
1517.	Charles proceeds to Spain	367
	Dismissal and Death of Ximenes	—
	Character of his Government	—
	Unpopular Measures of Charles	368
	Rapacity of his Flemish Courtiers	—
	Retrospect of Turkish and Hungarian History	369
1512.	Selim dethrones his Father Bajazet	—
	Conquests of Selim in the East	—
1516.	Death of Wladislaus of Hungary	370
	Distracted State of that Country	371
1516.	Minority of Louis II.	371
	John Zapolya, Voyvode of Transylvania	—
1517.	Pretended Crusade of Leo X.	372
1520.	Death of Sultan Selim	373
1518.	Treaty between Francis I. and Henry VIII.	—
1519.	Death of the Emperor Maximilian I.	374
	His Character	—
	Candidates for the Imperial Crown	375
	The Elector Frederick refuses it	376
	Election of Charles V.	—
	Electoral Union of the Rhine	377
	Discontent of Charles's Spanish Subjects	—
	Insurrection in Castile	378
1520.	Charles visits England	—
	Interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I.	379
	Charles crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle	—
1521.	Diet of Worms	—
	Affair of Würtemberg	—
	Charles cedes the Austrian Dominions to his Brother Ferdinand	380

CHAPTER III.

The History of the Reformation down to the Edict of Worms in 1521 *and Luther's Concealment at the Wartburg.—General Affairs of Europe to Death of Pope Leo X.* 1521 (pp. 382—418).

1483.	Birth and education of Martin Luther	382
	Doctrine of Indulgences	383
	Traffic in Indulgences	384
	Albert of Brandenburg and John Tetzel	385
1517.	Tetzel comes in contact with Luther	386
	Luther's *Theses*	—
	Luther supported by the Elector of Saxony	387
	Indifference of Leo X.	—
	Luther's controversy with Eck	388
1518.	Luther before Cajetanus	389
	He escapes from Augsburg	390
	Pope Leo's Bull respecting Indulgences	—
	Negociations of Miltitz	391
1519.	Luther writes to the Pope	—
	Disputation at Leipsic	392
1520.	Circumstances favourable to Luther	393
	His popularity	—
	Leo's Bull *Exurge Domine*	394
	Its impotence	—
1520.	Luther's second Letter to the Pope	395
	Erasmus supports Luther	—
	Luther burns the Pope's Bull	396
1521.	He is excommunicated	—
	Is summoned before the Emperor at Worms	397
	His appearance at the Diet	398
	He is dismissed	399
	Edict of Worms	400
	Luther conveyed to the Wartburg	—
	Ulrich Zwingli	—
	Reformation in Switzerland	401
	Contrast between Zwingli and Luther	402
	Disturbances in Spain	403
	The *Santa Junta*	—
	Civil War	404
	Capture and execution of Padilla	405
	Doña Maria de Pacheco	—
	The *Hermandad* in Valencia	—
	Rivalry of the French King and the Emperor	406

A.D.		Page
1521.	The French invade Navarre	407
	Repulsed by the Spaniards	408
	The Duke of Bouillon defies the Emperor	—
	Rapacious policy of Pope Leo X.	409
	His Treaty with Charles V.	410
	His Proceedings against the French	411
	Conference at Calais	412
	Machinations of Wolsey	—
1521.	Treaty of Bruges	413
	The Pope excommunicates Francis I.	—
	Commencement of the Rivalry between France and Austria	414
	Cabals of the French Court	415
	The French lose Milan	416
	Illness and Death of Leo X.	417
	His Character	—
	His Unpopularity at Rome	418

CHAPTER IV.

From the Death of Leo X. to the Battle of Pavia and Capture of Francis I. (pp. 419—448).

1521.	Confusion upon Leo X.'s death	419
1522.	Election of Pope Adrian VI.	420
	The French defeated in Lombardy	—
	Genoa taken by the Imperialists	421
	Charles V. visits England	—
	The English invade France	422
	Charles arrives in Spain	423
	Gains the Affections of his Spanish Subjects, but curtails their Liberties	—
	Persecutes the Moors	424
	Adrian arrives in Rome	—
	His Unpopularity	425
	Retrospect of Turkish History	426
1520.	Accession of Solyman I.	—
	His warlike Projects	427
1521.	He takes Belgrade	428
1522.	Conquers Rhodes	429
	Fate of the Knights	430
1523.	League of Rome	431
	The Constable Charles of Bourbon	—
	His Power and Influence	432
1523.	Ill-treatment by the French Court	433
	He leagues himself with Charles V. and Henry VIII.	434
	Who invade France	435
	Flight of Bourbon	436
	The Invasion fails	437
	Bourbon declared a Traitor	438
	The French enter Italy	439
	Death of Pope Adrian VI.	—
	Election of Clement VII.	—
	His Character	440
1524.	Campaign in Italy	—
	Defeat of the French	—
	Death of Bayard	—
	Bourbon swears fealty to Henry VIII.	441
	His fruitless Invasion of France	442
	Francis I. invades the Milanese	443
	Clement VII. treats with Francis	444
1525.	Albany detached to Naples	445
	Battle of Marignano	446
	Defeat and Capture of Francis	447
	His celebrated Letter	448

CHAPTER V.

From the Battle of Pavia to the Peace of Cambray and Marriage of Francis I. and Eleanor (pp. 449—496).

1525.	Moderation of Charles V.	449
	Alarm in France	450
	Henry VIII.'s Change of Policy	451
	Wolsey's secret Negociations	452
	Bourbon's Proposals to Henry VIII.	453
	Negociations between Henry and Charles	454
	Quarrel between Charles and Wolsey	455
	Treaty between England and France	456
	Charles's Proposals to Francis	457
	Abject Conduct of Francis	—
1525.	His Concessions	458
	He is carried Prisoner to Madrid	459
	His Sister Margaret visits him	460
	Francis abdicates but retracts	461
	Bourbon in Spain	—
1526.	Treaty of Madrid	462
	Francis's Protest against it	463
	Reflections on his and the Emperor's Conduct	—
	Liberation of Francis	464
	His arrival in France	—
	He refuses to ratify the Treaty of Madrid	465

A.D.		Page
1526.	Vacillating Policy of Clement VII.	466
	Conspiracy of Morone	467
	League of Cognac	468
	Lukewarmness of Francis	469
	Marriage of Charles V.	470
	Duplicity of Wolsey's Policy	—
	Margaret of Valois declines the Suit of Henry VIII.	471
	Marries the King of Navarre	—
	Wolsey's abject Hypocrisy	472
	Bourbon takes possession of Milan	473
	The Pope captured by Cardinal Colonna	—
	Clement's Vengeance	474
	Necessitous Condition of Bourbon	475
	Frunsberg undertakes an Expedition into Italy	—
1527.	He forms a Junction with Bourbon	476
	A Mutiny, and Death of Frunsberg	477
	Bourbon's March to Rome	478
	Trepidation of Clement VII.	479
	Capture of Rome and Death of Bourbon	480
	Sack of Rome	481
	Capitulation of Clement VII.	482
	Revolt at Florence	—
	Conduct and Policy of Charles V.	483
1527.	Reasons for and against sparing the Pope	484
	The Emperor's Apology	485
	His Treaty with Clement	—
	Alliance between Henry VIII. and Francis I.	486
	Wolsey's Embassy to France	487
	Treaty of Amiens	—
	Projected Marriage between Henry VIII. and Renée of France	488
	The French take Genoa and Pavia	—
1528.	They penetrate to Naples, but are repulsed	489
	Question of Henry VIII.'s Divorce, and Perplexity of the Pope	490
1529.	Treaty of Barcelona between Charles and Clement	491
	Last Revolution of Genoa	492
	The Emperor challenges Francis	493
	French Campaigns in Italy	494
	Peace of Cambray	—
	Disgraceful Conduct and Protest of Francis	495
	Termination of the French Wars in Italy	—
1530.	The French Princes dismissed from Spain	496
	Francis marries Eleanor, the Emperor's Sister	—

CHAPTER VI.

Affairs of Germany and the Reformation to the Diet of Spires in 1526, *with those of Hungary and the Turks till the Truce of* 1531 (pp. 497—526).

1521.	Luther at the Wartburg	497
	Fanaticism of Carlstadt at Wittenberg	498
	The Zwickau Prophets	—
1522.	Luther returns to that City	499
	He publishes the German Testament	—
	Moderation of Luther	500
	The Reformation proscribed in Bavaria	—
	Lawlessness of the German Knights	501
	Capture and Death of Sickingen	502
	Destruction of the German Knighthood	503
1523.	Relations between Rome and Germany	504
1524.	Diet of Nuremberg	505
	Luther quits his Convent	506
	Peasant War	507
	Götz von Berlichingen	508
1525.	The Peasants defeated at Königshofen	508
	Fanaticism of Thomas Münzer	509
	Death of Frederick the Wise	510
	His successor John the Steadfast	—
	The Suabian League persecutes the Reformers	511
	Secularisation of the Territory of the Teutonic Order	—
	Albert, the Grand Master, founds the Duchy of Prussia	512
	Political Character of the Reformation	513
1526.	League of Torgau	514
	Diet of Spires	515
	Retrospect of Hungarian and Turkish Affairs	516
1521.	Ferdinand marries Anne, Sister of King Louis	—
	Louis marries a Sister of Ferdinand	—

A.D.		Page
1521.	Ibrahim Pasha Grand Vizier	517
1526.	Solyman prepares to invade Hungary	—
	Alliance between France and the Porte	518
	Anarchy among the Hungarians	519
	Battle of Mohacs	520
	Death of King Louis	—
	Ferdinand elected King of Bohemia	521
1527.	John Zapolya and Ferdinand contest the Crown of Hungary	522
	Zapolya defeated at Tokay	523
1528.	He forms an alliance with the Turks	—
1529.	Solyman causes him to be crowned at Buda	524
	Solyman besieges Vienna	525
	His Retreat	526
1531.	Ferdinand concludes a Truce with Zapolya	—

CHAPTER VII.

General Affairs of Europe down to the Invasion of France by Charles V. in 1536 (pp. 527—566).

1529.	Charles V. proceeds into Italy	527
	Change in his Conduct	—
	Subjugation of Florence	528
	Charles's Interview with the Pope at Bologna	529
1530.	His Coronation	530
	Retrospect of German Affairs	531
	Charles annuls the Recess of the Diet of Spires (1526)	—
	Diet of Spires (1529)	532
	The Lutheran Protest and name of *Protestants*	533
	The Emperor presses the Pope for a Council	534
	Conference of Luther and Zwingli at Marburg	535
	Charles proceeds to the Diet at Augsburg	536
	Luther at Coburg	—
	Opening of the Diet	537
	Confession of Augsbury	538
	The *Confessio Tetrapolitana*	539
	Further Proceedings of the Diet	—
	Weakness of the Emperor	540
	Recess of the Diet	541
	Views of Luther	542
	League of Smalcald	543
1531.	Ferdinand elected King of the Romans	—
	The Queen of Hungary Governess of the Netherlands	544
	Correspondence of Zwingli with Francis I.	—
	Death of Zwingli	545
	Francis allies himself with the Dukes of Bavaria and others	—
	Attempt to assassinate Zapolya	546
	The Porte rejects the Advances of Ferdinand	—
	Religious Peace of Nuremberg	—
	How viewed by each Party	547
	Caroline Code	—
	Alliance between Francis and Zapolya	548
1531.	French Protectorate of Eastern Christians	549
1532.	Solyman's March to Hungary	550
	Fruitless Embassy of Ferdinand	—
	Solyman besieges Güns	551
	His Retreat	—
	Peace betwen Ferdinand and the Porte (1533)	552
	Treaty between Francis I. and Henry VIII.	—
	Question of Henry's Divorce	—
	He marries Anne Boleyn	553
1533.	Marriage of the Duke of Orleans and Catherine de' Medici	554
	Henry VIII. cited to appear at Rome	—
	Henry courts the German Lutherans	555
	Bonner's Conference with the Pope at Marseilles	—
1534.	The Papal Authority abrogated in England	556
	Death of Pope Clement VII.	557
	Election of Paul III.	558
	He excommunicates Henry	—
	Francis intrigues with the German Princes	559
	The Pirate Barbarossa	—
1535.	The Emperor undertakes an Expedition against him	560
	He captures Tunis	561
	His Fêtes at Naples	—
	Affair of Maraviglia	—
	Charles takes possession of Milan on the Death of Duke Sforza	562
1536.	Francis invades Savoy	563
	The Emperor's Proposals to his Ambassadors	564
	The Emperor invades France	565
	Undertakes, but abandons, the Siege of Marseilles	—
	Accused of poisoning the Dauphin	566

CHAPTER VIII.

The Anabaptists of Münster.—Francis, after leaguing himself with the Protestants and Turks against the Emperor, resolves to conciliate that Potentate.—Result of this change of Policy (pp. 567—587).

A.D.		Page
1534.	Jan Matthys, the "Prophet," arrives at Münster	567
	Progress of his Sect	—
	Siege of Münster, and Death of Matthys	568
	His Successor, John of Leyden	—
1535.	Capture of Münster and Execution of John	569
	Duke Ulrich reinstated in Würtemberg	—
	Peace of Cadan (1534)	570
	Articles of Smalcald and Renewal of the League	—
	Francis persecutes the Protestants in France	571
	And courts those of Germany	572
1536.	Marriage of James V. of Scotland	—
1537.	Francis summons Charles before the Parliament of Paris	573
	Forms an Alliance against him with the Turks	—
	Campaign in the Netherlands and Truce of Bomy	
	Solyman, deserted by Francis, abandons the projected Invasion of Italy	574
	Negociations for a Peace between Charles and Francis	—
1538.	Their Interview at Nice	575
	Ten Years' Truce and Treaty of Toledo	576
	Cosmo de' Medici becomes Grand Duke of Tuscany	577
	Marriage of Octavius Farnese and Margaret of Austria	—
	Marriage of Antony of Bourbon and Jeanne d'Albert	—
	Interview and Reconciliation of Charles and Francis at Aigues Mortes	578
	Francis changes his Policy	579
	He quarrels with Henry VIII.	—
	Papist Schemes against Henry	580
	Henry courts the German Protestants	581
	Marries Anne of Clèves	—
	Turkish and Venetian War	582
1539.	Charles's Proceedings in Spain	583
	Abasement of the Cortès	—
	The Spanish Grandees	—
	Revolt of Ghent	584
	Francis offers the Emperor a Passage through France	585
1540.	Punishment and Fall of Ghent	586
	Charles refuses to invest Francis with Milan	—
1541.	Disgrace of Montmorenci	587

CHAPTER IX.

Affairs of the German Protestants down to the Council of Trent and Death of Luther, 1546.—*Progress of the Turks.—Wars of the Emperor and French King to the Peace of Crespy*, 1544 (pp. 588—619).

1536.	Movements of Pope Paul III. for a General Council	588
1538.	Holy League of Nuremberg	—
	Protestant Cause strengthened by Death of Joachim II. of Brandenburg, 1535, and George of Saxony, 1539	589
1540.	Disputation at Worms	590
	Order of the Jesuits established	—
1541.	Diet of Ratisbon	—
	Charles allies himself with the Elector of Brandenburg and Landgrave of Hesse	591
	Bigamy of the Landgrave	592
	Sanctioned by the Lutheran Doctors	593
1534.	Ferdinand's Negociations with the Porte	593
1536.	The Turks defeat the Austrians	594
1538.	Peace with Zapolya	—
1540.	His Death	—
1541.	Solyman occupies Buda	595
1542.	Diet of Spires	—
1543.	Solyman again invades Hungary	—
1545.	Truce with the Porte	596
1541.	Charles's Expedition to Algiers	—
	Joy of the French Court at his ill-success	597
	Alleged murder of Francis's Ambassadors	—
	He forms Alliances against the Emperor	—

A.D.		Page
1542.	Campaign in the Netherlands	598
	In Rousillon, Siege of Perpignan	599
	Charles V. in Spain	600
	Defeat and Death of James V. of Scotland	—
1543.	Alliance of Charles V. and Henry VIII.	—
	Campaign in the Netherlands	601
	Charles V. in Italy	—
	Charles punishes the Duke of Clèves	602
	Francis abandons the Duke	603
	Charles takes Cambray	—
	Barbarossa, in conjunction with the French, infests the Coasts of Italy	604
	They attack Nice	—
1544.	Charles opens the Diet of Spires	605
	Indignation against France	—
	Far-fetched excuses of Francis	606
	Concessions to the German Protestants	—
	Insincerity of Charles	—
	War in Piedmont	—
	Insolence of Barbarossa at Toulon	607
	Henry VIII. invades France	608
1544.	The Emperor penetrates to Château Thierry	608
	Peace of Crespy between Charles and Francis	609
	Henry takes Boulogne	—
	His Dissatisfaction at the Peace	610
	He returns to England	—
	Pope Paul III. summons the adjourned Council of Trent	611
	Charles's Persecutions	—
	Articles of Louvain	—
1545.	Diet of Worms	612
	Politic conduct of Duke Maurice of Saxony	—
	Francis seconds Charles against the Protestants	613
	The Vaudois	—
	Massacre of those in Provence	614
	Further Persecutions in France	615
	The French incite the Scotch against England	616
	Attack the English Fleet	617
	Attempt to recover Boulogne	—
	Francis withdraws his Support from Charles	618
	Pope Paul III. makes his Son Duke of Parma	—
	Opening of the Council of Trent	—
1546.	Death of Luther	619

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

INTRODUCTION.

In the middle of the fifteenth century of our era, Constantine Palæologus, the last feeble heir of Grecian culture and Roman magnificence, still enjoyed at Constantinople the title of Emperor of the East. His empire, however, was in the last stage of decay; though the walls and suburbs of his capital comprised a great part of his dominions, he had been compelled to share even those narrow precincts with the republics of Genoa and Venice; and, what was still worse, Constantinople existed only by sufferance of the Turks, had been reduced to pay tribute to those warlike barbarians, and to see Mahometan mosques and Osmanli tribunals erected within its walls.[1] From year to year all Europe looked forward with unavailing anxiety and compassion to the certain fall of the city in which the Christian faith had been established as the religion of the empire; and at length, in May 1453, Constantinople yielded to the arms of Mahomet II. With its capture the curtain falls on the nations of antiquity; and the final establishment of the Turks in Europe, the latest settlers of those migratory races which had composed its population, forms the first great episode of modern history. The lingering vestiges of antiquity then vanished altogether; the Cæsars were no longer represented except by an unreal shadow in the German empire; and the

[1] Sultan Bajazet I., surnamed *Ilderim*, or the "Thunderbolt" (1389—1403), had compelled the Greek emperor to pay tribute, to admit a Turkish colony at Constantinople, having four mosques and the independent jurisdiction of a *cadi*, and even to permit coins with the Sultan's superscription to be minted there.

language of Plato and Xenophon, which till then the scholars of Italy could acquire in tolerable purity as a living tongue, rapidly degenerated into the barbarous dialect now spoken in the Morea.

The decline and fall of the Eastern Empire, as well as the rise and progress of the Ottoman Turks, who during some centuries filled Europe with the dread of their power, and now by their weakness excite either its cupidity or its solicitude, have been described by Gibbon[2]; but as neither that historian nor Mr. Hallam, in his brief account of the Ottomans[3], has entered into any detailed description of their institutions and government, we shall here supply a few particulars that may serve to illustrate some parts of the following narrative.[4]

A feat of arms gave birth to the Ottoman power and seemed to foreshow that military character which afterwards distinguished it. Towards the close of the thirteenth century a tribe of wandering Turkmans seeking new abodes in Asia Minor under the conduct of their chief Orthoghrul, or Ertoghrul, came suddenly upon a plain where two armies were contending with unequal forces. Ertoghrul, though totally unacquainted with the combatants or the merits of their cause, with that warlike ardour and haughty generosity which characterised his race, flew to the assistance of the weaker side, and determined in its favour the fortune of the day. The party whom he had thus assisted turned out to be a branch of his own race, a body of Seljukian Turks commanded by Alaeddin, Sultan of Iconium, or Koniah. Alaeddin, one of those many small Turkish princes settled in Asia Minor that were constantly at war either with the Greeks or with one another, rewarded the welcome and disinterested services of Ertoghrul with a small dependent principality in the territory of Angora; and from this slender beginning grew up an empire which in process of time spread itself over a great part of the then known world.

Ertoghrul somewhat enlarged the bounds of the dominion which he had thus obtained; but it was his son Osman, or Othman[5]

[2] See particularly the *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxiii—lxviii.

[3] *Middle Ages*, ch. vi.

[4] The principal authorities for the fall of the Greek empire and the establishment of the Turks in Europe are the Byzantine historians, Chalcocondyles, Phrantzes, Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, Cantacuzenus, Ducas, &c.; Seadeddin, the celebrated Turkish historian, the tutor and general of Mahomet III. (translated by Brattuti, *Cronica dell' Origine e Progressi della Casa Ottomana*); *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*, ed. Leunclavius; Mouradjea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* (Paris, 1820, 7 vols.); Von Hammer, *Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches*; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osmanisch. Reiches in Europa*; Fallmerayer, *Gesch. der Halbinsel Morea*; Finlay, *Medieval Greece*, and *Greece under Ottoman and Venetian Domination*; Creasy, *Hist. of the Ottoman Turks*.

[5] Osman is the true name of this prince, whence the Turks still call themselves *Osmanlis*. But the corrupted form Oth-

(1299—1326), who by the extent of his conquests and the virtual independence of the Sultans of Iconium which he acquired, became the recognised founder and eponymous hero of the Ottoman empire. To the territories which Othman had won by his arms, a permanent organisation was given under his son and successor Orchan (1326—1360). This, however, was the work of Orchan's brother, Alaeddin, who acted as his vizier. Renouncing all share in the paternal inheritance, Alaeddin retired to a village near Prusa, now through Orchan's conquests the capital of the Ottoman dominions; and being a man of talent and well skilled both in civil and military affairs, he applied himself to model, with his brother's approbation, the institutions of the state. Three subjects chiefly engaged his attention; the coinage, the dress of the people, and the organisation of the army. But it was also Orchan and his brother who promulgated the canonical precepts, which, as occasions arose, served as supplements to the original forms of the Mahometan constitution and government, so rigidly prescribed by the Koran, by the Sonna, or traditionary law, and by the decisions of the four great Imaums, or arch-fathers.

Among the rights of Islam sovereignty established by the Koran, those of the prince to coin money and to have his name mentioned in the public prayers on Friday, occupy the first place. The independent sovereignty of Orchan was marked by gold and silver coins being struck with his superscription in 1328. His name was also inserted in the public prayers; but for a considerable period the Ottoman princes were prayed for only as temporal sovereigns, and it was not till after the conquest of Egypt by Selim I. in 1517 that they became the spiritual heads of Islam. The last remnants of the Abassid caliphate were then transferred to the race of Othman; Mohammed Ab'ul Berekeath, sheik of Mecca, sent to the conqueror of the Mamelukes, by his son Abu Noumi, the keys of the Caaba upon a silver platter, and raised him to be the protector of the holy cities, Mecca and Medina. The Sultan having thus become the representative of the prophet, the High Priest and Imaum of all the faithful, added to his temporal titles that of *Zill'ullah*, the shadow or image of God upon earth. He was now prayed for as Imaum and heir of the Caliphate, and his name was joined with those of the prophet himself, his posterity and the first caliphs.

The regulations of Alaeddin with regard to dress were principally

man, and the epithet *Ottoman* derived from it, have become so established by custom, that we shall continue to retain them; and the same practice will be observed with regard to other Turkish names.

intended to distinguish the different classes of the people; and a white turban was assigned, as the most honourable colour, to the court of the Sultan and to the soldiery. But of all the measures then adopted, those respecting the army were by far the most important. As the Turkish forces had hitherto principally consisted of light cavalry, which were of course wholly ineffective against towns, Alaeddin applied himself to the creation of an infantry on the Byzantine model, and under his care arose the celebrated corps of the Janissaries.[6] We shall not, however, here confine ourselves merely to trace the origin and progress of the Ottoman army and other institutions, but shall view them as wholes, and when they had attained to their full organisation and development.

The Turkish army may be divided into two grand classes; those who served by obligation of their landed tenure, and those who received pay.

It was Alaeddin who first instituted a division of all conquered lands among the *Sipahis*, or Spahis (horsemen), on conditions which, like the feudal tenures of Christian Europe, obliged the holders to service in the field. Here, however, ends the likeness between the Turkish *Timar* and the European fief. The *Timarli* were not, like the Christian knighthood, a proud and hereditary aristocracy almost independent of the sovereign and having a voice in his councils, but the mere creatures of the Sultan's breath. The Ottoman constitution recognised no order of nobility, and was essentially a democratic despotism. The institution of military tenures was modified by Amurath I., who divided them into the larger and smaller (*Siamet* and *Timar*), the holders of which were called *Saim* and *Timarli*. Every cavalier, or Spahi, who had assisted to conquer by his bravery, was rewarded with a fief, which, whether large or small, was called *Kilidsch* (the sword). The symbols of his investment were a sword and colours (*Kilidsch* and *Sandjak*). The smaller fiefs were of the yearly value of 20,000 aspers[7] and under; the larger were all that exceeded that sum. The holder of a fief valued at 3000 aspers was obliged to furnish one man fully armed and equipped, who in tenures of that low value could be no other than himself. The holders of

[6] Chalcondyles (lib. i. p. 8, ed. Par.) erroneously ascribes the institution of the Janissaries to Othman I.; and Leunclavius (*Ann. Turcici*, p. 13, and note, p. 129, ed. Frankf. 1596) and Marsigli (*Stato militare dell' Imperio Ottomano*, t. i. p. 67), who have been followed by Gibbon and Hallam, still more erroneously to Amurath I. See Von Hammer, *Geschichte des osm. Reiches*, Th. i. S. 93 und Anm., S. 581: Zinkeisen, B. i. S. 128 Anm. 3.

[7] 50 aspers were equal to a Venetian ducat.

larger fiefs were obliged to find a horseman for every 5000 aspers of yearly value; so that a *Timarli* might have to furnish four men, and a *Saim* as many as nineteen.

In general the Spahi was armed with a bow and arrows, a light slender lance, a short sword or scimitar, sometimes also an iron mace, and a small round shield (*la rotella*). At a later period the morion and cuirass were adopted.

Among the paid troops were the "Spahis of the Porte," who came next in rank to the *Timarlis*, and were more striking in their appearance, though armed much in the same way. Their horses were of the noblest race, their harness and accoutrements adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. The rider was clad in a splendid robe of gold or silver stuff, or costly cloth of a scarlet, hyacinthine, or dark-blue colour. On either side of him was a quiver of exquisite workmanship, one for his bow, the other for his painted arrows. He was girt with a short sword set with jewels, his mace hung down from his saddle-bow, and in his hand he brandished a light spear, generally of a green colour. He also had a shield beautifully worked. Down to the end of the sixteenth century the bow and arrow continued to be the missile weapon of the Spahis, and it was with reluctance that they adopted the use of fire-arms. The Spahis of the Porte prided themselves on being the guard of the sultan. They were composed of Christian slaves, and were at last divided into four different corps of different degrees of honour. These, and the Spahis who served by tenure formed the most valuable portion of the Turkish cavalry. Their charge was furious, and accompanied with a war whoop that rent the air.

The *Muteferrika* was a small corps which formed the body-guard of the Sultan, and never quitted his person. It was composed entirely of the sons of distinguished Turks, whose number, which was at first only 100, rose in the time of Selim II. to 500. When the Sultans ceased to lead their armies in person, the *Muteferrika* had of course no longer any experience of actual warfare. The *Chiauses*, about four hundred in number, were employed more as messengers and attendants upon embassies than as soldiers.

Besides these may be enumerated the unpaid cavalry and the mounted auxiliaries. The former were the *Akindshi* (rovers or runners), who received neither pay nor maintenance: all they enjoyed was an exemption from taxation, and they were expected to provide for themselves by robbery and plunder. They were mostly composed of the peasants on the *Siamets* and *Timars*. Their usual arms were a short sword, iron mace, coat of mail, and shield and

lance; the bow was rare among them. They formed the vanguard of the army, which they generally preceded by a day or two. Woe to the land which they visited! They came and disappeared, no one knew whither, leaving desolation in their track, and carrying off the inhabitants into slavery; for which purpose they came provided with chains. They were often, however, fatal to the Turks themselves, either by being driven in upon the main body and thus creating inextricable confusion, or by the want of fodder and provisions which their devastations occasioned. Their number was estimated at 200,000, but it was seldom that more than 25,000 or 30,000 appeared in the field at once; and by degrees, under a more regular system of warfare, they were dispensed with altogether. The auxiliaries from lands tributary to, or protected by, the Porte, such as Moldavia, Wallachia, the Crimea, Georgia, &c., ultimately became, served much in the same way as the *Akindshi*.

On the whole, when the Ottoman empire had attained its highest pitch, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the Turkish cavalry was estimated at 565,000 men: viz., 200,000 Spahis who served by tenure, 40,000 Spahis of the Porte, 200,000 *Akindshi*, and 125,000 auxiliaries. But these of course never appeared all at once, nor, when called out, were they employed in the same direction.

The Turk, naturally a horseman, was but ill adapted to the foot service. Many attempts were in vain made to form a standing corps of Turkish infantry, though a light-armed militia, called *Azab*, was occasionally raised. These amounted to some 40,000 men, but were little esteemed as soldiers. They served as food for powder, fought in the van, and at the storming of towns formed with their bodies a bridge for the Janissaries. It was these last that were the pith of the Turkish armies, and long the most formidable troops in Europe.

The Turkish foot had been weighed and found wanting, and their commander, Kara Chalil Tchendereli, threw his eyes on the Christian subjects of his master. The experiment was first made on 1000 Christian children, who were torn from their parents, compelled to embrace Islam, and trained up in all the duties of a soldier. Such was the origin of the famous corps of JANISSARIES, literally, "new troops," from *jeni*, new, and *tscheri*, a troop; a name given to them by the holy dervish Hadji Beytasch, founder of the order of the Beytaschis, still dispersed over and venerated in the Ottoman empire. At first their numbers were recruited yearly with drafts of 1000 Christian youths or with renegades; for in time many Christian youths, seeing the privileges and advantages

enjoyed by the Janissaries, entered their ranks either voluntarily, or at the instance of their parents. Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia were the chief countries whence the supply was drawn. When the Janissaries had become an established corps, a small body of soldiers headed by a captain proceeded every five years, or oftener if required by the necessities of the service[8], from place to place; the inhabitants were ordered to assemble their sons of the age of from twelve to fourteen years, from whom the captain selected the handsomest and strongest, as well as those who gave token of peculiar talent. The youths thus chosen were instructed in the seraglio at Constantinople in the Turkish language and religion, and were carefully trained in all bodily exercises: those who displayed more than ordinary abilities were destined to civil employments under the government; the rest were drafted into the Janissaries, and were condemned like monks to a life of celibacy, in order that all their energies might be devoted to the Sultan's service. By this singular institution the advantages of European talent, strength, and courage were combined with the fanatical obedience known only in the East; and one of the chief forces of the Ottomans, drawn from the very marrow of the Christians whom they had subdued, served to promote their further subjugation.

The dress of the Janissaries was a long tight coat reaching to the ankles, the skirts of which, on the march or in action, were tucked up to the waist. Their caps were of white felt with a strip hanging down behind, which served to resist a sabre cut. Their arms were at first a shield, bow and arrows, a scimitar, and a long knife or dagger. It was not till the latter part of the sixteenth century that they began to carry arquebuses. Till the time of Selim I., the commander of the Janissaries, called *Segbanbaschi*, was not nominated by the Sultan, but rose by seniority of service from the lowest ranks of their own officers. But in 1515, Selim having quelled the insolence of the Janissaries by the execution of their *Segbanbaschi*, named as their commander an AGA selected from his own household troops, and made also other alterations among the officers in the chief command. The Aga had the power of life and death over his men; he ranked higher than all other Agas, and enjoyed a seat in the Divan.

Like the Prætorian bands of Rome, the Janissaries at length became formidable to their masters. At the accession of Mahomet II. they raised a revolt, which he found it necessary to

[8] Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 8, erroneously restricts the recruiting to a term of five years. See Zinkeisen, B. iii. S. 216 Anm.

quell by a present of money; the act was converted into a precedent, and from this time forward every Sultan at his accession was obliged to court their goodwill by a donation, the amount of which went on continually increasing. Insubordination and insolence were followed by degeneracy, the consequence of the breach of ancient discipline. The first innovation was the introduction of native Turks among the Janissaries; the origin of which practice cannot be accurately ascertained, though it was certainly frequent in the middle of the sixteenth century. These Turks obtained their appointment by favour, and had not gone through the severe course of discipline to which the Christian slaves were subjected. A consequence of the introduction of the Turks was, permission to marry, which first began to be partially allowed, and before the end of the century had become general. Thus the bonds of discipline were insensibly relaxed; the children of the Janissaries next claimed to be admitted by hereditary right, and became a burthen to the state by drawing their pay and maintenance even in their infancy; while their fathers, no longer employed in actual warfare, often degenerated into peaceable tradesmen. The custom of kidnapping Christian children for recruits seems to have fallen into disuse about the middle of the seventeenth century; while that of intrusting the high offices of state to Christian slaves educated in the seraglio had already ceased under Selim II. Another cause of the decline of the Janissaries was the great increase in their numbers. At first they amounted to only 5000 or 6000 men; in the middle of the sixteenth century, they numbered from 10,000 to 15,000; and in the course of the following one, they gradually increased to 100,000, not a quarter of whom were employed in active service. Our own age has beheld their extinction.

The preceding description of the Turkish army will serve to explain the secret of their early conquests. The whole nation formed one vast camp, liable to be called into immediate service without the tedious preliminary of raising the money for their maintenance; while the Janissaries and the Spahis of the Porte constituted a standing army of the best description long before a permanent force had been organised by any modern European nation.

We will now take a brief survey of the chief civil and religious institutions of the Ottoman Turks, so far as may be necessary in a general history of Europe.

Mahomet II., though peculiarly styled *Al Fatih*, or the "Conqueror," was also eminently distinguished as a political administrator. It was he who first reduced the political usages of the Ottomans into a whole, or code, by his *Kanunamé*, or book of laws.

Solyman the Magnificent only excelled Mahomet in this respect by extending his regulations, whence he obtained the name of *Al Kanuni*, or the "Lawgiver."

The SULTAN[9] or Grand Seignior, whose chief temporal title was *Padishah*, imperial shah or great sovereign (from *pad*, protector), possessed the entire legislative power. He promulgated his decrees in *Firmans*, or simple commands, and *Hattischerifs*, or rescripts; the collection of which forms the canons to be observed by the different branches of administration. These canons he could alter by his own arbitrary will. The union of administrative power both in spiritual and temporal affairs was the grand secret of the Sultan's power. But from this resulted two consequences: it made the fate of the Ottoman empire to depend very much on the personal character of the sovereign; and it obliged him, from the weight of business which it involved, to delegate to another a great share of his power.

The officer who thus relieved the Sultan of his cares was the GRAND VIZIER[10], some of which ministers became almost the virtual sovereigns of the empire. Alaeddin, the brother of Orchan already mentioned, may be regarded as the first Grand Vizier; but his power was very inferior to that wielded by such men as Ibrahim Pasha, Rustem, or Mahomet Sokolli. It was Mahomet II. who, after the extension of his dominions by the conquest of Constantinople, first invested the Grand Vizier with extraordinary, and almost unlimited, authority. He conferred upon that minister an uncontrolled decision in all affairs of state, even to the power of life and death, subject only to the law and the will of the Sultan. He alone was in possession of the Sultan's seal, conferred upon him as the symbol of his office on the day that he entered on it, and which, fastened by a golden chain in a small box of the same metal, he carried constantly in his bosom. The seal, which was also of gold, had engraved upon it the *Tughra* (name or character) of the reigning Sultan and that of his father, with the title of "Sultan Khan," and the epithet "ever victorious." The use of the seal was limited to two purposes. It was employed to enclose the communications made by the Grand Vizier to the Sultan, and to seal up anew, after every sitting of the Divan, the chambers containing the treasure and the archives. This last duty was performed by the *Chiaus Baschi*, a kind of imperial marshal, to whom the seal was intrusted for that purpose only. State papers

[9] Bajazet I. was the first of the Ottoman house who assumed the title of "Sultan." His predecessors had contented themselves with that of "Emir."

[10] The term *Vizier* signifies "bearer of a burthen."

were not sealed, but signed with a *Tughra* resembling that on the seal, by a secretary, called *Nischandschi Baschi*. The palace of the Grand Vizier became the SUBLIME PORTE and proper seat of the Ottoman government, from his having the right to hold divans there, and to receive on certain fixed days of the week the homage of the highest officers of court and state, when they waited on him with the same ceremonial and reverence as was observed towards the Grand Seignior himself. On entering office the Grand Vizier was invested with a magnificent dress and two caftans of gold-stuff. When he appeared in public he was accompanied by a splendid train of officials of different callings and capacities, according to the business that he was about. He was honoured with various titles, all significative of his high authority: as *Vesiri Aasam*, or greatest Vizier; *Vekili Muthlak*, uncontrolled representative; *Sahibi Develet*, lord of the empire; *Sadri Aala*, highest dignitary; *Dusturi Ekrem*, most honoured minister; *Sahibi Mühr*, master of the seal; or lastly, in his relation to the army, *Serdari Eschem*, or most renowned generalissimo.[11] His income varied at different times. In the middle of the sixteenth century it was computed at 25,000 Venetian ducats, but sometimes rose to double that amount through the increased product of the farms on which it was secured. But besides this ordinary revenue, his income from indirect and extraordinary sources, such as presents from *Beylerbeys*, foreign ambassadors, and others, his share of warlike spoils, &c., was enormous, and went on increasing during the decline of the empire. The Grand Vizier alone had the right of constant intercourse with the Sultan and of speaking in his presence. Yet this mighty minister was always originally a foreigner or Christian slave; for the extraordinary qualities required for the office could rarely or never have been found among the native Turks.

The same reasons which induced Mahomet II. to augment the power of the Grand Vizier, also led him to appoint some assistants. These were what were called the viziers of the cupola, or of the bench, who had the privilege of sitting in council on the same bench, and under the same cupola as the Grand Vizier. Though subordinate to him they were his constituted advisers in all affairs of importance, and were entitled like him to three horse-tails as the ensigns of their rank. Their number was regulated by the necessities of business, but they were never to be more than six. Under such a man as Ibrahim they had but little influence, but they might always look forward to fill the post of Grand Vizier;

[11] Zinkeisen, B. iii. S. 63.

they enjoyed large incomes, and the chief commands in the army or fleet. For the most part they were, like the Grand Vizier, converted Christians of humble birth. But the name of Vizier came in process of time to be given to all governors of provinces who had attained to the rank of a pasha of three tails.

The DIVAN, or Ottoman Council, ordinarily consisted of, besides the viziers, 1. the two military judges (*Cadiaskers*), of Roumelia and Anatolia, to whom, after the conquests of Selim I. in Africa and Asia was added a third; 2. the *Beylerbeys* of Greece and Asia Minor; 3. the two *Defterdars*, or treasurers, for Europe and Asia, to whom a third was likewise added by Selim; 4. the Aga of the Janissaries; 5. the *Beylerbey* of the sea (*Capudan Pacha*), or high admiral; 6. the *Nischandschi*, or secretary who affixed the Sultan's signature. When the debate concerned foreign affairs, the interpreter of the Porte was also admitted to the sittings of the Divan.

The Divan sat regularly on four days of the week—Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday; when, after morning prayer, the members, attended by their retinues of scribes, *chiauses*, &c., took their seats with great ceremony. Refreshments were served during the sittings, which lasted till the afternoon or evening; when they were concluded with a meal in common, consisting of plain fare with water as the only beverage. The business was conducted in a short and summary method, the Grand Vizier giving his decision on the spot, which was without appeal. Silence and the greatest decorum prevailed during the proceedings. In matters of law—for everybody, rich or poor, had a right to appear before the Divan and state his case—those who committed themselves by disrespectful and indecent behaviour were bastinadoed on the spot. In the administration of justice, as well as in the conduct of political affairs, the singular advantage of the Turkish government was quick despatch, subject of course to the faults which inevitably attend such a system.

At first, and down to the time of Bajazet II., the Sultan himself presided at the Divan, and pronounced the decision. After that period he ceased to appear; but there was a niche, or box, over the seat of the Grand Vizier, in which, screened by a curtain, he might if he pleased listen to the debate. After the Divan was concluded the Sultan held a solemn audience in his apartments, in which he was made acquainted with the decisions which had been come to. The different members of the Divan appeared before him in turn; the *Nishandschi Baschi* read the proceedings, and the Sultan gave his assent, after sometimes requiring preliminary explanations.

Yet even in these audiences it was chiefly the Grand Vizier who spoke.

In affairs of the highest importance, and especially on the undertaking of a new war, the Sultan held a Divan on horseback; on which occasions he appeared mounted in the *Atmeidan*, or ancient Hippodrome, with a magnificent retinue, and asked the opinions of the vizier and other members of the Divan, who also attended on horseback. But this kind of assembly soon degenerated into an idle ceremony, and fell at length into desuetude.

After all, however, the Divan of the Grand Vizier, (the Sublime Porte), was the real council for the despatch of business. This was the central seat of the subordinate boards of the three chief executive officers; namely, the *Kiaja Bey*, the deputy, and as it were attorney-general, of the Grand Vizier; of the *Reis Effendi*, or minister for foreign affairs; and of the *Chiaus Baschi*, or home minister.

The provincial administration of the Ottoman empire was founded on that system of fiefs, or military tenures, to which we have already had occasion to allude. The Turkish dominions consisted of conquered territory, and by the laws of Islam the conqueror was the lord and proprietor of what his sword had won. A union of several *Siamets* and *Timars* constituted a district called a *Sandjak* (banner or colours), under the command of a *Sandjak-bey* (lord of the *Sandjak*), to whose banner with a horse-tail the retainers of the district resorted when called out. A union again of several *Sandjaks* formed an *Ejalet*, or government under a *Beylerbey* (lord of lords), who according to the extent of his province had a standard of two or three horse-tails. The highest of these *Beylerbeys* were the governors-general of Roumelia and Anatolia, who, as we have said, enjoyed when at Constantinople a seat in the Divan. The last and highest species of provincial governments was the *Pashalic*, consisting of a union of several *Ejalets*. Such were the Pashalics of Caramania, Amasia, &c.

Although, as we have seen, the chief strength of the Ottoman army and the political government of the empire lay in the hands of slaves who had originally been Christians, yet everything appertaining to the administration of justice, religion, and education was intrusted solely to the hands of native Turks. In the Ottoman polity, indeed, religion and justice were united, and the Koran formed the text-book of both. In a nation so essentially warlike even justice assumed a military character. The office of the *Cadiaskers*, or judges of the army, was the highest judicial dignity, and, till the time of Mahomet II., conferred upon them a rank

superior even to that of the *Mufti*. The jurisdiction of the *Cadi-askers* was not, however, confined, as their name might imply, solely to the army. Both resided at Constantinople and were members of the Divan. They were the first links in the chain of the *Great Mollas*, or men of the higher judicial rank; to which belonged besides them only the judges of the following cities—Constantinople and its three suburbs, Pera, Scutari, and Eyub, Mecca and Medina, Adrianople, Prusa, Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Smyrna, Haleb or Aleppo, Larissa and Saloniki. Then followed the *Lesser Mollas*, the judges of ten cities of the second rank. Other judicial officers of a lower class were the *Muffetisch*, or investigating officers; the *Cadis*, and their deputies, the *Naibs*. The *Cadi* gave his judgment alone, and without assistance, both in civil and criminal cases, according to the precepts of the Koran. He also discharged all the functions of a notary in making wills, contracts, and the like.

The head both of spiritual and temporal law was the *Sheik-ol-Islam*, or MUFTI. The *Mufti*, however, pronounced no judgments. His power extended only to give advice in doubtful cases: his *Fetwa*, or response, had only a moral influence, no actual effect; but this influence was so great that no judge would have presumed to give a verdict at variance with his decision. The *Mufti* was consulted by those who were dissatisfied with the sentence of their judges. Mahomet II. placed the *Mufti* at the head of the order called *Ulema*, or men learned in the law and in religion; the members of which in the earlier times engrossed in their families the exclusive and hereditary possession of the higher judicial offices, and thus formed the nearest approach to an aristocracy among the Ottomans.[12] The *Mufti* was sometimes consulted in questions of state policy, and, like the oracles of old, was not unfrequently *tuned* to give a response agreeable to the wishes of the Sultan. Into a description of the various ministers appointed for the service of the mosques it is not necessary to enter.

The history of the Ottoman Turks in Europe before the conquest of Constantinople, forms no part of our subject, and it will therefore suffice briefly to recapitulate the state at that time of their possessions in Greece and the adjacent countries.

In the reign of Mahomet I. (1413—1421), the greater part of the Greek empire was in the hands either of the Turks or of the Italians. The Peloponnesus, indeed, still belonged to the Greeks, and was divided into small sovereignties whose rulers bore the title of "Despot." This peninsula, as well as the coast from Acarnania

[12] See Von Hammer, *Des osm. Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Th. ii. S. 382.

and Ætolia to the extremity of Epirus, and the regions of Macedon and Thessaly, was thickly studded with the castles of lords or knights, who committed unceasing depredations on the inhabitants, and carried on with one another continual wars. The Venetians and Genoese, besides their colonies scattered over the empire, had factories at Constantinople, which by their fortifications and garrisons were rendered quite independent of the Greeks. The Constantinopolitans themselves had no spirit of enterprise, and thus, almost all the trade of the empire fell into the hands of the Italians. The Venetians had their own quarter in the city, enclosed with walls and gates, as well as a separate anchorage in the port surrounded with palisades. This colony was governed by a *bailo*, or bailiff, who had much the same jurisdiction as the Doge at Venice. The Byzantine settlement of the Genoese was still more important. Michael Palæologus, in reward for their services in assisting him to recover the empire, assigned to them the suburb of Pera, or Galata, on the opposite side of the harbour [13]; a district 4400 paces in circumference, which the Genoese surrounded with a double, and ultimately with a triple wall. The houses, rising in a succession of terraces, commanded a prospect of Constantinople and the sea; and had not the imperial city fallen before the Turkish arms Pera would probably have equalled the capital of the East. The Peratians were the first Christians who entered into an alliance with the Turks, and by a treaty concluded with Amurath I. in 1387 were placed on the footing of the most favoured nations. Mahomet was constantly at war with the Venetians, who enjoyed a mediate jurisdiction in many of the cities and islands of Greece, through the patrician families of Venice who possessed them. They had also spread themselves along the coast of Albania, and were, with the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, now settled in Rhodes, the chief obstacle to the progress of the Turks.

Under Amurath II. (1421—1451), the Emperor John Palæologus II. had found it expedient to purchase peace by a disgraceful treaty (1425). He ceded all the towns and places which he still possessed on the Black Sea and Propontis, except Dorcas and Selymbria; renounced the sovereignty of Lysimachia and other places on the Strymon, and agreed to pay to the Ottoman Porte a yearly tribute of 300,000 aspers. The Byzantine empire was thus reduced to the capital with a strip of territory almost overshadowed by its walls, a few useless places on the Black Sea, and the

[13] On the settlement of the Genoese at Pera, see *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, libri sei, di Lodovico Sauli. Torino, 1831.

appanages of the imperial princes in the Peloponnesus; while the greater part of the revenues of the state flowed nto the Turkish treasuries at Adrianople and Prusa.

Amurath respected the treaty which he had made with Palæologus and turned his arms against the Venetians, Slavonians, Hungarians, and Albanians. In March 1430, he wrested from Venice Thessalonica, or Saloniki, which that republic had purchased from the despot Andronicus, a conquest among the most important that the Turks had yet made in Europe. Amurath's next wars were with the Hungarians, and as the relations between that people and the Turks were for a long period of great importance in European history, it will be proper here to relate their commencement.

In 1439, Amurath II. having invaded the dominions of the Despot of Servia, that prince implored the protection of Albert II., Emperor of Germany, who was also King of Bohemia and Hungary.[14] Albert responded to the appeal and marched to Belgrade, but with an inadequate force, which was soon dissipated, either by disease or by the fear inspired by the Turks; he was compelled to abandon an expedition in which he had effected nothing, and soon afterwards died at Neszmély, between Gran and Vienna (Oct. 27th 1439). Just previously to that event Amurath had despatched an embassy to Wladislaus III., King of Poland, offering to support the pretensions of his brother Casimir to the throne of Bohemia against Albert, provided that when Casimir should have attained the object of his ambition, Wladislaus should refrain from assisting Hungary. The negociations were hardly concluded, and the Turkish ambassadors were still at Cracow, when a deputation arrived from Hungary to offer the crown of that kingdom, vacant by Albert's death, to Wladislaus; who, having determined to accept it, announced his resolution to the Turkish ambassadors, and expressed to them his wish to remain at constant peace with the Sultan. Such a peace, however, was not in Amurath's contemplation; and the civil wars which ensued between Wladislaus and the party which supported the claim of Albert's posthumous son, the infant Ladislaus, to the Hungarian throne, promised to render that kingdom an easy prey to the Turkish arms. In the spring of 1440 Amurath marched to attack Belgrade, the only place which, after the taking of Semendria and reduction of Servia, opposed his entrance into Hungary; but after sitting seven months before the town he was compelled to relinquish the attempt, with a loss of 17,000 men.

[14] For the affairs of these kingdoms see below, p. 32.

It was at this period that the house of Huniades first appeared upon the scene, destined for many years to be the chief bulwark of Europe against the Turks. John Corvinus Huniades, or John of Hunyad, the founder of it, was by birth a Wallachian, and, according to some accounts, a natural son of the Emperor Sigismund. He derived the name of Corvinus from the village of Corvinum, in which he was born[15]; that of Huniades, from a small estate so called, situated on the borders of Wallachia and Transylvania, which had been presented to him by the Emperor Sigismund as a reward for his services in Italy. John of Hunyad had increased his possessions by marrying a wealthy lady of illustrious family; and the Emperor Albert II. had made him Ban, or Count, of Szöreny. He headed the powerful party which supported the call of Wladislaus, King of Poland, to the Hungarian throne; and that prince in return, and especially for his victory at Bataszek, named him Voyvode of Transylvania and Ban of Temesvar, and conferred on him the command in the southern provinces of Hungary. John of Hunyad fixed his head-quarters at Belgrade, whence he repelled the ravages of the Turks. In these campaigns he gained several victories, of which the most decisive was that of Vasag, in 1442, which almost annihilated the Turkish army.

During these alarming wars, all eyes had been turned towards Rome, as the only quarter whence help might be expected for Christendom. But the efforts of Eugenius IV., who then filled the papal throne, had proved of little avail, and Eugenius was left to complain of the poverty of the papal treasury, the lukewarmness of the Christian princes, and the eternal dissensions of the Church, which frustrated all efficient preparations against the Turks. In 1442 his zeal was again awakened by the representations of a Franciscan monk residing at Constantinople, who painted to him in lively colours the miseries of the young Christian slaves, chiefly Hungarians, whom he daily saw dragged through the streets of that capital to be shipped off to Asia. The call of the monk was supported by embassies from the Greek emperor, the King of Cyprus, and the despots of the Peloponnesus. Touched by these appeals, Eugenius addressed a circular to all the prelates of Europe, requiring them to contribute a tenth of their incomes to the Turkish war, and promised himself to dedicate to the same object a fifth of the whole revenue of the Apostolic Chamber.[16] At the same time he despatched Cardinal Julian Cesarini into Hungary,

[15] Or according to another account, the castle of *Piatra de Corvo* in Wallachia. Engel, *Gesch. des ungarischen Reiches*, B. iii. S. 298.

[16] Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* t. ix. p. 416 (ed. 1752).

to endeavour to restore peace in that distracted country and to animate the people against the infidels. The death of Queen Elizabeth, however, the mother of the young king Ladislaus, and the recent victories of John of Hunyad, contributed more to these objects than all the exhortations of Cardinal Julian. After the demise of Elizabeth, most of the nobles who had supported her hastened to do homage to Wladislaus: and though the Emperor Frederick III., the guardian of her son, at first opposed the accession of the Polish King, yet the disturbances in his own Austrian dominions, and the imminent danger from the Turks, ultimately induced him to conclude a truce for two years.

Wladislaus, being thus confirmed upon the throne of Hungary, determined on an expedition against the infidels. The domestic troubles in which most of the European princes were then plunged prevented their giving him any assistance; yet considerable bodies of the people, chiefly French and Germans, assumed the cross, and joined the forces of Wladislaus. The van set out from Buda in July 1443, led by John of Hunyad and George Despot of Servia; the main body about 20,000 strong, under the command of Wladislaus himself, followed a day later; while Cardinal Julian was at the head of the crusaders. They penetrated to the Balkan, the ancient Hæmus, and defeated the Ottoman force which defended the approaches; but at the pass of Slulu Derbend (Porta Trajani) were repulsed, and being in great want of provisions, were obliged to make a precipitate though unmolested retreat to Belgrade, and thence to Buda. The expedition, however, made so great an impression upon Amurath, that he entered into negociations, and in June 1444 a peace of ten years was concluded at Segedin, by which it was agreed, that the Turks should retain Bulgaria but restore Servia to the Despot George, on condition of his paying half the revenue of that country to the Porte; that neither of the parties should cross the Danube; and that Wallachia should be under the protection of Hungary.

This peace, the most humiliating blow that the Turks had received since the battle of Angora, was, however, scarcely concluded when the Christians prepared to break it. The campaign of Wladislaus had excited great interest in Europe. Ambassadors from most of the European states had appeared at Buda to congratulate him on his success, and to offer him succours for another expedition; Poland alone besought him to refrain, and to turn his attention to the domestic evils of his kingdom. Cardinal Julian took advantage of the general feeling to urge the renewal of the war, and persuaded the Hungarian diet assembled at Buda to adopt

his advice. Even John of Hunyad and the Despot of Servia, who had just protested against so thoughtless a breach of faith, were carried away by the warlike ardour excited by the address of Julian. But perhaps the motive which chiefly weighed in the rupture of the peace of Segedin was the news which arrived immediately after the departure of the Turkish plenipotentiaries, that Amurath with his whole army had crossed over into Asia to quell an insurrection in Caramania; and that the fleet assembled by the Pope, and now in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, would suffice to cut off his return. The Pope absolved Wladislaus from his oath; but the only pretext which the Christians could allege for their breach of faith was that the Turks had not yet evacuated some of the surrendered fortresses. The expedition terminated in the disastrous battle of Varna (Nov. 10th 1444), in which the Christians were completely defeated, and King Wladislaus and Cardinal Julian lost their lives. This battle is memorable in a military point of view as displaying the superiority of the Janissaries over the European cavalry, although the latter soon mastered the Turkish light horse. Very few of the defeated army succeeded in reaching their homes. John of Hunyad had got into Wallachia, and was hastening into Hungary when he was seized and imprisoned by Drakul, Voyvode of Wallachia, who had owed him an ancient grudge; but after a rather lengthened imprisonment he was dismissed.

In 1446, John of Hunyad, who had now been appointed Regent and Captain General of Hungary, overran Wallachia, captured Drakul and his son, caused both of them to be executed, and conferred the principality on Dan, Voyvode of Moldavia. The wish that lay nearest the Regent's heart was to retrieve his reputation against the Turks, so sadly damaged by the defeat at Varna; but the civil war which broke out with the Emperor Frederick III., who refused to restore to the Hungarians either the person of young Ladislaus or the crown of St. Stephen, delayed for a year or two any expedition for that purpose. At length, early in 1448, a peace having been effected, by which the guardianship of Ladislaus, till he reached eighteen years of age, was assigned to the Emperor, John of Hunyad found himself at liberty to devote all his attention to the Turkish war; and though dissuaded from the enterprise by Pope Nicholas V., he crossed the Danube with a large army and pressed on with rapid marches till, on the 17th Oct. 1448, he encamped within sight of the Ottoman army on the Amselfeld, or plain of Cossova—the spot where more than half a century before the Turks had gained their first great victory

over the Hungarians. After sustaining the shock of battle three days, Hunyad was defeated by the overwhelming force of the Turks, and compelled to save himself by an ignominious flight; but the loss on both sides had been enormous, and Amurath, instead of pursuing the routed foe, returned to Adrianople to celebrate his victory. Hunyad was captured in his flight by the Despot of Servia and detained a prisoner till the end of the year, when he was liberated at the intercession of the Hungarian diet assembled at Segedin. The hard conditions of his ransom, which comprised the restoration of all the places in Hungary that had ever belonged to Servia, the payment of 100,000 pieces of gold, and the delivery of his eldest son Ladislaus as a hostage, were, however, cancelled by the convenient omnipotence of Rome, and he was released from his engagements by a bull of Nicholas V.[17] Nothing further of importance happened between the Turks and Hungarians till after the fall of Constantinople, when the exploits of John of Hunyad will again claim our attention.

The arms of Amurath were next employed by a revolt in Albania. That country was ruled in the beginning of the fifteenth century by a number of independent chieftains, among whom the families of Arianites and Castriot were distinguished by the extent of their dominion. The former were connected on the female side with the family of the Comneni, and Arianites Topia Comnenus reigned over southern Albania from the river Aous, or Voissa, to the Ambracian Gulf, or Gulf of Arta; while John Castriot was prince of the northern districts from the same river to the neighbourhood of Zenta, except that the towns along the coast belonged to Venice. Both these princes had been subdued by Amurath II. in 1423; Kroia John Castriot's capital was occupied by a Turkish garrison, and he himself and his four sons were carried into captivity.[18] After a time the father was dismissed, but the children were retained and forcibly converted to Islam, after the Turkish fashion. How one of these, George, gained the favour of the Sultan by his talents and courage, and was raised to the rank of a prince with the title of Scanderbeg, or Prince Alexander, and how he revolted, recovered his capital, and returned to the Christian faith, has been related by Gibbon.[19] The Venetians, finding great benefit from the diversion he occasioned to the Turkish arms, conferred on him the

[17] Bull, prid. Id. April. 1450, in Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* t. ix. p. 550.

[18] Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, vol. viii. p. 136, Smith's edition), from inferences drawn from the work of Marinus Barletius, places, though with hesitation, the captivity of Castriot in 1412. The date assigned by the Turkish historian Seadeddin—viz. the year 827 of the Hegira, or A.D. 1423,—seems in all respects more probable. See Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, B. i. S. 766 Anm.

[19] Ubi supra.

right of citizenship, enrolled him among their nobles, and made him their commander-in-chief in Albania and Illyria. In 1449 and 1450 Amurath conducted two immense but unsuccessful expeditions against Kroia, which were nearly the last acts of his reign, for in 1451 he expired at Adrianople.

Amurath was succeeded by his son Mahomet II., the conqueror of Constantinople (1451–1481). To relate the fall of that city, and to record the history of the imperial family in the Peloponnesus, would be only to repeat the pages of Gibbon; and we shall therefore now pass on to a brief survey of the state of the other European nations at this important epoch.

The Emperor of Germany was then the chief temporal sovereign in Europe.[20] The Roman title of *Imperator* had been revived when, on Christmas Day A.D. 800, Pope Leo III. invested Charlemagne, in the Church of St. Peter's, at Rome, with the Imperial crown and mantle, and saluted him as Emperor of the West. Hence the elective successors of Charlemagne, in Germany, still claimed to be the representatives of the Cæsars, while the electors were considered to possess the rights and privileges of the Roman Senate and people; a notion expressed in so many words at the election of Conrad IV., and repeated in the fifteenth century.[21] When the electors proceeded to choose a King of the Romans and future Emperor, they swore to elect "a temporal head of the Christian people;" for among the Germans, who regarded the position of the Emperor as analogous, in a temporal point of view, to that of the Pope in a spiritual one, the ideas of the Holy Roman Church and Holy Roman Empire were inseparable. The doctrine long prevailed in Germany that the other Sovereigns of Europe were but the vassals of the Emperor; nor were these Sovereigns themselves quite satisfied that the claim was invalid. When Sigismund visited England in 1416, several noblemen rode into the water before he landed and inquired whether he intended to exercise any manner of authority in the country; and on his replying in the negative, he was received with imperial honours.[22] Even a century later we find Cuthbert Tunstall gravely assuring Henry VIII. that he is no subject of the empire, but an independent monarch.[23]

[20] The principal sources for the early history of Germany are, besides the great collections of Eccard, Freher, Struvius, Schardius, Mencke, Pez, Kollar, Pertz and others; Schmidt, *Gesch. der Deutschen*; Pfeffel, *Hist. d'Allemagne*.

[21] Petrus de Audlo, *De Rom. Imp.* ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalt. der Reform.* B. i. S. 54.

[22] See the authorities cited by Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 249, note 6.

[23] Feb. 12, 1517. Ellis' *Letters*, 1st series, vol. i. p. 136. In 1599 it was disputed at the university of Saragossa whether the emperor was sovereign of the whole world. Gon. Davila, lib. ii.; ap. Watson, *Philip III.* vol. i. p. 53.

The King of the Romans after his election was crowned by the Archbishop of Cologne, the arch-chancellor of Italy; but the Pope alone could bestow upon him the imperial crown and the title of Emperor. Besides Italy, the German Emperor claimed dominion over a great part of the south of France. The Elector of Trèves continued to bear the title of Arch-chancellor of the Kingdom of Arles. In 1401 the Emperor Rupert had destined his son to be vicar of that kingdom; and in 1444, the Emperor Frederick III. summoned the dauphin to his assistance as a vicar of the Holy Empire. To the idea of succession to the Roman Empire must be ascribed the circumstance of the Roman code forming the basis of the law of Germany.

But in spite of his magnificent titles and pretensions, an Emperor of Germany possessed little real power. His authority was almost nominal. In theory he was the greatest of sovereigns, while practically he enjoyed hardly any jurisdiction. The power of the state was vested almost solely in the princes and nobles, and especially in the seven electors.

All the leading princely houses of Germany that have retained their power to the present time, had already established themselves in the fifteenth century. The Hohenzollerns, the ancestors of the present royal family of Prussia, were settled in the mark of Brandenburg, which electorate the Emperor Sigismund had conferred on Frederick von Hohenzollern, Burgraf of Nuremberg, for services rendered at his election, and also as a pledge for money lent. In April 1417, Frederick, who was also made Grand Chamberlain, was confirmed in the permanent possession of Brandenburg. To the north-east of Brandenburg, Prussia was held by the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who had conquered it from the idolatrous inhabitants before the middle of the thirteenth century. The Grandmaster of this order had been made a Prince of the Empire by Frederick II. In March 1454, the Prussians, disgusted with the tyranny of the Knights, who had forced them to dissolve a league of their cities, called the Convention of Marienburg, formed in 1436 with the approbation of the Emperor, placed themselves under the protection of King Casimir III. and the Polish republic, and consented to be incorporated with that kingdom on condition of retaining their own laws and form of government. A bloody war of ten years ensued, in which 350,000 men are said to have perished, and which ended unfortunately for the Teutonic Order. It was concluded by the peace of Thorn, October 19th 1466, by which the Knights ceded great part of their dominions, and consented to hold the rest under the sovereignty of Poland.

To the south-west of Brandenburg, the house of Wettin ruled in Saxony, one of the most extensive and flourishing principalities of Germany. In 1455 the two young princes, Ernest and Albert, sons of the Elector Frederick II., were carried off from the castle of Altenburg by the robber-knight Kunz, or Conrad, von Kauffungen and his companion William of Schönfels; but Kunz was arrested on the frontier of Bohemia by a collier, and Schönfels, on learning his imprisonment, voluntarily returned. These two princes became celebrated as the founders of two distinguished houses. From Ernest, the eldest, is derived the Ernestine line of Saxony, from which spring the branches of Saxe-Weimar, Gotha, Coburg, Meiningen, and Altenburg. This line possessed the Saxon electorate till 1548, when it was usurped by the Albertine line, as there will be occasion to relate in the sequel. To the latter line belong the present royal family of Saxony. At first the brothers Ernest and Albert ruled jointly at Dresden, but in 1484 they divided their dominions by a treaty concluded at Leipsic. Ernest received the electoral province of Wittenberg: the rest of Saxony was divided into two portions, of which one, consisting of the Margravate of Meissen, or Misnia, was retained by Albert; the other, composed of the Landgravate of Thuringia, fell to the Ernestine branch. Still further west lay the dominions of the Landgrave of Hesse. This Sovereign, and the Houses of Saxony and Brandenburg, concluded an agreement of confraternity and reciprocal succession at Nuremberg in 1458, which was renewed and confirmed in 1587, and again in 1614.

The two great duchies of Franconia and Suabia had become extinct in the 13th century, and the only other princely House which it will be here necessary to mention is the Bavarian one of Wittelsbach, as we shall reserve an account of that of Austria till we come to speak of the House of Habsburg. Bavaria was erected into a duchy by Charlemagne at Altenburg, in favour of Otho of Wittelsbach. Bavaria, at the time with which we are concerned, was divided into Upper and Lower. Upper Bavaria, again, was partitioned into three dukedoms, those of Baiern-Ingolstadt, Baiern-Landshut, and Baiern-München (Munich); and the Lower formed a separate dukedom, which in the early part of the fifteenth century was occupied by John of Straubingen. John, who had formerly been bishop of Liege, dying without issue in 1425, the Emperor Sigismund bestowed Lower Bavaria on his son-in-law Albert, both in right of his mother Joanna, sister of the late duke, and as a vacant fief escheated to the empire. But this arrangement being opposed by the Houses of Upper Bavaria, the collateral

line, as well as by the German States, Albert sold his claims, and Lower Bavaria was equally divided among the three collateral dukes. Subsequently all these branches became gradually extinct except that of Munich; and Albert V., the representative of that line, united all Bavaria under his dominion, after the death of George the Rich of Baiern-Landshut in 1503. To the same family of Wittelsbach belonged the Counts Palatine of the Rhine. In the neighbourhood of these princes, a number of small possessions had been gradually united into the county of Würtemberg, which in 1495 was erected into a duchy in favour of Eberhard the Elder, called also the Bearded and the Pious. Of the other temporal princes of Germany it is not here necessary to speak. That country also abounded with spiritual principalities as those on the Rhine, Münster, Bremen, &c.; which in the fifteenth century began very generally to be filled with the younger sons of princely families, a practice encouraged by the court of Rome.

Of the German Princes those who had a vote in the election of the Emperor are the most important. Originally the elective privilege was enjoyed by the States; but from the time of the Franconian Emperors, the dukes who held the great offices of the Crown, together with the three archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Trèves, had enjoyed a privilege called the *jus prætaxandi;* that is, of agreeing on the choice of an Emperor before his name was submitted to the approval of the States. Their choice might be rejected by the diet, but in those disturbed times attendance on that assembly was both a difficult and dangerous task, from which the members were glad to be dispensed; and thus in process of time only the great officers appeared, who by degrees entirely appropriated the right of election. These officers were: 1. the Archbishop of Mentz, Arch-chancellor of Germany; 2. the Archbishop of Cologne, Arch-chancellor of Italy; 3. the Archbishop of Trèves, Arch-chancellor of the kingdom of Arles; 4. the King of Bohemia, Grand Cup-bearer; 5. the Duke of Bavaria, and the Count Palatine as Grand Steward, first conjointly and afterwards alternately; 6. the Duke of Saxony, Grand Marshal; 7. the Margrave of Brandenburg, Grand Chamberlain.

It will be perceived that these princes enjoyed the elective privilege not merely from their power and the extent of their dominions, in which most of them were equalled by the Dukes of Brunswick, Meissen, and Austria, and by the Landgrave of Hesse, but also from their holding some office in the imperial household. They formed what was called the Electoral College; and their privileges were confirmed, first by the Diet of Frankfort and

Electoral Union at Rhense in 1338, and more particularly by the Diet of Nuremberg in 1355 and that of Metz in the following year, which ratified them by the famous GOLDEN BULL, so called from the golden seal affixed to it. The principal provisions of this bull, which became one of the fundamental laws of the empire, and which is conceived in the most despotic terms, are, that the number of electors be seven, in conformity with the seven golden candlesticks of the Apocalypse; that each elector hold some grand office; and that during vacancies of the Crown, or in the absence of the Emperor, the Duke of Saxony and the Count Palatine shall exercise sovereign power as vicars of the empire: the vicariate of the latter embracing Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, and the Rhenish districts; that of the former, all the provinces governed by the Saxon law. By this bull the claim of Bavaria to the electoral suffrage was entirely excluded.

The want of union produced by the sovereign power of so many independent Princes was increased by a numerous nobility who acknowledged no superior. Next to the Princes were the *Freiherrn*, or barons, who like them received their fiefs with a banner, and equally possessed the right of administering justice. Among these were families who traced their descent beyond the establishment of feudalism, and boasted that they held their possessions only under God and the sun.[24] The German Knight presents the image of feudalism more vividly than it can be found in any other country. In the northern parts of Germany, indeed, they had, at the period of which we treat, been brought under subjection to the civil power; the Emperor Rodolph destroyed many of their castles in Thuringia in 1289; but in Franconia, in Suabia, and along the banks of the Rhine, they continued even in the sixteenth century to dwell in haughty solitude in their castles, defended by deep ditches and with walls twenty feet thick, whose ruins still lend a romantic interest to those districts. Romance, however, has invested them with a charm which the sober breath of history dispels. Instead of being Knights-errant, ever ready to succour the distressed, the owners of these castles were nothing but lawless robbers, prepared for every deed of violence; armed with morion, breast-plate, and cross-bow, they lurked in the forests or scoured the highways, either in search of their private enemies or on the look-out for plunder. The Knights formed a subordinate but tumultuary power in the state: with the connivance of the Princes, they occasionally interfered in political questions; and down to the period of the Reformation we shall have to relate

[24] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 66.

such deeds of Franz von Sickingen, Götz von Berlichingen, and others.

Besides these acts of violence and robbery, the Nobles and Knights were often at variance among themselves, and carried on their *Fehden*, or private wars. Many ineffectual attempts were made to check this practice and to establish a permanent *Landfriede*, or public peace, or, at all events, to bring these wars within some bounds and regulations, as appears from an ordinance of Frederick III. in 1442; and we shall have occasion to advert, in the course of this history, to further endeavours of the like kind. So also attempts to punish criminal offences by the imperial courts, or to check them by the introduction of a general police, were for the most part utterly fruitless. In this disorganised state of society recourse was had to those secret and self-constituted tribunals which, like Lynch law in America or the *Santa Hermandad* of Spain, are sometimes found in imperfectly civilised nations. Such was the *Vehm-gericht*, or Secret Tribunal of Westphalia, whose principal seat was in the town of Dortmund, but whose ramifications extended into the most distant provinces of Germany.[25] This court is said to have originated from the severe laws of Charlemagne with respect to religion, which were confirmed by the Emperor Conrad II. two centuries later. The judges appointed to execute them extended their application to cases which had not been contemplated, and gradually spread their authority over the Empire. The officers of this mysterious tribunal, who were unknown to the people, scrutinised either by themselves or through their emissaries the most hidden actions; and all ranks of men trembled at their decrees, the more terrible as they admitted of no appeal, and which were so suddenly executed, that the sheriffs often carried about them the sword or the fatal cord with which they executed their own sentences. The *Vehm-gericht* existed till the reform of the Imperial Tribunal under the Emperor Maximilian, near the end of the fifteenth century.

In the midst of all this discord and anarchy appeared one element of hope and progress. The German cities, and especially those belonging to the Hanseatic League, had attained to great prosperity and civilisation. Art, commerce, and manufactures flourished; and Germany supplied the north and east of Europe, even to the interior of Russia, with its imports and products. Behind their walls the citizens were secure, and even in the field, by means of artillery, now coming into general use, were more than a match for the Knights and their followers, who either pos-

[25] See Wigand, *Fehm-Gericht Westphalens.*

sessed no cannon, or had no men capable of serving it. The cities also strengthened themselves, either by alliances with one another, or with various princes and nobles. On the coast of the Baltic was the centre of the Hansa, which overshadowed the power of the Scandinavian Kings, much more, therefore, that of the neighbouring German princes. In other parts of Germany, and especially in Franconia, Suabia, on the Upper Danube and on the Rhine, had arisen a number of free imperial cities, which, not being included in the dominions of any of the princes, depended immediately upon the Empire. In Suabia and Franconia these cities arose after the extinction of the Hohenstauffen dynasty in the thirteenth century; which period also witnessed the rise of what has been called the *immediate* nobility, or nobles subject to no superior lord but the Emperor. The liberties and privileges of the imperial cities were fostered by the Emperors, in order that they might afford some counterpoise to the power of the prelates and nobles. Nuremberg was especially noted for the resistance which it offered to the growing power of Brandenburg, as well as for its successful attacks upon the nobility. Its antique towers were the terror of the nobles, its magistrates the especial objects of their hatred. The Nuremberg troopers were wont to issue forth in great numbers, and often made a lucky capture. Woe to the unfortunate knight or noble who fell into their hands! Neither the intercession of his relatives nor of the neighbouring princes could save his neck from the axe of the headsman. In short, the cities were the natural enemies of the princes, prelates, and nobles, with whom they waged continual war. Outside their walls, but within the palisades which marked the boundaries of their territory, they afforded an asylum to the discontented and fugitive peasantry of the feudal lords; who, from being thus domiciled, were called *Pfahlbürger*, or burgesses of the pale.

Such a state of society as we have here described was necessarily incompatible with any strong political organisation; in fact, almost the only institution which formed a bond of union among the various German States, and gave the empire any consistency, was the Diet. Previously to the fourteenth century, the imperial authority had been something more than a shadow, and had performed that office. But this authority had been damaged by the quarrels of the Houses of Bavaria, Luxemburg, and Austria for the throne; and as the power of the Emperor declined, that of the diets, as well as of the princes and electors, increased. The authority of the diets lasted down to the time of the Thirty Years' War; after which period the various principalities assumed more distinct and

separate forms; and the general affairs of Germany, as an imperial whole, are almost swallowed up by the particular interests of its several leading states. The diets possessed the legislative, and even in some degree the executive power; and they enjoyed the all-important privileges of imposing taxes, and deciding on peace and war. The Emperor, the electoral, and other princes and nobles, appeared in the diets in person; and in the early part of the fourteenth century some of the chief cities of the empire obtained the right of sending deputies. These, however, proved a troublesome element in the assemblies. The interests of the municipal towns were distinct from, and sometimes opposed to, those of the other estates; their deputies often dissented from the decrees of the diet; and during the Hussite war in 1431, we find the cities levying their own separate army.[26] Thus by the power of the princes, on the one hand, and that of the diets on the other, the authority of the Emperors was reduced almost to a nullity. Many of them spent their lives in a state of degrading poverty, and hid their misfortunes by absenting themselves from their dominions.

At the time, however, when this history opens, a family was in possession of the imperial crown, which succeeded in rendering it hereditary, and by the wonderful increase of their power excited during a long period the jealousy and alarm of the rest of Europe. This was the House of Habsburg, or Austria, whose importance in modern European history renders it proper to give a brief account of its origin and progress.

In the interregnum and anarchy which ensued after the death of Richard, Duke of Cornwall, in 1271, who, however, was no more than a nominal Emperor of Germany, the Electors, rejecting the pretensions of Alphonso, King of Castile, and Ottocar, King of Bohemia, conferred the imperial crown, at the instance of Werner, Elector of Mentz, on Rodolph, Count of Habsburg, in Switzerland. Rodolph had distinguished himself as a valiant knight and captain in the private wars which then desolated Germany, and he had obliged Werner by escorting him through Switzerland, when on his way into Italy. The zeal of Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, was mainly instrumental in effecting the election of his uncle Rodolph; while the slenderness of the latter's possessions, and the circumstance of his having three marriageable daughters, also contributed to the same end, by disarming the fears of the Electors, and offering them the prospect of forming advantageous marriages. After his accession, Rodolph conquered from

[26] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 88.

Ottocar the provinces of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Windischmark, and in 1282, bestowed them jointly on his two sons, Albert and Rodolph, with the exception of Carinthia, which he gave to Meinhardt, of the Tyrol, in reward for his services. Thus was founded the House of Austria. Albert alone survived his father, and, in conjunction with his nephew John, inherited all Rodolph the Great's possessions at his death in 1291. Rodolph had in vain endeavoured to procure the imperial crown for his son; who was, however, elected on the deposition of Adolphus in 1298, and assumed the title of Albert I. He was assassinated in 1308 by his nephew John, from whom he had withheld some of the Habsburg possessions. Albert's son Frederick was elected, in 1314, as an anti-Emperor to Louis of Bavaria, but was overthrown at the battle of Mühldorf in 1322; and from this period till the election of Albert II. in 1438, the House of Habsburg remained excluded from the imperial throne, and were chiefly occupied with the affairs of their Austrian dominions.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century we find these possessions, which were now considerably enlarged, shared by three members of the family, of whom one, called from his poverty, Frederick with the Empty Pocket, held the Tyrol and the ancient territories of the House in Switzerland and Suabia. Frederick having, in 1415, assisted the escape of Pope John XXIII. from Constance, was excommunicated by the Council then sitting in that town, and was also placed under the imperial ban by the Emperor Sigismund. Frederick's possessions were now at the mercy of those who could seize them, and in a few days 400 towns declared against him. In this general revolt, the Swiss, with the exception of the miners of Uri, were especially active: they seized the territories so liberally bestowed upon them by the Council; and it was now that Habsburg, the cradle and hereditary castle of the family, was laid in ruins, as it has continued ever since.

From the time of Albert II., who, as we have seen, was also King of Bohemia and Hungary, the imperial crown was transmitted in the House of Austria almost as if it had been an hereditary possession; and in the course of this history we shall see the descendants of Rodolph attaining to a power and preeminence which threatened to overshadow the liberties of Europe. After the death of Albert in 1439, the Germans elected for their King, Frederick III., the elder son of Ernest surnamed the Iron, who was brother to Frederick with the Empty Pocket, and who possessed Styria, Carinthia, Istria, and other provinces. Frederick III. ruled Germany, if such an expression can be applied to his weak and miserable reign, till

1493, and he consequently occupied the imperial throne at the time when this history commences. Frederick was crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1442, and in 1451 he repaired to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope. Nicholas V., who then filled the papal chair, received him with great magnificence; but it was observed that the Emperor, till after his coronation, yielded precedence to the Cardinals. According to the strict order of this ceremony, it was necessary that Frederick should first receive the iron crown of Lombardy, which it was the privilege of the Archbishop of Milan to bestow; but Frederick having for some reason declined to enter that city, the Pope with his own hands crowned him King of Lombardy, though with a reservation of the rights of the archbishop. On the same day (March 15th) Nicholas married Frederick to Eleanor, daughter of the King of Portugal, who had met him at Siena, and three days afterwards both received the imperial crown. This coronation is memorable as the last performed at Rome, and the last but one in which the services of the Pope were ever required.[27] After the ceremony, Frederick set off for Naples, with his consort, to visit King Alphonso, uncle of his empress.

Frederick having been appointed guardian of Sigismund of the Tyrol, minor son of Frederick with the Empty Pocket, and also of the infant Ladislaus Posthumus, son of Albert II., thus administered all the possessions of the Austrian family. Austria was erected into an arch-duchy by letters patent of Frederick III., January 6th 1453, with privilege to the archdukes to create nobles, raise taxes, &c. Duke Rodolph, who died in 1365, had indeed assumed the title of Archduke, but it had not been confirmed by the Emperor.

The history of Switzerland, originally part of the German Empire, is closely connected with that of the House of Austria. In 1308[28], when Melchthal, Stauffacher, and Faust revolted from the House of Habsburg, Switzerland, or rather Helvetia, was divided into various small districts, or states, with different forms of government. Among these states were four imperial cities—namely, Zurich, Bern, Basle, and Schaffhausen; while the cantons of

[27] Charles V. was crowned by the Pope at Bologna.

[28] The cantons of Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwalden had confederated themselves before this time, as there is a document extant relating to the confederacy dated in August 1291, the year in which Rodolph of Habsburg died (Planta, *Hist. of Helvetic Confederacy*, vol. i. p. 222). But 1308 is the date of the final revolt, occasioned by the cruelties of Albert's bailiff Gesler, the builder of the fortress of Zwing Uri, near Altorf.

Besides Planta's book, Joh. von Müller, *Gesch. d. Schweitzer. Eidgenossenschaft*, and the works of Zschokke (*Schweitz. Gesch. für die Schweitzer*), may be consulted for the history of Switzerland.

Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwalden, although already enjoying a democratic form of government, were nevertheless also subject to the Empire. There were besides a number of small sovereignties, among the most important of which were those of the House of Habsburg and of the Counts of Savoy, besides ecclesiastical domains and baronial fiefs. The insurrection of 1308 was caused by the attempt of Albert I. to reduce the free districts of Helvetia to subjection. He marched an army against the patriots; but during the expedition he was assassinated by his nephew John, as already mentioned. Some years afterwards, Albert's son Rodolph again attempted to reduce the three refractory cantons, but was completely defeated by a much smaller force of the Swiss at the battle of Morgarten, November 16th 1315. After this event, the three cantons entered into a perpetual union (1318), which was gradually joined by the rest.

Under Albert and Otho, the two surviving sons of the Emperor Albert I., the House of Habsburg considerably extended their paternal dominions in Switzerland. They obtained possession of Schaffhausen, Rheinfelden, and Brisach, as well as the town and county of Rapperschwyl in fief; they were masters of Thurgau and nearly the whole of Aargau; they were lords paramount in Zug and Lucerne, in the district to the south of the Lake of Zurich, and of the town and canton of Glarus; and their territories thus almost surrounded the confederated cantons. By the death of Otho and his two sons all these possessions fell to Albert in 1344. But the example of the three confederate cantons had awakened the spirit of liberty in the neighbouring districts; Lucerne was the first to join them[29], after which the union was called the four *Waldstädte*, or Forest Cantons. Zurich was next admitted into the Helvetic Confederacy (1351), which before the end of the following year was strengthened by the accession of Glarus, Zug, and Bern. In 1385, fresh dissensions arose between the Swiss and Leopold, then head of the House of Habsburg, who endeavoured to reduce Lucerne to obedience, but was completely defeated at the fatal battle of Sempach (1386), in which he himself fell, with 2000 of his men, nearly a third of whom were nobles or knights. A desultory warfare was, however, still kept up; and in 1388 the Austrians were again defeated at the battle of Naefels. The Dukes of Austria now concluded a seven years' truce with the Swiss, which in 1394 was prolonged for twenty years; and from this period we may date the establishment of the eight ancient cantons, which enjoyed some prerogatives not shared by the five admitted after the wars with

[29] In 1332, according to Planta, vol. i. p. 297.

Burgundy. This confederacy was at first called *Les Ligues de la Haute Allemagne*, or The Leagues of Upper Germany. The names of "Swiss" and "Switzerland" did not come into use till after the expedition of Charles VII. of France in 1444, undertaken at the request of the Emperor Frederick III., who wished to defend the town of Zurich, which had claimed his protection, against the attacks of the other cantons. The French King was not unwilling to employ in such an enterprise the lawless bands which swarmed in France after the conclusion of the truce with England. The French arms were directed against Basle, which, however, made an heroic defence: the Swiss died at their posts almost to a man; and though the siege of Zurich was raised, the French did not venture to pursue the retreating enemy into their mountains. It was during this expedition that the French began openly to talk of reclaiming their rights to all the territory on the left bank of the Rhine as their natural boundary[30]; and though it was undertaken at the request of the Emperor, Charles VII. nevertheless summoned the imperial cities between the Meuse and the Vosges mountains to recognise him as their lord, alleging that they had formerly belonged to France. Verdun and a few other places complied; but as the Germans menaced him with a war, Charles was for the present obliged to relinquish these pretensions. Zurich renounced the connection which it had resumed with the House of Austria, and rejoined the Swiss Confederacy by the treaty of Einsiedeln in 1450.

In the course of the fifteenth century the Swiss began to adopt the singular trade of hiring themselves out to fight the battles of foreigners. Switzerland became a sort of nursery for soldiers, and the deliberations of their diets chiefly turned upon the propositions for supplies of troops made to them by foreign princes; just as, in other countries, might be debated the propriety of exporting corn, wine, or any other product. But these mercenary bands proved often fatal to their employers. If the price for which they sold their blood was not forthcoming at the stipulated time, they would often abandon their leader at the most critical juncture, and thus occasion the loss of a campaign; instances of which will occur in the course of the following history. The peculiar arm of the Swiss infantry was a long lance, which they grasped in the middle; and the firm hold thus obtained is said to have been the chief secret of their victories.[31] The French horsemen, when

[30] "Rumor est (Delphinum) petiisse urbem Basiliensem tanquam regni Franciæ sibi restitui."—Æneas Sylvius, *Epist.* 87.

[31] Tillier, *Gesch. des Freistaates Bern*, B. ii. S. 510; ap. Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 285.

marching to the relief of Zurich, had felt to their cost the formidable strength of the Swiss phalanx.

Closely connected with the German Empire were the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and more remotely that of Poland.[32] Albert, afterwards the Emperor Albert II., was the first prince of the House of Habsburg that enjoyed the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia; which he owed to his father-in-law, the Emperor Sigismund, whose only daughter, Elizabeth, he had married. Elizabeth was the child of Barbara von Cilly, Sigismund's second wife, whose notorious vices had procured for her the odious epithets of the "Bad" and the "German Messalina." Barbara had determined to supplant her daughter, to claim the two crowns as her dowry, and to give them, with her hand, to Wladislaus, the young King of Poland, who, though forty years her junior, she had marked out for her future husband.[33] With this view she was courting the Hussite party in Bohemia: but Sigismund, a little before his death, caused her to be arrested; and, assembling the Hungarian and Bohemian nobles at Znaym, in Moravia, persuaded them, almost with his dying breath, to elect Albert as his successor. Sigismund expired the next day (Dec. 9th 1437).

Albert was soon after recognised as king by the Hungarian diet, and immediately released his mother-in-law Barbara, upon her agreeing to restore some fortresses which she held in Hungary. He did not so easily obtain possession of the Bohemian crown. That country was divided into two great religious and political parties — the Roman Catholics and the Hussites, or followers of the Bohemian reformer John Huss, who were also called "Calixtines,"[34] because they demanded the cup in the sacrament of the Eucharist. The more violent and fanatical sects of the Hussites, as the Taborites, Orphans, &c., had been almost annihilated at the battle of Lipan in 1434, in which their two leaders, Prokop surnamed Holý, the bald, or shorn, and subsequently also called Prokop Weliky, or the Great, as well as his namesake and coadjutor Prokop the Little, were slain; and in June 1436 a peace was concluded at Iglau between King Sigismund and the Hussites. This peace was founded on what were called the *Compactata*

[32] For the history of Bohemia, see Palacky, *Gesch. von Böhmen:* for Hungary, besides the collections of Schwandtner and Katona, Pray, *Annales veterum Hunnorum, &c.*; Bonfinii, *Historia Pannonica;* Engel, *Gesch. des ungarischen Reiches;* Mailath, *Gesch. der Magyaren:* for Poland, Dlugossii, *Historiæ Polonicæ;* Jekell, *Polens Staatsveränderungen.*

[33] Engel, *Gesch. des ungarischen Reiches*, B. ii. S. 362.

[34] From *calix*, a cup. For the same reason, they were also called *Utraquists*, as receiving the Eucharist in *both* forms. The Calixtines were that moderate section of the Hussites whose tenets had been at one time adopted by the University of Prague.

of Prague, an arrangement made between the contending parties in 1433, and based on the "Articles of Prague," promulgated in 1420 by the celebrated patriot leader Ziska, who still continues to be regarded as the national hero of Bohemia.[35] These Articles, which, however, were somewhat modified in the *Compactata*, were, 1. That the Lord's Supper should be administered in both kinds; 2. That the crimes of the clergy should, like those of laymen, be punished by the secular arm; 3. That any Christian whatsoever should be authorised to preach the word of God; 4. That the spiritual office should not be combined with any temporal command. But although the peace of Iglau secured considerable religious privileges to the Hussites, a strong antipathy still prevailed between that sect and the Roman-Catholics, of which the "Wicked Barbara" now availed herself. Albert was elected King of Bohemia by the Roman Catholic party in May 1438; but the Hussites, incited by Barbara, in a great assembly which they held at Tabor, chose for their King the youthful Prince Casimir, brother of Wladislaus, King of Poland; a subject to which we have already alluded in the account of the Turks.[36] A civil war ensued, in which Albert's party at first gained the advantage, and shut up the Hussites in Tabor: but George Podiebrad compelled Albert to raise the siege; and this was the first feat of arms of a man destined to play a distinguished part in history.

The short reign of Albert in Hungary was disastrous both to himself and to the country. Previously to his fatal expedition against the Turks in 1439, to which we have already alluded, the Hungarian diet, before it would agree to settle the succession to the throne, forced him to accept a constitution which destroyed all unity and strength of government. By the famous *Decretum Alberti Regis*, he reduced himself to be the mere shadow of a king; while by exalting the Palatine[37], the clergy, and the nobles, he perpetuated all the evils of the feudal system. The deputies of towns had been summoned by Sigismund to the Hungarian diet in 1405: they were not, however, regularly called; none appeared in the present assembly, and the cities consequently obtained no privileges by the decree. The most absurd and pernicious regulations

[35] The popular tale of Ziska having directed his skin to be made into a drum, though retailed by some grave historians, is a fable. The principal articles of the peace of Iglau will be found in Palacky, *Gesch. von Böhmen*, B. iii. S. 224 f.; whose work, founded on many unpublished documents, is the best history of Bohemia.

[36] Above, p. 15.

[37] The Palatine was a magistrate next to the King in rank, who presided over the legal tribunals; and in the absence of the King discharged his functions. The office was instituted by King Ladislaus I. towards the end of the eleventh century. The *Decretum* of Albert will be found in Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 17.

were now adopted respecting the military system of the kingdom, and such as rendered it almost impossible effectually to resist the Turks. By the twenty-second article in particular, it was ordained that the arriere ban, the main force of the kingdom, should not be called out till the soldiers of the King and Prelates — for the Barons seemed to have shirked the obligation of finding troops — could no longer resist the enemy; the consequence of which was that a sufficient body of troops could never be assembled in time to be of any service.

On the death of Albert, Wladislaus III., King of Poland, was, as already said, elected to the throne of Hungary. Poland had first begun to emerge into importance in the reign of Wladislaus Loktek[38] in the early part of the fourteenth century. Its boundaries were enlarged by his son and successor, Casimir III., surnamed the Great, who having ceded Silesia to the Kings of Bohemia, compensated himself by adding Red Russia, Podolia, Volhynia, and other provinces to his dominions. Casimir, having no children, resolved to leave his crown to his nephew Louis, son of his sister and of Charles Robert, King of Hungary, although some of the ancient Piast dynasty of Poland still existed in Masovia and Silesia; and with this view he summoned a national assembly at Cracow, which approved the choice he had made. This proceeding, however, enabled the Polish nobles to interfere in the succession of the crown, and to render it elective, like that of Hungary and Bohemia; so that the Polish constitution became a sort of aristocratic republic. The nobles also compelled Louis to sign an act exempting them from all taxes and impositions whatsoever.[39] With Casimir terminated the Piast dynasty (1370), which had occupied the throne of Poland several centuries. The feudal system was entirely unknown in that country. There was no such relation as lord and liegeman; the nobles were all equally independent, and all below them were serfs, or slaves.

On the death of Louis, in 1382, his daughter Hedwig was elected Queen, whose marriage with Jagellon, Grand-duke of Lithuania, after he had previously been converted to Christianity, established the House of Jagellon on the Polish throne. Jagellon, who received at his baptism the name of Wladislaus, reigned till the year 1434; and it was he who, in order to obtain a subsidy from the nobles, first established a Polish diet.[40] Wladislaus,

[38] We have retained the initial consonant in the names of the Polish kings for the sake of distinguishing them from the Hungarian kings of the same name. Wladislaus Loktek was crowned at Cracow in 1320. Dlugoss, *Hist. Polon.* lib. ix. tom. i. p. 971.

[39] Dlugoss, *ibid.* p. 1102.

[40] *Ibid.* lib. x. p. 180.

afterwards also King elect of Hungary, was his son and successor.

Albert, besides two daughters, had left his wife Elizabeth pregnant; and the Hungarians, dreading a long minority in case she should give birth to a son, compelled her to offer her hand to Wladislaus, agreeing that the crown should descend to their issue; but at the same time engaging that if Elizabeth's child should prove a male, they would endeavour to procure for him the kingdom of Bohemia and the duchy of Austria; and that he should moreover succeed to the Hungarian throne in case Wladislaus had no issue by Elizabeth. This arrangement was highly disapproved of by Frederick, Archduke of Austria, whom Albert, on his death-bed, had appointed one of the numerous guardians of his unborn child. Scarcely had the Hungarian ambassador set off for the Court of Wladislaus with these proposals, when Elizabeth brought forth a son, who, from the circumstances of his birth, was christened Ladislaus Posthumus. Elizabeth now repented of the arrangement that had been made; and the news having arrived that the Archduke Frederick had been elected Emperor of Germany, she was induced to withdraw her consent to marry the King of Poland.[41] Messengers were despatched to recall the Hungarian ambassadors; but it was too late — Wladislaus had accepted her hand, and prepared to enter Hungary with an army. Elizabeth, however, found a party to espouse her cause, headed by her uncle Count Cilly, the brother of her mother Barbara, together with John of Giskra, a Bohemian noble, the Archbishop of Gran, and several other lords and prelates. Elizabeth and her infant son were conveyed to Stuhlweissenburg, where the child was crowned by the Archbishop of Gran. But the party of the King of Poland, especially as it was headed by John of Hunyad, proved the stronger. Elizabeth was compelled to abandon Lower Hungary and to take refuge at Vienna, carrying with her the crown of St. Stephen, which, with her infant son, she intrusted to the care of the Emperor Frederick III. (August 3rd 1440), who advanced on the crown a loan of 2500 Hungarian ducats for two years.

Hostilities were continued between the party of Wladislaus and that of Elizabeth, who raised money by pawning her domains to Frederick; but after some time, these resources being exhausted, and her opponents in great fear of the Turks, a peace was medi-

[41] According to some authorities, among whom is Æneas Sylvius, she had agreed to the marriage only in the event that her child should prove a female; while the writers of the opposite party assert that her consent was unconditional. Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 30.

ated by Pope Eugenius IV., through his legate Julian Cesarini, in order that the whole force of the nation might be directed against the infidels. Elizabeth first proposed, among other things, that Wladislaus should renounce his right and title as King of Hungary; should marry Anne, her eldest daughter, whilst his brother Casimir gave his hand to her second daughter Elizabeth; and that Wladislaus should be invested with the Hungarian regency till the infant Ladislaus had attained the age of fifteen years. But the Hungarian Council, as well as John of Hunyad, loudly rejected these conditions. Subsequently, in November 1442, Elizabeth and Wladislaus had an interview at Raab, when a peace was agreed upon, the terms of which are unknown; but it is probable that one of the chief conditions was a marriage between the contracting parties.[42] The sudden death of Elizabeth, Dec. 24th 1442, not without suspicion of poison, prevented the ratification of a treaty which had never been agreeable to the great party led by John of Hunyad, whose recent victories over the Turks gave him enormous influence. The opposition of the Emperor Frederick to the pretensions of Wladislaus, the truce concluded between them, the successful campaign of Wladislaus and Hunyad, the peace of Segedin, its violation, the unfortunate expedition to Gallipoli, the battle of Varna, and death of Wladislaus, have been already noticed.[43]

The minority of Ladislaus Posthumus also occasioned disturbances in Bohemia. In order to avoid that inconvenience, the States offered the crown first to Albert, Duke of Bavaria, and then to Frederick III., by both of whom it was refused. The two great Bohemian parties, the Catholics and the Calixtines, then agreed to elect the infant Ladislaus, and to appoint two regents during his minority. Praczeck of Lippa was chosen for that office by the Calixtines, and Meinhard of Neuhaus by the Catholics. Such an arrangement naturally led to civil discord, and after a severe struggle, Praczeck and the Calixtines obtained the supreme authority. On the death of Praczeck in 1444, the Catholics attempted to restore Meinhard; but the Calixtines again prevailed, and bestowed the Regency on the celebrated George Podiebrad. In 1450, the government of Podiebrad was confirmed by the States of Bohemia, Hungary, and Austria, assembled at Vienna; and he assumed at Prague an almost regal authority. He became the idol of the Bohemians, who, in 1451, would have elected him for their King, had not Æneas Sylvius persuaded him to remain faithful to the cause of young Ladislaus.

[42] Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 55 f.

[43] Supra, p. 17 sqq.

Meanwhile in Hungary, after the death of Wladislaus, his party gave out that he had escaped, and was still living in Poland; and it was not till his death had been fully ascertained by an embassy to his mother, Queen Sophia, that a diet was held at Pesth, at Whitsuntide, 1445, for the election of a new sovereign. By this assembly, Ladislaus Posthumus, now five years of age, was unanimously elected, and envoys were sent to demand him from Frederick, together with the crown of St. Stephen. But this demand was refused except on conditions that were inadmissible. The civil war which followed the appointment of John of Hunyad as Gubernator, or Regent, and his unfortunate campaign against the Turks in 1448, have been already mentioned. On the death of Sultan Amurath, early in 1451, John of Hunyad, like other Christian rulers, sent ambassadors to Mahomet II., and obtained from him a truce of three years. In 1453, shortly before the taking of Constantinople, Hunyad laid down his office of Gubernator, and young Ladislaus assumed the reins of government.

Such was the state of the principal nations of eastern Europe at the time when this history commences. Of Russia and the Scandinavian kingdoms there is at present no occasion to speak, as they were not yet in a condition to take a part in the general affairs of Europe; and we therefore turn to the southern and western nations. Of these the history and constitution, down to the fall of the Eastern Empire, have been so fully described by Mr. Hallam [44], that it will only be necessary to recapitulate such particulars as are indispensable to the understanding of the following pages. Italy first claims our attention[45], as the nurse of modern civilisation; and among the Italian powers the Roman Pontiff, not only as a temporal Prince, but, by his spiritual pretensions, a European power of high importance. The prestige of his authority had indeed been already grievously shaken by the schisms of the Church, and the decisions of General Councils; yet he still continued to exercise a prodigious influence on the political as well as religious concerns of Europe.

As a temporal potentate the Pope had not yet attained to the full extent of his power; nay, he hardly sat secure on his throne at

[44] In his *Middle Ages*. The reader may also advantageously consult Dr. Schmitz's *Hist. of the Midd. Ages*.

[45] For Italian history the collections of Muratori are the great storehouse: viz., his *Italicarum Rerum Scriptores*, and his *Annali d'Italia*; also the modern collection entitled *Archivio Storico Italiano*, published at Florence: Denina, *Rivoluzioni d'Italia*; Sismondi, *Républiques Italiennes*. For particular States: Venice, *Vite de' Duchi* (in Muratori, *Scripp.*); Daru, *Hist. de la République de Venise*; Hazlitt, *Hist. of Venet. Rep.*: for Milan, Simonetta, *Vita di Sforza*; Corio, *Storia di Milano*: for Florence, Fabroni, *Vita Cosmi*: for Naples, Giannone, *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli*: for Rome, Anastasius, *Vitæ Pontificum* (in Muratori), &c.

Rome. In the middle of the fifteenth century, Stefano Porcari had revived the schemes of the tribune Rienzi, a hundred years before, and endeavoured to restore the image of a Roman republic. In January 1453 the plots of Porcari were for a third time discovered; his house was surrounded by the Papal myrmidons, and he himself, with nine confederates, captured and executed. This, down to our own days, was, however, the last attempt of the sort. At this time the dominions of the Pope included the district north of Rome known as the Patrimony of St. Peter, together with some portions of Umbria, and the March of Ancona; but the Holy See asserted its claim to many other parts of Italy, and especially to the exarchate of Ravenna, as the donation of Pepin. The extent of the exarchate has been disputed; but its narrowest limits comprised Ferrara, Ravenna, and Bologna with their territories, together with the tract included between Rimini and Ancona, the Adriatic and the Apennines.[46] Its name of *Romagna* announced the Papal claim, and though many of its cities were independent of the Roman Court, some of their rulers acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pope, and accepted the title of "Vicars of the Church."[47] The family of Este at Ferrara, of Bentivoglio at Bologna, of Manfredi at Faenza and Imola, of Malatesta at Rimini and Cesena, had established their independence, though the Popes neglected no opportunity of asserting their pretensions, and often by force of arms. They also claimed Naples as a fief of the Church, by virtue of a treaty between its Norman conquerors and Pope Leo IX. in 1053; and the sovereigns of that country acknowledged themselves liegemen of the Roman See by payment of a tribute. With still less right, the Pope also asserted a feudal superiority over all the Sovereigns of Europe, claimed the states of all excommunicated princes, heretics, infidels, and schismatics, together with all newly discovered countries and islands.

The rise and progress of that enormous spiritual influence which the Roman Pontiffs acquired in Europe have been described by Mr. Hallam[48], and we shall here content ourselves with a brief description of the administrative system of the Papal Court, into which that writer has not entered.

The Court of Rome, commonly called the *Roman Curia*, consisted of a number of dignified ecclesiastics who assisted the Pope in the executive administration.[49] The Pontiff's more intimate

[46] See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlix.

[47] Guicciardini, lib. iv. c. v. p. 108 sqq. (ed. Paris, 1832).

[48] *Middle Ages*, ch. vii.

[49] The following description of the Court of Rome is principally taken from Voight, *Stimmen aus Rom*, in von Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1833.

advisers, or, as we should say, his privy council, were the College of Cardinals, consisting of a certain number of cardinal bishops, cardinal priests, and cardinal deacons.

The cardinal deacons, at first seven and afterwards fourteen in number, were originally ecclesiastics appointed as overseers and guardians of the sick and poor in the different districts of Rome. Equal to them in rank were the fifty cardinal priests, as the chief priests of the principal Roman churches were called; who, with the cardinal deacons, formed, in very early times, the presbytery, or senate, of the Bishop of Rome. From these churches they derived their titles, as, Bonifacius, *Presbyt. Tit. S. Cœciliæ*,—the title afterwards borne by Cardinal Wolsey; Paulus, *Presbyt. Tit. S. Laurentii*, &c.[50] According to some authorities, cardinal bishops were instituted in the ninth century; according to others, not till the eleventh, when seven bishops of the dioceses nearest to Rome—Ostia, Porto, Velitræ, Tusculum, Præneste, Tibur, and the Sabines—were adopted by the Pope partly as his assistants in the service of the Lateran, and partly in the general administration of the Church. In process of time, the appointment of such cardinal bishops was extended not only to the rest of Italy but also to foreign countries. Though the youngest of the cardinals in point of time, cardinal bishops were the highest in rank, and enjoyed the pre-eminence in the College. Their titles were derived from their dioceses, as the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia (Ostiensis), Placentinus (of Placentia), Arelatensis (of Arles), Rothomagensis (of Rouen), &c. But they were also frequently called by their own names. The number of the cardinals was indefinite and varying. The Council of Basle endeavoured to restrict it to twenty-four; but this was not carried out, and Pope Sixtus V. at length fixed the number at seventy.

The Council called the CONSISTORY, which advised with the Pope both in temporal and ecclesiastical matters, was ordinarily private, and confined to the cardinals alone; though on extraordinary occasions, and for solemn purposes of state, as in the audiences of foreign ambassadors, &c., other prelates, and even distinguished laymen, might appear in it.

Besides the cardinals and other high prelates, the Court of Rome was also formed by a great number of Papal officers, who had each

[50] Ecclesiastical districts, or parishes, were called *tituli*, titles. The title of *cardinal* was not peculiar to the priests of Rome. The priests of all episcopal, or metropolitan, cities were distinguished by that name from those who ministered in villages or chapels. The *curés* of several French cities, as Sens, Troies, Angers, Soissons, were called *curés-cardinaux* down to the Revolution. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. iii. p. 99.

his peculiar department. Such were the officers of the Roman Chancery, of whom the *Protonotary*, or *Primicerius*, was the chief. He was also called *Datarius*, from his affixing the date to acts of grace, grants of prebends, &c.; whence the name of *Dataria* for that department. Under him was the Secretary of the Papal Bulls (*Scriptor Literarum Apostolicarum*), who was also the Pope's chamberlain. The manufacture of Bulls was conducted by a college of seventy-two persons, of whom thirty-four clothed in violet, and more distinguished than the rest, drew up from the petitions signed by the Pope, the minutes of the Bulls to be prepared from them in due and regular form. The rest of this college, who might be laymen, were called *Examiners*, and their office was to see that the Bulls were drawn up in conformity with the minutes. The *Taxator* fixed the price of the Bulls, which varied greatly according to their contents; the *Plumbator* affixed the leaden seal, or *bulla*, whence the instrument derived its name.

There were three Courts for the administration of justice; viz. a Court of Appeal, called in early times *Capella*, but afterwards better known by the name of *Rota Romana*; the *Signatura Justitiæ*, and the *Signatura Gratiæ*. The *Rota Romana* was the highest tribunal of the Church. Its members, called *Auditores Rotæ*, were fixed by Pope Sixtus IV. at twelve, and although paid by the Pope, were not necessarily Italians, but were often mixed with French, Spaniards, and Germans. The *Signatura Gratiæ*, where the Pope presided in person, and of which only select cardinals or eminent prelates could be members, decided cases which depended on the grace and favour of the Pope. The *Signatura Justitiæ*, besides various other legal affairs, especially determined respecting the admissibility of appeals to the Pope.

To compliment and refresh the Pope, his cardinals and courtiers, with presents, was a very ancient custom; but the numerous gifts of money which annually flowed to Rome were only one of the means which served to fill the Papal treasury. Another abundant source was the Papal Bulls, of which a great quantity was published every year. It was not the Apostolic Chamber alone that benefited: every officer employed in preparing the Bulls took his toll, from the Chief Secretary down to the Plumbator. Among other sources of revenue, besides the regular fees derived from investitures, &c., were the sale of indulgences and dispensations, the announcement of a year of grace, and what was called the *Right of Reservation*, by which the Popes claimed the privilege of filling a number of ecclesiastical offices and vacant benefices. This means had been gradually so much extended that at the time of the Schism offices were publicly

sold, and even the inferior ones brought large sums of money.[51] It might be truly said with Jugurtha, *Romæ omnia venire* — at Rome all things are venal. Never was so rich a harvest reaped from the credulity of mankind.[52]

It remains to say a few words respecting the mode of electing the successors of St. Peter. In early times, the Pope was chosen by the people as well as by the clergy; nor was his election valid unless confirmed by the Emperor; till at length, in 1179, Pope Alexander III. succeeded in vesting the elective right solely in the cardinals. In order to a valid election it was necessary that at least two thirds of the college should agree; but as this circumstance had frequently delayed their choice, Pope Gregory X., before whose elevation there had been an interregnum of no less than three years, published, in 1274, a Bull to regulate the elections, which afterwards became part of the Canon Law. This Bull provided that the cardinals were to assemble within nine days after the demise of a Pope; and on the tenth they were to be closely imprisoned, each with a single domestic, in an apartment called the CONCLAVE, their only communication with the outward world being a small window through which they received their food and other necessaries. If they were not agreed in three days, their provisions were diminished; after the eighth day they were restricted to a small allowance of bread, water, and wine; and thus they were induced by every motive of health and convenience not unnecessarily to protract their decision.

Such was the Papal government. The remainder of Italy was divided by a number of independent powers, of which it will be necessary to mention only the more considerable. These were two monarchies, the Kingdom of Naples and the Duchy of Milan; and three republics, two of which, Venice and Genoa, were maritime and commercial; the third, Florence, inland and manufacturing.

Of these republics, Venice was the foremost. Her power and pretensions both by sea and land were typified in her armorial device—a lion having two feet in the sea, a third in the plains, the fourth on the mountains.[53] Her territorial dominions, were, however, the offspring of her vast commerce and of her naval supremacy; and it is as a naval power that she chiefly merits our

[51] Le Bret, *Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staats- und Kirchengeschichte*, B. iii. S. 7 ff.

[52] See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, t. vi., and Mosheim, *Instit. Hist. Eccl.*; Thomassin, *Vetus et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*; Walter, *Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts*; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der christlich-katholischen Kirche*; and the Jesuit Hunold Plattenberg, *Notitia Congregationum et Tribunalium Curiæ Romanæ*, 1693.

[53] See the letter of the Emperor Maximilian I. to the Elector of Saxony, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 179.

attention. On the sandbanks formed by the alluvial deposits of the Brenta, the Adige, and other rivers, Venice, by many ages of industry and enterprise, had grown so great that towards the end of the thirteenth century she claimed to be Queen of the Adriatic, and extorted toll and tribute from all vessels navigating that sea. Every year on Ascension Day, the Doge repeated the ceremony of a marriage with that bride whose dowry had been wafted from every quarter of the globe, when, standing on the prow of the Bucentaur, he cast into her waters the consecrated ring, exclaiming: "Desponsamus te, Mare, in signum veri perpetuique dominii."[54] Some rag of alleged right commonly cloaks the most extravagant pretensions, and accordingly the Venetians pleaded a donation of Pope Alexander III., who had said to their Doge: — "The sea owes you submission as the wife owes her husband, for you have acquired the dominion of it by victory." Some subsequent holders of the see of St. Peter were not, however, inclined to recognise this liberal gift of their predecessor; and it is related that Julius II. once asked Jerome Donato, the Venetian ambassador, for the title which conferred on the republic the dominion of the gulf. "You will find it," replied Donato, "endorsed on the deed by which Constantine conveyed the domain of St. Peter to Pope Silvester."

We need not trace all the steps by which the Venetians gradually acquired the large possessions which they held in the middle of the fifteenth century, many of which had been acquired by purchase. Thus, the Island of Corfu, as well as Zara in Dalmatia, was bought from Ladislaus of Hungary and Naples; Lepanto and Corinth from Centurione, a Genoese, and Prince of Achaia; Saloniki from Andronicus, brother of Theodore, Despot of the Morea, which, however, was wrested from their hands by the Turks in 1430. As a naval power, the views of Venice were chiefly directed to the acquisition of maritime towns and fortresses; but in Italy they were also straining every nerve to extend their territory, and had already made themselves masters of Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Ravenna, Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, the Friuli, and a great part of the Cremonese.

Venice presents, perhaps, the most successful instance on record of an aristocratical republic, or oligarchy. We shall not here enter into the details of its government, which have been described at length by Mr. Hallam.[55] However unfavourable to domestic

[54] "We betroth thee, O Sea, in sign of our lawful and perpetual dominion."

[55] *Middle Ages*, vol. i. ch. iii. pt. ii. That writer, however, appears to have omitted the *Zonta*, or Giunta, and the State Inquisitors. Daru's account of the Inquisitors is now recognised as erroneous and exaggerated. (*Hist. de Venise*, liv. xvi. § 20.) His errors on this and other subjects have been rectified by Count

liberty, the government of Venice was admirably adapted to promote the interest of the state in its intercourse with other nations, and from a remote period its diplomatic service was admirably conducted. As early as the thirteenth century its ambassadors were instructed to note down everything worthy of observation in the countries to which they were sent; and these reports, or *Relazioni*, were read before the *Pregadi*, or Senate, and then deposited among the archives of the state. The practice was continued to the latest times; and there is a *Relazione* of the early period of the French republic, full of striking and impartial details.[56]

Under the Venetian constitution, the power of the Doge was very limited, and, indeed, he was often no more than the unwilling puppet of the Council;—a fact abundantly illustrated by the tragical story of Francesco Foscari, who held the dignity of Doge from 1423 to 1457, and consequently at the time when Constantinople fell. During his reign—if such it can be called, for to himself it was little else than a source of bitterness and humiliation—Venice reached her highest pitch of prosperity and glory. Continually thwarted by the ruling oligarchy, Foscari had twice tendered his resignation, which was, however, refused; and on the last occasion, in 1443, he was obliged to promise that he would hold the office during life. A year or two afterwards he was compelled to pronounce sentence of banishment on his only surviving son, Jacopo, accused of receiving bribes from foreign governments. Still graver charges were brought against Jacopo, who died an exile in Candia, in January 1456. The aged Doge himself was deposed in 1457, through the machinations of his enemy Loredano, now at the head of the Council of Ten. He retired with the sympathy of the Venetians, which, however, none ventured to display; and a few days afterwards he expired. With short intervals of peace, he had waged war with the Turks thirty years; and it was during his administration that the treaty was concluded with them which we shall have to record in the sequel.

Before science had enlarged the bounds of navigation and opened new channels to commercial enterprise, Venice, from its position, seemed destined by nature to connect the Eastern and the Western Worlds. During many ages, accordingly, she was the chief maritime and commercial state of Europe. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, more than 3300 Venetian merchantmen,

Tiepolo, in his *Discorsi sulla Storia Veneta, &c.*, and by Romanin, *Gli Inquisitori di Stato*. Comp. Hazlitt, *Ven. Rep.* vol. iii. p. 56 sq.

[56] Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, Vorrede. Copies of these papers were frequently made, which have been preserved in some of the principal libraries of Europe, and form valuable and authentic materials for history.

employing crews of 25,000 sailors, traversed the Mediterranean in all directions, passed the Straits of Gibraltar, coasted the shores of Spain, Portugal, and France, as the vessels of Phœnicia and Carthage had done of old, and carried on a lucrative trade with the English and the Flemings. The Venetians enjoyed almost a monopoly of the commerce of the Levant; but in that with Constantinople and the Black Sea they were long rivalled, and indeed surpassed, by the Genoese.[57]

Yet in the middle of the fifteenth century the commerce and the power of Genoa, the second maritime republic of Italy, were in a declining state. As the Venetians enjoyed an almost exclusive trade with India and the East, through the ports of Egypt, Syria, and Greece, so the Genoese possessed the chief share of that with the northern and eastern parts of Europe. The less costly, but perhaps more useful, products of these regions—wax, tallow, skins, and furs, together with all the materials for ship-building, as timber, pitch and tar, hemp for the sails and cordage—found their way to the ports of the Black Sea, down the rivers which empty into it; and it was along these shores that the Genoese had planted their colonies. Early in the fourteenth century they had founded Caffa, in the Crimea; and this was followed by the planting of other colonies and factories, as Tana, near Azof, at the mouth of the Tanais, or Don, and others; some of which, however, were shared by the Venetians and other Italians. All the trade of this sea necessarily found its way through the Bosphorus, where it was commanded by the Genoese and Venetian establishments at Constantinople.

The rival interests of their commerce occasioned, during a long period, bloody contests between the Venetians and Genoese for the supremacy at sea. Genoa had not the wonderfully organised government and self-supporting power of Venice; she lacked that admixture of the aristocratic element which gave such stability to her rival, and was frequently obliged to seek a refuge from her own dissensions by submitting herself to foreign dominion: yet such was the energy of her population and the strength derived from her commerce, that she was repeatedly able to shake off these trammels, as well as to make head against her powerful rival in the Adriatic. We find her by turns under the protection of the Empire, of Naples, of Milan, of France; but as the factious spirit of her population compelled her to submit to these

[57] An elaborate statement of the commerce of Venice in 1423, will be found in the speeches of the Doge Mocenigo just before his death. Hazlitt, *Ven. Rep.* p. 27—35.

powers, so the same cause again freed her from their grasp. In 1435, the Genoese revolted from Philip Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, because that sovereign had dismissed Alphonso V., King of Naples, whom he had taken prisoner. From hereditary hatred to the Catalans, the Genoese had supported the French prince René d'Anjou, in his claims to the Neapolitan throne, against the Spaniard Alphonso, and they now allied themselves with Venice and Florence against the Duke of Milan. This revolution, however, was followed by twenty years of civil broil, in which the hostile factions of the Adorni and Fregosi contended for the supreme power and the office of Doge; the most important political and commercial interests of the republic were abandoned at the critical moment of the triumph of the Turks in 1453; and at that period the name of Genoa is scarcely heard of in the affairs of Italy.

Florence, the third great Italian republic, presents a striking, and in some respects agreeable, contrast to those just described. Not so grasping as they, nor so entirely absorbed in the pursuit of material interests, her popular institutions favoured the development of individual genius, which the wealth derived from trade and manufactures enabled her to encourage and foster. Her inland situation and the smallness of her foreign commerce rendered Florence more essentially Italian than either Venice or Genoa; and accordingly we find her taking a stronger interest in the general affairs of Italy, and in the maintenance of its political equilibrium.[58] The Florentine government was freer than that of Venice, and more aristocratic than that of Genoa; a democracy, indeed, but led by the large-minded, liberal, and cultivated chiefs of the House of Medici. The commercial riches of that family enabled them to display their taste and generosity; and, under their auspices, Florence became the mother of modern European art and literature.

It is not our purpose to enter into the obscure and intricate details of the Florentine constitution, which have been fully described by Mr. Hallam.[59] It will suffice to recall to the reader's memory that its basis was popular and in a great degree mercantile, resting on what were called the *Arts* (*Arti*), which were, in fact, the same as the guilds, or companies of trades, in England or Flanders. These were twenty-one in number; namely, seven superior ones, called the *Arti Majori*, which included the professional classes, merchants, and wholesale dealers, as lawyers and notaries, physicians and druggists, importers of foreign cloth,

[58] See Sismondi, *Républ. Ital.* ch. lvii. t. viii. p. 34.

[59] *Middle Ages*, chap. iii. pt. ii.

woollen merchants, silk merchants, and furriers; and fourteen *Arti Minori*, comprehending the lesser trades and retail dealers. It was only from among members of the *Arti* that the Priors (*Priori*), or chief executive magistrates of the state, could be elected. These magistrates, ultimately eight in number, were chosen every two months, and during their tenure of office lived at the public expense. After the establishment of the militia companies, the Gonfalonier [60] of Justice, who was at the head of them, was added to the *Signoria*, or executive government, and, indeed, as its president. To assist the deliberations of the Signory, there was a college composed of the sixteen Gonfaloniers of the militia companies, and of twelve leading men called *Buonuomini*, literally, *good men*, to whose consideration every resolution or law was submitted before it was brought before the great councils of the state. These councils, which were changed every four months, were the *Consiglio di Popolo*, consisting of 300 plebeians, and the *Consiglio di Comune*, into which nobles also might enter. In extraordinary conjunctures, the whole of the citizens could resolve themselves into a sovereign assembly of the people, or parliament, which was called *Farsi Popolo*.

Among the changes introduced into the Florentine constitution by Giano della Bella, towards the end of the thirteenth century, was the disqualification of the nobles to hold office. This gave rise to a singular practice. A noble might be *elevated* to the rank of a commoner, and to the enjoyment of civil rights, by his name being struck off the rolls of nobility—a proceeding, however, which does not appear to have deprived him of the privileges naturally belonging to his station; on the other hand, an unpopular plebeian might be ennobled, and thus disfranchised. But, besides the ancient hereditary nobility, there gradually sprung up in a commercial town like Florence a sort of plebeian nobles, or *Novi Homines*, whose pretensions rested only on their wealth and in the discharge of the higher municipal offices; such were the Ricci, the Alberti, the Medici, and others, who, in process of time, came themselves to be regarded as aristocrats by the democratic party.

The most flourishing period of the Florentine republic was the half century during which it was under the government of the Guelf, or aristocratic party of Maso de' Albizzi and his successor, from 1382 to 1434. The measures of these rulers were in general wise and patriotic; they increased the prosperity of Florence, and at the same time upheld the liberties of Italy; and their credit was

[60] *Gonfalonere* means, literally, a *standard-bearer;* from *gonfalone*, a standard, or banner.

sustained by a series of brilliant conquests, which subjected Pisa, Arezzo, Cortona, and, in short, half Tuscany, to the Florentine dominion. Meanwhile the magistrates lived in a plain, unostentatious manner, and abused not their power for their own private ends; the people, too, lived frugally at home, while the public magnificence was displayed in the churches, palaces, and other buildings: valuable libraries were collected; and painting, statuary, and architecture flourished. At this time we are told that Florence counted 150,000 inhabitants within her walls, and enjoyed a revenue of 300,000 gold florins, or about 150,000*l.* sterling. There were 200 woollen manufactories, which employed 30,000 hands, twenty wholesale cloth merchants, and eighty bankers who had bureaux and agents in all parts of Europe; and though the situation of Florence excluded it from that large share of foreign commerce enjoyed by Genoa and Venice—for it had no port of its own till it acquired Pisa by conquest, and Leghorn by purchase from the Genoese early in the fifteenth century—yet even previously it had not been entirely destitute of maritime trade, finding a harbour for its ships either at Pisa, or in the Sienese port of Telamone.

In 1434, Cosmo de' Medici succeeded in overthrowing Rinaldo de' Albizzi and his party, and seizing the reins of government. The first known member of the Medici family was Salvestro, who, in 1378, had conducted a successful insurrection of the *Ciompi*, or Florentine populace. During the supremacy of the Albizzi, Giovanni de' Medici, the father of Cosmo, had filled some of the highest offices of state; and at his death, in 1429, Cosmo took the direction of the party which had been formed for the purpose of limiting the authority of the ruling oligarchy.. Cosmo is described by Machiavelli as of a generous and affable temper; of a demeanour at once grave and agreeable, he possessed, in addition to his father's virtues, far more talent as a statesman. The revolution of 1434, by which he attained the supreme power, must, however, be regarded as inaugurating the fall of the Florentine republic. In the previous year Cosmo had been banished by the party of Albizzi, and his recall was signalised by many acts of tyranny towards his opponents. He continued to hold power till his death in 1464; so that he was the leading man at Florence at the period chosen as our epoch. After seizing the government, he continued to follow the trade of a merchant and banker; and during his long administration, his views were constantly directed to the aggrandisement of his family. The preceding administration of the Albizzi, although more beneficial to their country, is almost forgotten, because, like the princes before Agamemnon, they found no bard or historian to record their

praise; whilst Cosmo de' Medici, a munificent patron of literature, had the good fortune to be the friend of many eminent writers. As his power was chiefly supported by the lower classes, he was enabled to extend it by means of his wealth; and he at length succeeded in reducing the government to a small oligarchy, having, in 1452, vested the privilege of naming to the Signory in only five persons. To support his own dominion he courted the friendship of the tyrant Francis Sforza, and, instead of endeavouring to erect a free state in Lombardy, assisted that prince to oppress the Milanese.

Sforza, a *condottiere* and soldier of fortune like his father before him, obtained Milan partly by a fortunate marriage and partly by his arms. The history of the Visconti, his predecessors in the duchy, is little more than a tissue of crime and treachery, of cruelty and ambition. Originally an archbishopric, John Galeazzo Visconti procured in 1395 the erection of Milan as a duchy and imperial fief, by a treaty with the Emperor Wenceslaus and the payment of a large sum of money. This transaction introduced a new feature into Italian politics. The famous parties of the Guelfs and Ghibelins, whose names remained more or less in use till the end of the 15th century, had at first little or nothing to do with the internal affairs of the different Italian states: they were merely, in a general sense, the watchwords of Italian liberty as opposed to imperial and Teutonic despotism: the Guelfs supporting the policy of Rome, and the Ghibelins that of the Emperor. Thus some Italian republics were Ghibelin, whilst several tyrants had arisen among the Guelfic cities. But after the Visconti had established themselves at Milan and acquired a preponderating influence in Italy, they began to consider their interests as indissolubly connected with monarchical principles; and from this period every tyrant or usurper, if he had before been Guelf, became Ghibelin, and courted the friendship and protection of the dukes of Milan; while, on the other hand, if a Ghibelin city succeeded in throwing off the yoke of its prince, it raised the Guelf standard, and sought the alliance of Florence, a city pre-eminently Guelf; and thus those party names became the symbols of domestic as well as foreign liberty or slavery.

The Duchy of Milan descended in time to Philip Maria Visconti, the younger of Galeazzo's two sons. Philip had no children except an illegitimate daughter Blanche; and Francis Sforza, whom Pope Eugenius IV. had made sovereign of the March of Ancona and Gonfalonier of the Church, aspired to her hand, in the hope that by such a marriage he might eventually establish

himself in the Milanese succession. His courtship was somewhat rough; in order to win the daughter he made war upon the father. After the return of Cosmo de' Medici to Florence and the banishment of his rival, Rinaldo de' Albizzi, Visconti, at the instance of the latter, having engaged in a war with Florence and Venice, Sforza entered the service of the Florentines. His operations were, however, unsuccessful, and he found himself entangled in a most dangerous position near the castle of Martinengo, when he was unexpectedly relieved by a message from Duke Philip Maria. Disgusted with the insolence of his own captains, who, in contemplation of his death, were already demanding different portions of his dominions, Philip offered Sforza the hand of his daughter Blanche, with Cremona and its territory as a dowry, and left him to name his own conditions of peace. The marriage was accordingly celebrated in October 1441; but Visconti soon repented of his bargain, and entered into a new war in order to ruin his son-in-law, who again took the command of the Venetian and Florentine armies. Being hard pressed, the Duke had again recourse to Sforza, and offered him the Milanese succession as the price of his deserting his employers. The point of honour remained to be considered, on which Sforza consulted his friend, Cosmo de' Medici, who advised him to follow no rule but his own interests, and to disregard his obligations to two states that had employed him only for their own advantage.[61] Visconti afterwards seemed disposed to break this agreement also; but scarcely had the reappearance of danger from the further success of the Venetians again obliged him to throw himself into the arms of Sforza, when he was suddenly carried off by a dysentery, August 13th 1447.

With Philip Maria terminated the dynasty of the Visconti, which, as bishops and dukes, had ruled Milan 170 years (1277—1447). As he left no male heirs, or, indeed, legitimate children of any kind, his death occasioned four claims to the succession, which must here be stated, as they formed the subject of wars and negociations which it will be our business to relate in the following pages. These claims were—1. That of the Duke of Orleans, founded on his being the son of Valentina Visconti, eldest sister of the late Duke; 2. That of Blanche, Philip's illegitimate daughter, and of her husband Sforza, who could also plead that he had been designated by Philip as his successor; 3. That of Alphonso, King of Naples, which rested on a genuine or pretended testament of the deceased

[61] Simonetta, lib. viii. p. 148 (ed. 1544). This writer, who was Sforza's secretary, and who has written a valuable history of those times, lets out some dirty secrets, which convey a strange idea of the political morality then in vogue.

Duke; 4. That of the Emperor of Germany, who, in default of heirs, claimed the duchy as a lapsed fief.

The question between Blanche and the House of Orleans rests on the issue, whether a legitimate collateral succession were preferable to an illegitimate but direct one? According to the usages of those times, when bastardy was not regarded as so complete a disqualification as it is at present, and when there were numerous instances of illegitimate succession in various Italian states, this question should perhaps be answered in the negative. Sforza's pretensions, as well as those of the King of Naples, rested on the question, whether the Duke had power to appoint in default of natural heirs; and, if so, which of the two were the more valid appointment: but it must also be recollected that Sforza's claim was further strengthened by his marriage with Blanche. Thus far, then, we might, perhaps, be inclined to decide in favour of Sforza. But the claim of the Emperor remains to be considered. The charter to the Ducal House given by Wenceslaus at Prague, October 13th 1396, limited the succession to males, sons of males by a legitimate bed, or, in their default, to the *natural male* descendants of John Galeazzo, after they had been solemnly legitimated by the Emperor.[62] Milan, therefore, was exclusively a *male* fief. But there were no male heirs of any kind, nor has it been shown that the Duke had any power of appointment by will or otherwise. This seems to make out a clear case in favour of the Emperor, according to the general usage respecting fiefs, unless his original power over the fief should be disputed. But this was clearly acknowledged by John Galeazzo when he accepted the dukedom at his hands, and had indeed been always previously recognised by the Ghibelin House of Visconti. It is true, as a modern writer observes[63], that the sovereignty lay properly with the Milanese people; but they were unable effectually to assert it, and subsequently the pretensions actually contested were not those of the Emperor and the people, but of the Emperor and the claimants under the title of the Visconti.

The people, indeed, after the death of the Duke, under the leadership of four distinguished citizens, established a republic, while the council acknowledged Alphonso of Naples, and hoisted on the palace the Aragonese flag. Some of the Lombard towns, as

[62] *Annales Mediolanenses*, t. xvi. p. 128, ap. Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. ix. p. 282.

[63] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. ix. p. 263. Yet the same writer admits the efficacy of the investiture of Wenceslaus: "Les Viscontis reçurent *une nouvelle existence* par les diplomes de Wenceslas; ils furent dès lors considérés comme *les seigneurs naturels*, ainsi qu'on l'exprimait, et non plus comme les tyrans de la Lombardie." —*Ibid.* t. vii. p. 345.

Pavia, Parma, and others, also erected themselves into independent republics; some submitted to Venice, others to Milan; and Asti admitted a French garrison in the name of Charles, Duke of Orleans. The Venetians refused to give up the territories which they had conquered; and, under these circumstances, the republic of Milan engaged the services of Sforza, who thus became for a while the servant of those whom he had expected to command, though with the secret hope of reversing the position. It does not belong to our subject to detail the campaigns of the next two or three years. It will suffice to state generally that Sforza's operations against the Venetians were eminently successful, and that particularly by the signal defeat which he inflicted on them at Caravaggio, Sept. 15th 1448, when nearly their whole army was captured, they found it politic to induce him to enter their own service, by offering to instate him in the Duchy of Milan, but on condition of his ceding to Venice the Cremonese and the Ghiara d'Adda. The Venetians, however, soon perceived that they had committed a political blunder in handing over Milan to a warlike prince instead of encouraging the nascent republic; and disregarding their engagements with Sforza, they concluded at Brescia a treaty with the Milanese republicans (Sept. 27th 1449), and withdrew their troops from Sforza's army. But that commander had already reduced Milan to a state of famine; and knowing that there was within its walls a former officer of his own, Gaspard di Vimercato, on whose services he might rely, Sforza boldly ordered his soldiers to approach the city, laden with as much bread as they could carry. At a distance of six miles they were met by the starving population; the bread was distributed, and Sforza advanced without resistance to the gates. Ambrose Trivulzio and a small band of patriots would have imposed conditions before he entered, and made him swear to observe their laws and liberties: but it was too late — the populace had declared for Sforza; there were no means of resisting his entry; and when he appeared on the public place, he was saluted by the assembled multitude as their Duke and Sovereign.

This revolution was accomplished towards the end of February 1450. During the next few years, however, Sforza had to contend with the Venetians for the possession of his dominions. The capture of Constantinople caused the Italian belligerents to reflect on the pernicious nature of the contest in which they were engaged; and Pope Nicholas V. summoned a congress at Rome to consider of the means of making head against the common enemy. None of the Italian powers, however, were sincere in these negociations;

not even Nicholas himself, who had learned by experience that the wars of the other Italian States assured the tranquillity of the Church. The Venetians, exhausted by the length of the war, and finding that the congress would not succeed in establishing a general peace, began secretly to negociate with Sforza for a separate one. This led to the Treaty of Lodi, April 9th 1454. The Marquis of Montferrat, the Duke of Savoy, and other princes, were now compelled to relinquish those portions of the Milanese which they had occupied; and in this manner, together with the cessions of the Venetians, Sforza recovered all the territories which had belonged to his predecessor.[64]

The remaining Italian States, with the exception of the Kingdom of Naples, are not important enough to arrest our attention. The chief of them were Ferrara, then ruled by the illustrious House of Este, Mantua, under the Gonzagas, and Savoy. The Counts of Savoy traced their genealogy from the tenth century. The Emperor Sigismund, in the course of his frequent travels, having come into Savoy, erected the county into a duchy in favour of Amadeus VIII., who was afterwards Pope Felix V., by letters patent granted at Chambéry, February 19th 1416.[65] Sigismund exercised this privilege on the ground that Savoy formed part of the ancient German kingdom of Arles, and in consideration of a paltry loan of 12,000 shield-francs.

At the time when this history opens, Alphonso V., surnamed the Wise, had been more than ten years in possession of the Neapolitan throne, after a hard struggle with a rival claimant, the French Prince René d'Anjou. The pretensions of the House of Anjou were originally derived from the donation of Pope Urban IV. in the middle of the 13th century. The Norman conquerors of Naples had consented to hold the kingdom as a fief of the Roman See, and the Norman line was represented at the time mentioned by Conradin, grandson of the Emperor Frederick II.; whose uncle Manfred, an illegitimate son of Frederick, having expelled him and usurped the throne, Urban offered it to Charles, Count of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. of France. Manfred was defeated and slain in the battle of Benevento, 1266; and two years afterwards Conradin, who had been called in by the Neapolitans, was also defeated at Tagliacozzo, and soon after put to death by order of Count Charles, who thus established in Naples the first House of Anjou. The crown was, however, disputed by Don Pedro III., King of Aragon, who had married a daughter of

[64] Sismondi, *Républ. Ital.* t. ix. p. 415 sqq.

[65] Guichenon, *Hist. Généal. de la Royale Maison de Savoie*, p. 466.

Manfred; a war ensued, and Pedro succeeded in seizing Sicily, and transmitting it to his posterity. The first House of Anjou continued in possession of Naples down to the reign of Queen Joanna I.; who, having been dethroned in 1381 by Charles of Durazzo, her heir presumptive, she with the sanction of the Pope called in from France a younger branch of the house — namely, Louis, Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V., whose son, after the assassination of Charles of Durazzo in Hungary in 1385, actually ascended the throne with the title of Louis II. The reign, however, of this second House of Anjou was but short. Louis was driven out the same year by Ladislaus, son of Charles of Durazzo, who, in spite of all the efforts of Louis, succeeded in retaining the sovereignty till his death in 1414. He was succeeded by his sister, Joanna II., who, though twice married, remained childless.

In these circumstances Joanna had displayed so much favour towards the Colonna family that it was expected she would bequeath her crown to a member of it; but from this purpose she was diverted by her paramour Caraccioli. Pope Martin V., who was a Colonna, piqued at this change in her behaviour, determined if possible to dethrone her in favour of Louis III., a young prince of fifteen, and son of Louis II., who had died in 1417; and with this view he engaged Attendolo Sforza, a renowned *condottiere*, and father of Francis Sforza, whose history we have already related. Attendolo Sforza, who had been constable to Joanna II., but through the enmity of Caraccioli was now alienated from her, was to invade the Neapolitan dominions with an army, while Louis III. was to attack Naples from the sea. In this desperate situation Joanna invoked the aid of Alphonso V., sovereign of the lately reunited kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily, and promised, in return for his services to adopt him as heir to her dominions (1420). These terms were accepted: Alphonso was solemnly proclaimed the successor of Joanna; the Duchy of Calabria was made over to him as security; and having frustrated the enterprise of Louis, he fixed his residence at Naples as future king.

Such was the origin of the second claim of the House of Aragon to the Neapolitan throne. To make it good, Alphonso had to undergo a struggle of many years' duration, of which we need mark only the leading events. Perceiving that the Queen and Caraccioli meant to betray him, Alphonso endeavoured to secure their persons; but having failed in the attempt, Joanna cancelled his adoption as heir to the crown, substituted Louis III. in his stead, and, having reconciled herself with Sforza, obtained the assistance of his arms. The war dragged slowly on; Sforza was accidentally

drowned in the Pescara, January 4th 1424, when his command devolved to his son Francis; and Alphonso, having been obliged to return to Aragon by an invasion of the Castilians, left his brothers, Don Pedro and Don Frederick, to conduct his affairs in Naples. But they were betrayed by their *condottiere* Caldora, and Joanna re-entered Naples with her adopted son Louis III. of Anjou.

In 1432 a revolution, chiefly conducted by the Duchess of Suessa, having accomplished the death of Caraccioli, who had disgusted every body, and at last even Joanna herself, by his insolence and brutality, the Duchess and a large party of the Neapolitan nobles invited Alphonso to return; and as he had now arranged the affairs of Aragon, he accepted the invitation. But his expedition was unsuccessful. Louis III. repulsed his attacks on Calabria; and after some vain attempts to induce Joanna to recall her adoption of that prince, Alphonso concluded a peace for ten years, and retired from the Neapolitan territories early in 1433.

The death of Louis in 1434, followed by that of Queen Joanna II. in February 1435, again threw Naples into anarchy. Joanna had bequeathed her crown to René, or Regnier, Duke of Lorraine, the next brother of Louis, who had succeeded to Lorraine as son-in-law of the deceased Duke Charles; but Antony Count of Vaudemont, brother of Charles, contested with him this succession, defeated him, and made him prisoner; nor was he released from captivity till 1437, two years after the death of Joanna.

In this state of things the Neapolitan nobles again called in Alphonso; but the partisans of the House of Anjou were supported by Philip Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, who could dispose of the maritime forces of Genoa, then under his government; and on the 5th of August 1435, one of the most bloody sea-fights yet seen in the Mediterranean took place between the Genoese and Catalan fleets. That of King Alphonso was entirely defeated, all his ships were either captured or destroyed; and he himself, together with his brother John, King of Navarre, and a great number of Spanish and Italian nobles, were made prisoners. But Alphonso showed his great qualities even in this extremity of misfortune. Being carried to Milan, he so worked upon Visconti by his address, and by pointing out the injurious consequences that would result to him from establishing the French in Italy, that the Duke dismissed him and the other prisoners without ransom. By this step, however, as we have already said, Visconti lost Genoa; for the Genoese, disgusted with this mark of favour towards their ancient enemies the Catalans, rose and drove out the Milanese governor.

Alphonso now renewed his attempts upon Naples and the war

dragged on five or six years; but we shall not follow its details, which are both intricate and unimportant. The Pope, the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and Sforza favoured the cause of the House of Anjou; the Duke of Milan hung dubious between the parties; and the *Condottieri* sold themselves to both sides by turns. In the absence of René, his consort Isabella displayed abilities that were of much service to his cause; and René himself after his liberation appeared off Naples with twelve galleys and a few other ships. But nothing important was done till 1442, when Alphonso succeeded in entering Naples through a subterranean aqueduct which in ancient times had been used for the same purpose by Belisarius. René soon after abandoned the contest and retired into France, and Alphonso speedily obtained possession of the whole kingdom.[66] Having made peace with Eugenius IV., and recognised him as the true head of the Church, that pontiff confirmed Alphonso's title as King of Naples, under the ancient condition of feudal tenure; and even secretly promised to support the succession of his natural son Ferdinand, whom Alphonso had made Duke of Calabria, or, in other words, heir to the throne.

René made a fruitless attempt in 1453 to recover Naples, which he never repeated. His quiet and unambitious character, testified by the name of "le bon roi René," led him to cede his claims both to Lorraine and Naples to his son, and to abandon himself in Provence to his love for poetry and the arts. Here he endeavoured to revive the days of the Troubadours, and the love-courts of Languedoc; but he had more taste than genius, and his efforts ended only in founding a school of insipid pastoral poetry. His children had more energy and ambition: Margaret, the strong-minded but unfortunate consort of our Henry VI.; and John, whose efforts to recover the Neapolitan crown there will be occasion to relate in the following pages. John, who assumed the title of Duke of Calabria, proceeded into Italy in 1454, and was for some time entertained by the Florentines; till their policy requiring the accession of Alphonso to the peace which they had concluded with Venice and Milan, John was sent back over the Alps.

The Spanish peninsula was divided, like Italy, into several independent sovereignties.[67] During the tardy expulsion of the

[66] The title of this prince, as King of Naples, was Alphonso I.

[67] The great historian of Spain is the Jesuit Mariana, whose work extends from the earliest times to the accession of Charles I. (the Emperor Charles V.), with a supplement containing a brief abstract of events down to 1621. Zurita's *Annales de Aragon*, also commencing from the earliest period, are very

Moors from the north of Spain, many Christian kingdoms and principalities were gradually formed, as those of Oviedo, Leon, Navarre, Sobrarva, Castile, Aragon, Barcelona, Valencia, &c.; but in the middle of the fifteenth century these had been reduced to the three Kingdoms of Navarre, Castile, and Aragon, which now occupied the whole peninsula with the exception of the Kingdom of Portugal in the west and the Moorish Kingdom of Granada in the south. Of these Navarre comprised only a comparatively small district at the western extremity of the Pyrenees; to Aragon were attached the partly independent provinces of Catalonia, Valencia, and Murcia; while Castile occupied, with the exceptions before named, the rest of Spain.

The Kingdom of Castile was founded by Don Ferdinand, son of Sanchez, surnamed the Great, King of Navarre. Sanchez had conquered Old Castile from its Sovereign Count, and at his death in 1035 left it to Ferdinand, who assumed the title of King of Castile, and subsequently added Leon to his dominions. It belongs not to our plan to trace the history of the Spanish monarchies through the middle ages.[68] It will suffice to observe that the boundaries of Castile were gradually enlarged by successive acquisitions, and that in 1368 a revolution which drove Peter the Cruel from the throne established on it the House of Trastamare, which continued to hold possession. In 1406 the Crown devolved to John II., an infant little more than a twelvemonth old, who wore it till 1454, and was consequently King at the time when this history opens. His father Henry III., who died at the early age of twenty-seven, had ruled with wisdom and moderation, but at the same time with energy. An armament which he had prepared against the Moors in the very year of his death will convey some idea of the strength of the kingdom. It consisted of 1000 lances, or harnessed knights, 4000 light cavalry, 50,000 infantry, and 80 ships or galleys; and though Henry did not live to conduct the war, it was for some time prosecuted with vigour and success. But the long minority of John II. exposed the kingdom to confusion and anarchy; and subsequently the weakness of his mind, though he possessed no unamiable disposition, rendered him only fit to be governed by others. During nearly the whole of his reign Don Alvaro de Luna, Constable of Castile, possessed a nearly unlimited power. It was the hope of crushing this haughty favourite that detained Al-

ample for the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic. The English reader may consult Robertson, *Charles V.*, Introd.; *Modern Univ. Hist.* vol. xvi.; Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i.

[68] The reader will find a sketch of the history and constitution of the Spanish kingdoms during this period in Mr. Hallam's *Middle Ages*, chap. iv.

phonso V. of Aragon in Spain, and prevented him from prosecuting his claims on Naples, as already related. Alphonso's brother Don John, who subsequently became King of Navarre, and the Infant Don Henry, though Aragonese by nation, had large possessions in Castile; and being grandees of that country, considered themselves entitled to a share in the government, for which they entered into a long but unsuccessful struggle. Alphonso V. after his return from Italy proclaimed his determination to invade Castile, and, as he said, to release the young King from Alvaro's tyranny; and though the matter was temporarily arranged through the mediation of John of Navarre, yet the unsettled state of the relations between Castile and Aragon detained Alphonso three years in the latter country. In 1429, indeed, John II., at the persuasion of Alvaro, invaded Aragon with a large army, and committed fearful devastations; and in the following year, Alphonso, whose views were turned towards Italy, abandoned his brother's cause and concluded with John a truce of five years.

After this period the wealth and power of Alvaro went on wonderfully increasing. He obtained the greater part of the confiscated possessions of the Aragonese Princes; and as he was the only man capable of inspiring the haughty Castilian Grandees with awe, he was invested by the King with an almost absolute authority. He could muster 20,000 vassals at his residence at Escalona, where he held a kind of court, and was surrounded with guards after the manner of royalty. The extent of his power may be inferred from the circumstance, that when the King became a widower, the Constable, without any notice, contracted him to the Portuguese princess Isabella! Alvaro had, however, to maintain a constant struggle with the Castilian Grandees, with whom at length, even the King himself combined against him. In 1453 he was entrapped at Burgos, his house was beleaguered, and he was forced to capitulate, after receiving security under the royal seal that his life, honour, and property should be respected. But he was no sooner secured than his vast possessions were confiscated, and he himself being subjected to a mock trial, was condemned to death, and executed like a common malefactor in the public place of Valladolid (July 1453). The fortitude with which he met his fate turned in his favour the tide of popular opinion; nor does it appear that he had done anything to deserve his death. John II. soon found to his cost the value of Alvaro, and that he had no longer any check upon the insolence of the Grandees. He survived the constable only a year, and died in July 1454, leaving a son, who ascended the throne with the title of Henry IV.; and by

his second consort, a daughter, Isabella, afterwards the famous Queen of Castile, and a son named Alphonso.

Aragon, like Castile, was first elevated to the dignity of a kingdom in favour of a son of Sanchez the Great of Navarre, namely, Don Ramiro. Its territories were gradually extended by conquest. In 1118, the King Don Alonso, besides other conquests, wrested Saragossa from the Moors, and made it, instead of Huesca, the capital of Aragon. In 1137, Catalonia became united to Aragon by the marriage of the Aragonese heiress, Petronilla, niece of Alonso, with Don Raymond, Count of Barcelona. This was a most important acquisition for Aragon; for the Catalans, a bold and hardy race, being excellent sailors, enabled the Aragonese monarchs to extend their dominions by sea. In the fourteenth century, the Catalans had come to be considered the third naval power in Europe, and excelled only by the Venetians and Genoese, whom they appear also to have rivalled in the freedom of their institutions.[69] Under Don James of Aragon (1214–1276) Minorca and Valencia were recovered from the Moors and added to the kingdom, though these states, as well as Catalonia, enjoyed an independent government. James' son, Don Pedro III., as already mentioned, wrested Sicily from the tyrannical hands of Charles of Anjou. On his death in 1285, Don Pedro left the crown of Sicily to his second son, Don James; and from this period Sicily formed an independent kingdom under a separate branch of the House of Aragon, down to the death of Martin the Younger in 1407. That monarch dying without legitimate children, the throne of Sicily came to his father, Martin I., or the Elder, King of Aragon; and the two kingdoms remained henceforth united till the beginning of the eighteenth century.

On the death of Martin the Elder in 1410, the male branch of the House of Barcelona, in the direct line, became extinct, and various claimants to the Crown arose.[70] A civil war ensued, till at length, in June 1412, a council of arbiters, to whom the disputants had agreed to refer their claims, decided in favour of Ferdinand of Castile, nephew of Martin by his sister Eleanor, Queen of that country. Ferdinand, who was uncle to the minor King John II. of Castile, resigned the regency of that country on ascending the throne of Aragon. He was a mild and just prince, and reigned till his death in 1416, when he was succeeded by his son, Alphonso V., whom we have already had occasion to mention in the affairs of Naples. After obtaining that kingdom in 1442, he

[69] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. vi. p. 83.

[70] See a table of them in Hallam, vol. ii. p. 40.

never returned to his Spanish dominions. On his death in 1458, Alphonso left Naples, as we have said, to his natural son Ferdinand; but he declared his brother John, King of Navarre, heir to Aragon and its dependencies; namely, Valencia, Catalonia, Murcia, Majorca, Sardinia, and Sicily; and that prince accordingly ascended the Aragonese throne with the title of John II.

While they existed as separate monarchies, both Castile and Aragon enjoyed a very considerable share of liberty. The constitution of Castile bore a striking resemblance to our own in the time of the Plantagenets. Before the end of the twelfth century, the deputies of towns and cities appear to have obtained a seat in the *Cortes*[71], or national assembly, which before that period consisted only of the Clergy and Grandees. The *Cortes* continued pretty fairly to represent the nation down to the reign of John II. and his successor Henry IV., when the deputies of many towns ceased to be summoned. The practice had, indeed, been previously irregular, but from this time it went on declining; apparently, however, not much to the regret of the burgesses, who grudged defraying the expenses of their representatives; and by the year 1480 the number of towns returning members had been reduced to seventeen. Alphonso XI. (1312—1350) had previously restricted the privilege of election to the municipal magistrates, whose number rarely exceeded twenty-four in each town. The members of *Cortes* were summoned by a writ of much the same form as that in use for the English Parliament. The legislative power resided with the *Cortes*, though it was sometimes infringed by royal ordinances, as it was in the earlier periods of our own history by the King's proclamations. The nobles, not only the higher class of them, or *Ricos Hombres*, but also the *Hidalgos*, or second order, and the *Cavalleros*, or knights, were exempt from taxation; and this was also, in some degree, the case in Aragon.

The power of the monarch was still more limited in Aragon than in Castile. At first the King was elective; but the right of election was vested only in a few powerful barons, called from their wealth, *Los Ricos Hombres*, or the rich men. The King was inaugurated by kneeling down bare-headed before the Justiciary, or chief judge of the kingdom, who himself sat uncovered. In later times the *Cortes* claimed the right, not indeed of electing the King, yet of confirming the title of the heir on his accession. The *Cortes* of Aragon consisted of four Orders, called *Brazos*, or arms—namely, 1. The Prelates, including the commanders of the military orders, who

[71] The earliest instance on record of popular representation in Castile occurred at Burgos in 1169. Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 19.

ranked as ecclesiastics; 2. The Barons, or *ricos hombres;* 3. The *Infanzones*, that is, the equestrian order, or knights; 4, The Deputies of the royal towns. Traces of popular representation occur earlier in the history of Aragon than in that of any other country; and we find mention made of the *Cortes* in 1133. The towns that returned deputies were few; but some of them sent as many as ten representatives, and none fewer than four. The *Cortes* both of Castile and Aragon preserved a control over the public expenditure; and those of Aragon even appointed, during their adjournment, a committee composed of members of the four estates to manage the public revenue, and to support the Justiciary in the discharge of his functions. This last magistrate (*el Justicia de Aragon*) was the chief administrator of justice. He had the sole execution of the laws: appeals might be made to him even from the King himself, and he was responsible to nobody but the *Cortes*. He had, however, a court of assessors, called the Court of Inquisition, composed of seventeen persons chosen by lot from the *Cortes*, who frequently controlled his decisions. The *Justicia* was appointed by the King from among the knights, or second order of nobility, never from the *ricos hombres*. At first he was removable at pleasure; but in 1442 he was appointed for life, and could be deposed only by the authority of the *Cortes*.

Catalonia and Valencia also enjoyed free and independent governments, each having its *Cortes*, composed of three estates. It was not till the reign of Alphonso III. (1285—1291), that these two principalities were finally and inseparably united with Aragon. After this period, general *Cortes* of the three kingdoms were indeed sometimes held; yet they continued to assemble in separate chambers, though meeting in the same city. Of the commercial greatness of Catalonia, there will be occasion to speak in another part of this work.[72]

The military orders form so prominent a feature of Spanish institutions, that it will be proper to say a few words respecting them. The Spaniards had three peculiar orders, those of Calatrava, St. Iago, and Alcantara, besides the Knights Templars and Knights of St. John, common to them with the rest of Europe. The first two of these were established in the twelfth century; the last was merely a subsequent offshoot from that of Calatrava. These orders were governed by elective Grand Masters, who enjoyed an almost regal power, and possessed their own fortified towns in different parts of Castile. The Grand-Master of St. Iago, especially,

[72] See Book II. Ch. I.

was reckoned next in dignity and power to the King. The order could bring into the field 1000 men-at-arms, accompanied, it may be presumed, by the usual number of attendants, and had at its disposal eighty-four commanderies and two hundred priories and benefices. These orders being designed against the Moors, who then held possession of a large part of Spain, had originally a patriotic as well as a religious destination, and were at first very popular among the people. The Knights took the vows of obedience, poverty, and conjugal chastity.

The turbulent nobles of Spain, like those of Germany, carried on private feuds with one another, and sometimes levied war against the King himself. The Aragonese nobles, indeed, by the *Privilege of Union*, asserted their constitutional right to confederate themselves against the Sovereign in case he violated their laws and immunities, and even to depose him and elect another King if he refused redress. The Privilege of Union was granted by Alfonso III. in 1287, and in 1347 it was exercised against Peter IV.; but in the following year, Peter having defeated the confederates at Epila, abrogated their dangerous privilege, cut the act which granted it into pieces with his sword, and cancelled or destroyed all the records in which it was mentioned or confirmed.

It will appear from the preceding description of Spain, that, although she already possessed, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the elements of political power, she was not yet in a condition to assert that rank in Europe which she afterwards attained. Castile and Aragon were not yet united; the Moors still held the Kingdom of Granada in the south, and their reduction was to form one of the chief glories of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The Kingdom of Portugal, the remaining division of the Spanish peninsula, is not of sufficient importance in European history to claim any lengthened notice.[73] Alphonso, or Alonso, Count of Portugal, first assumed the title of King of that country after his victory over the Moors at Ourique in 1139; and in 1147 he acquired Lisbon through the assistance of some crusaders driven thither by stress of weather. The Kings of Portugal, like those of Spain, were continually engaged in combating the Moors, but their history presents little of importance. The line of Alphonso continued to reign uninterruptedly in Portugal till 1383, when, on the death of King Ferdinand, John I. of Castile, who had married his natural daughter Beatrix and obtained from him a promise of

[73] The chief histories of Portugal are, Manuel de Faria y Sousa, *Epitome de las Historias Portugesas;* De la Clede, *Hist. Gén. de Port.;* and the *Mod. Un. Hist.*

the Portuguese succession for the issue of the marriage, claimed the throne. But the Portuguese, among whom, like the Moors, the custom prevailed of giving the sons of the concubine equal rights with those of the wife, declared John the Bastard, the illegitimate brother of Ferdinand, to be their King; and after a civil war of two years' duration, he was with the assistance of England established on the throne, with the title of John I., by the decisive battle of Aljubarota (1385). The war with Castile continued nevertheless several years, till it was concluded by the peace of 1411; by which Henry III., the son and successor of John I. of Castile, engaged to abandon the pretensions of his mother-in-law Beatrix. John the Bastard thus became the founder of a dynasty which occupied the Portuguese throne till 1580. He married Philippa, daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster (1387), by whom he had a numerous issue.

The reign of John, who was an able and energetic sovereign, was distinguished by the maritime enterprises conducted by his constable, Nuño Alvarez Pereira. In 1415, Pereira, accompanied by the King and his three surviving sons, took Ceuta in Africa from the Moors, fortified it, and filled it with a Christian population. John's fourth son, Henry, who obtained the name of "the Navigator," devoted himself entirely to maritime affairs, and the sciences connected with them; thus giving an impulse to maritime discovery, for which the Portuguese became renowned, as there will be occasion to relate in the sequel. John I. was succeeded in 1438 by Alphonso V., who reigned till 1481. In 1433 John had transferred to Lisbon the royal residence, which had previously been at Coimbra.

It remains only to notice that group of western nations — namely, France, England, and Burgundy, or the Netherlands, whose position brought them into such close relations, and too often of a hostile character. It is presumed that the reader has already acquired from other sources[74] a competent knowledge of their earlier history and constitution down to the close of the middle ages, and therefore no more will here be said than may be necessary to acquaint him with the posture of their affairs at the period when this narrative commences.

[74] See for France and Burgundy Hallam's *Middle Ages*, chaps. i. and ii.; for England, chap. viii., as well as the *Constitutional History*; and for the general state of society in Europe, *Mid. Ages*, chap. ix.

The chief authorities for the early history of France and Burgundy are: Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires* (1435—1475): Monstrelet, *Chroniques* (1400—1467); Thomas Basin, *Hist. Caroli VII.*; Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*; Barante, *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne.*

In 1453, the same year that Constantinople fell before the Turkish arms, the English were at length finally expelled from France. The civil dissensions that had formerly prevailed in that country, fomented by Philip surnamed "the Good," Duke of Burgundy, facilitated the acquisition of the French crown by Henry V. The lunacy of Charles VI. of France occasioned a struggle for the supreme power between Louis Duke of Orleans, the King's brother, and Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, grandfather of Philip the Good. On the death of Philip the Bold in 1404, the contest was continued by his son, John *sans Peur*, or the Fearless, who in 1407 caused the Duke of Orleans to be assassinated at Paris, and openly avowed and justified the deed. A civil war now ensued. France was divided into two parties: the *Armagnacs*, so called from the Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the young Duke of Orleans; and the *Bourguignons*, or Burgundian faction. The former supported the imbecile King and his son the Dauphin; a dignity which, after the death of his brothers, fell to the King's third son, Charles: the latter were for a regency to be conducted by the Queen, Isabel of Bavaria. Paris was the head quarters of the Burgundians; Poitiers of the Armagnacs. John the Fearless appeared to favour the pretensions of Henry V. of England to the throne of France; but more with a view to turn to his own advantage the diversion occasioned by the English arms than to make over France to foreign dominion. Offended, however, by the harshness of the terms proposed by Henry, as well as by the English monarch's personal bearing towards him, the Duke of Burgundy resolved to join the party of the Dauphin, and thus to restore peace to France. Negociations were accordingly opened, and John was invited to discuss the matter with the Dauphin and his party: but the latter mistrusted the Duke, who was basely assassinated in the presence and with the connivance of the Dauphin, at an interview to which he had been invited on the bridge of Montereau, Sept. 1419.

To avenge his father's death, and punish the Dauphin for his crime, Philip, the new Duke, resolved to sacrifice France, and even his own family, which had eventual claims to the crown, by making it over to the English King. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Arras, towards the end of 1419, between Philip of Burgundy and Henry V., by which Philip agreed to recognise Henry as King of France after the death of Charles VI.; and in consideration of Charles' mental imbecility, the English Monarch was at once to assume the government of the kingdom, after marrying Catherine, the youngest of the French king's daughters. This treaty was

definitively executed at Troyes, May 21st 1420, by Charles VI., who knew not what he was signing, and by his Queen, Isabel of Bavaria, a vulgar profligate woman, who was stimulated at once by hatred of her son the Dauphin, and a doting affection for her daughter Catherine. The treaty was ratified by the French States and by the Parliament of Paris; Henry V. obtained possession of that capital, which was occupied by an English garrison under the command of the Duke of Clarence, and on the 1st December 1420, the Kings of France and England, the Duke of Burgundy and the English princes entered Paris with great pomp. Henry now assisted the Duke of Burgundy to punish the murderers of his father, and kept the Dauphin Charles in check by his arms. The birth of a son, regarded as the heir both of France and England, seemed to fill up the measure of Henry's prosperity, when he was carried off by a fistula, August 31st 1422. Henry appointed his brother the Duke of Bedford to the Regency of France; his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, to that of England; and the Earl of Warwick to be guardian of his infant son.

The imbecile Charles VI. of France shortly afterwards descended to the grave (October 22), and the Dauphin, assuming the title of Charles VII., caused himself to be crowned at Poitiers. The treaty of Troyes had, however, rallied the national feeling of the French to the party of the Dauphin, whose manners and disposition, as well as his lawful claim to the throne of France, and hatred of the English usurpers, had rendered him popular with the majority of the French nation; and as a counterpoise to his influence, the regent Bedford drew closer his connections both with the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. It does not belong to our subject to detail the wars which followed, and the romantic story of Joan of Arc, which will be found related in the histories of England as well as in those of France.[75] The great abilities of Bedford secured during his lifetime the predominance of the English in France, and the young King Henry VI. was crowned in Paris December 16th 1431. But this predominance was soon to be undermined; first by the defection of the Duke of Burgundy from the English

[75] Some recent French historians have dwelt upon and magnified the exploits of the Pucelle d'Orléans with an unction bordering on the profane as well as the ridiculous. Thus M. Michelet does not scruple to say: "L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ, sa Passion, *reproduite dans la Pucelle*, telle fut la rédemption de la France!"—*Hist. de France*, liv. x. ch. i. See the account of the same author, *ib.* ch iv.; and Martin, *Hist. de F.* liv. xxxv. and xxxvi. The *mystery* into which these writers would convert the story is easily solved by the ignorance and superstition of the age. It should be remembered, too, that, in the words of Lord Mahon, "the worst wrongs of Joan were dealt upon her by the hands of her own countrymen."—*Hist. Essays*, p. 47.

alliance, and then by the death of Bedford, and the disputes and divisions which ensued in the English government.

The extensive monarchy which bore the modest title of the Duchy of Burgundy was in fact at the period of which we are treating a more powerful state than the Kingdom of France; and it will be fit, therefore, to look back a little and shortly trace its progress. The Capetian line of the House of Burgundy, which had reigned upwards of three centuries, died out with the young Duke Philip in 1361; and a year or two afterwards, John II. King of France, bestowed the Duchy as an hereditary fief on his youngest and favourite son, Philip the Bold, the first Duke of the House of Valois. By this impolitic gift, John founded the second House of Burgundy, who were destined to be such dangerous rivals to his successors on the throne of France. The last Capetian Duke, who was only sixteen when he was carried off by the *peste noire*, or black death, had married the heiress of Flanders, Artois, Antwerp, Mechlin, Nevers, Rethel, and Franche Comté, or, as it was then called, the County of Burgundy; and Philip the Bold espoused his predecessor's widow. Three sons, the issue of this marriage, John *sans Peur*, Antony, and Philip, divided among them the Burgundian dominions; and each extended his share by marriage or by re-annexations. But all these portions, with their augmentations, fell ultimately to Philip called the Good, son of John *sans Peur*, whose accession has been already mentioned. Philip reigned from 1419 to 1467, and was consequently in possession of the Duchy at the time when this history opens. Philip also obtained large additions to his dominions by the deaths, without issue, of his relations, the husband and the brother-in-law of Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault; so that in 1430 he possessed, besides the provinces already mentioned, Brabant, Limburg, Luxembourg, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Namur, and Lower Lorraine. Thus Philip was in fact at the head of a large kingdom, though nominally but a duke and a vassal of France.

Philip also took advantage of his connection with the English, and of the crippled state of France which it produced, to augment still further his dominions at the expense of that unfortunate country. The Regent Bedford had married Philip's sister, Anne of Burgundy; but her death without issue in November 1432 severed all family ties between the two princes; and soon afterwards Bedford incurred the displeasure of the Duke of Burgundy by his marriage with a young lady of the house of Luxembourg. Philip had now forgotten the resentment which had dictated the treaty of Troyes; he was desirous of putting an end to the war which

had so long desolated France, but at the same time of deriving advantage from it; and he opened negociations with the party of Charles VII., which made him liberal offers. The terms stipulated by Philip in favour of his English allies became gradually weaker and weaker; at length he abandoned that connection altogether, and immediately after the death of Bedford, which removed all his scruples, he concluded with Charles VII. the treaty of Arras (September 21st 1435), in which only his own interests were considered. By this treaty he obtained possession of the counties of Mâcon, Auxerre, and Ponthieu; of the lordships or baronies of Peronne, Roye, Montdidier, St. Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, Abbeville, Dourdon; and of the towns of Dourlens, St. Riquier, Crèvecœur, Arleux, and Mortagne; with a condition, however, that the towns of Picardy might be repurchased by the French monarch for the sum of 400,000 crowns. Thus the territory of the Duke was extended to the neighbourhood of Paris, and he became one of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe. By the same treaty Charles VII. absolved the Duke, with regard to his Belgian dominions at least, of the vassalage which he owed to France; and Philip now styled himself "Duc par la grace de Dieu;" a formula signifying that the person using it owns no feudal superior. In fact, Philip had for some time harboured the design of erecting Burgundy into an independent kingdom, and of obtaining the vicarship of all the countries claimed by the Emperor on the left bank of the Rhine; and he had, in 1442, paid Frederick III. a sum of money, to renounce his pretensions to the Duchies of Brabant and Limburg, the counties of Holland, Zealand, and Hainault, and the lordship of Friesland.

Philip's Belgian provinces were at that time in a condition of great prosperity. Some of the Flemish cities, and especially Ghent and Bruges, were among the richest and most populous of Europe. They enjoyed a considerable share of independence; they claimed great municipal privileges; and they were frequently involved in disputes with Philip, whose exactions they resisted. The Duke's Court, one of the most magnificent in Europe, was distinguished by a pompous etiquette, and by a constant round of banquets, tournaments, and fêtes. The historians of the time particularly dwell on the splendour of the three months' fêtes, by which Philip the Good's third marriage in 1430, with Philippa of Portugal was celebrated. On that occasion the streets of Bruges were spread with Flemish carpets; wine of the finest quality flowed eight days and nights—Rhenish from a stone lion, Vin de Beaune from a stag; while, during the banquets, jets of rose water and malvoisie spirted

from a unicorn.[76] The arms, the dresses, the furniture of that period could not be surpassed; the superbly wrought armour and iron work then manufactured have obtained for it the name of the *Siècle de fer*. The pictures and the rich Arras tapestry of the time may still convey to us an idea of its magnificence. Nor was the Court of Philip the Good distinguished by outward sumptuousness alone. That Sovereign was a patron of literature; many literary men, some of considerable repute, were attracted to his court; and he had formed a magnificent library, manuscripts from which still adorn the chief collections of Europe. A brilliant school of musicians, which lasted several generations, had its origin in his chapel. The painters of Bruges, whose specimens are still as fresh as the first day they were painted, became illustrious, and especially through John Van Eyck, who had been the valet de chambre, and afterwards, like Rubens, the counsellor of his Sovereign. Italy had as yet produced nothing equal to the paintings of Van Eyck and his brother Hubert, which were sought with avidity by Italian Princes and amateurs. The sister art of architecture also flourished; and it is to this period that we are indebted for most of those magnificent town halls with which Belgium is adorned, particularly those of Brussels and Louvain. All this refinement, however, was mixed and alloyed with a good deal of grossness and sensuality. Intemperance in the pleasures of the table, which still in some degree marks those countries, was carried to excess, and the relations with the female sex were characterised by an unbounded profligacy, of which the Sovereign himself set the example.[77]

The death of Bedford proved a fatal blow to the English power in France. We shall not dwell on the contest which ensued between the Duke of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort for the disposal of the French Regency. Suffice it to say that Richard, Duke of York, the nominee of Gloucester, at length obtained it, but after a delay which occasioned the loss of Paris. The English dominion there had long been the subject of much discontent to the citizens, who, taking advantage of the neglect of the English Government during the abeyance of the Regency, opened their gates to Lisle Adam and the troops of Charles VII. The English

[76] Monstrelet, liv. ii. ch. 77.

[77] Philip the Good, besides three wives, had had 24 mistresses, by whom he left 16 natural children; a moderate quantity, however, when compared with the illegitimate progeny of some of the grandees of the period. A count of Clèves had 63 illegitimate children; and John of Burgundy, bishop of Cambray, was served at the altar by 36 illegitimate sons and grandsons. In fact, the name of "Bastard" became almost a title of honour in that age. See Reiffenberg, *Hist. de la Toison d'Or*, Introd. p. xxiv.; Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 24.

garrison, which numbered only 1500 men, under Lord Willoughby, were compelled, after a short resistance, to capitulate, and were allowed to evacuate Paris unmolested, carrying away with them what property they could (April 17th 1436).

The war, however, dragged on for several years after the surrender of Paris, but without vigour on either side. Henry VI.'s consort, Margaret of Anjou, and her favourite the Earl of Suffolk, and his party, who ruled in England, neglected to put the English possessions in France in a good posture of defence. Somerset and Talbot, who commanded in Normandy, receiving no succours either of men or money, and being pressed on one side by the Constable Richemont, on another by Charles VII. in person, and Count Dunois, and their armies, were forced to evacuate Normandy in 1450. After this event and in the autumn of the same year, a division of the French army which appeared in Guienne made some conquests there; and in the spring of 1451 the whole French force, under Dunois, entered that province, and partly by arms, partly by negociations with the inhabitants, effected its reduction. Guienne, indeed, again revolted in 1452; Bordeaux sent ambassadors to Talbot in London to invoke his aid; and that veteran commander, then upwards of eighty years of age, quickly recovered that valuable possession. But in July of the following year Charles VII. entered Guienne with a large army; Talbot was slain before the town of Castillon, and his fate decided that of the province. Bordeaux, the last town which held out, submitted to Charles in October 1453; and thus, as we have said, with the exception of Calais, the English were expelled from all their possessions in France. The civil dissensions in England and the wars of the two Roses, which shortly afterwards broke out, prevented any attempt to recover them, and for a long period almost entirely annihilated the influence of England in continental affairs. Before Henry's conquests, it had been usual to consider Europe as divided into the four great nations of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain, and England as a subordinate kingdom attached, nominally at least, to one or the other of these grand divisions. The case was formally argued at the Council of Constance, where the French deputies endeavoured to exclude the English from an independent vote; and the decision by which they were admitted as a *fifth* nation, seems to have been considerably influenced by the success of Henry's arms.[78]

The wars with the English, and the civil distractions by which France had so long been harassed, had prevented her from

[78] See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxx. note 75.

assuming that place among the European nations to which she was entitled by her position, her internal resources, and the genius of her people. It was many years before she recovered from the effects of these pernicious influences. She had suffered as much from the bands raised for her defence as from the invasions of the English; and the combined effects of these two causes had almost reduced her to a state of anarchy and desolation. Two bodies of her so-called defenders, particularly distinguished by their ferocity, were the *Ecorcheurs* and *Retondeurs*[79]; whose violence and brigandage were openly patronised by a large portion of the princes, grandees, and even magistrates of France. The dread of these lawless bands retarded the liberation of France, and especially the evacuation of Paris; for the citizens hesitated to call in deliverers at whose hands they were likely to suffer more damage than from the well-trained troops of England, which under Henry V. had been subjected to a rigorous, and almost puritanical, discipline.[80] The public misery in France appears to have reached its height in 1438. The crops had been spoiled by continued rains, and the people were carried off by epidemic maladies, the usual attendants of famine. The writer who under the title of a *Bourgeois de Paris*, but who was in reality a doctor of the university, kept a journal of those times, states that, in the course of that year, 5000 persons died in the Hôtel Dieu, and more than 45,000 in the city. The wolves prowled around Paris, and even in its streets. In September 1438 no fewer than fourteen persons were devoured by them between Montmartre and the Porte St. Martin; whilst, in the open country around, three or four score fell victims.[81]

This picture presents a striking contrast to that just drawn of Belgium. In the struggle that was to ensue between France and Burgundy, everything seemed to promise the success of the latter; and it will be an interesting task to trace how the wise and politic conduct of one or two French Monarchs enabled them to combat all these disadvantages, and finally to turn the scale in their favour. Yet the vast domains of the House of Burgundy contained from the first the seeds of future weakness and dissolution. Their population was composed of different races speaking various languages and dialects, and separated from

[79] The name of *Écorcheurs* speaks for itself; that of *Retondeurs* seems to designate those who *sheared again* the unfortunate victims who had already undergone the process.

[80] Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vi. p. 11.

[81] *Journal du Bourgeois*, p. 502; Jean Chartier, *Hist. de Charles VII.* p. 99 (ed. Paris, 1661); Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 254. Sir John Fortescue, also, who visited France a little after this date, in his book *De Laudibus Angliæ*, describes that kingdom as quite a desert in comparison with England.

one another by temperament, customs, and interests; while the manner in which most of the provinces had been acquired had laid the foundation for future interminable disputes both with France and with the Empire. In such a state there was no power of centralisation—the principle by which France acquired, and still holds, her rank among nations.

The fearful height to which the disorders of France had risen, was already beginning to work their cure; for it was evident that either they or the monarchy must cease to exist. At this juncture Charles VII. had the good fortune to be served by a ministry, whose bold and able counsels procured for him from contemporaries the appellation of *Charles le bien servi.* Among the princes and nobles who formed it, sat two *roturiers,* or plebeians, of distinguished merit: Jean Bureau, a *Maître des Comptes,* or Officer of Finance; and Jacques Cœur, the son of a furrier at Bourges, whose enterprising genius had enabled him to establish mercantile relations with most parts of the then known world. Bureau, on the other hand, though a civilian, had a real military genius, and effected great improvements in the artillery. Perhaps, also, we must include in Charles' Council a woman and a mistress—the gentle Agnes Sorel, whose reproaches are said to have piqued his honour and stimulated his exertions.[82] After consulting the States assembled at Angers, an Ordinance was published, Nov. 2nd, 1439, which forms an epoch in French history. A standing army was to be organised, which was not to subsist, like the bands formerly raised by the nobles, by robbery and plunder, but to receive regular pay. The design of this force, the first of the kind raised by any Christian Sovereign, originated with the Constable Richemont. Fifteen companies of *gens d'armes,* called from their institution *compagnies d'ordonnance,* were to be raised, each consisting of one hundred *lances garnies,* or furnished lances; that is, a man at arms with five mounted followers.[83] This would give a standing army of between 7000 and 8000 men. The monthly pay was high: ten *livres Tournois* for the man at arms, five for the *coutillier,* four for the archer. The man at arms, therefore, was a person of some rank and consideration. He represented the

[82] This tradition does not only rest on the pretty quatrain of Francis I.: —

Gentille Agnès plus de los en mérite
(La cause estant de France recouvrer)
Que ce que peut, dedans un cloistre, ouvrer
Close nonnain ou bien dévot ermite.

The service she did to France is also attested by the Burgundian chronicler, Olivier de la Marche, liv. i. c. 13.

[83] The man-at-arms was attended by three archers, a page, and a *coutillier.* The last was a sort of light-horseman, also called *brigandinier,* from his wearing a *brigandine,* or quilted jacket covered with plates of iron. Martin, *Hist. de France,* t. vi. p. 419.

ancient Knight; and we discern in the whole institution the image of feudality in its transition to the modern military system. The scheme also contemplated the raising of an infantry force, which, however, was not to be a permanent one like the cavalry, but merely a sort of militia, or national guard, raised in the different *communes* or districts. They wore a uniform, were armed with bows and arrows, and were called *francs archers*, or free bowmen, because they were exempted from all taxes except the *gabelle*, or tax on salt. On the other hand, they received no pay except in time of war. The *franc archer* wore a *salade* or light casque, and a *brigandine*, and besides his bow and arrows carried a sword and dagger. All this was a decided advance in the military system; yet still how far behind the organisation of the Turkish army a century before! It was not, however, till 1445, after the dispersion, by the Swiss campaign in the preceding year, of the old bands that used to annoy France, that an opportunity presented itself for carrying out these military reforms.

The measure was received with universal joy except by those who profited by the old system; that is, the nobles. The people, regarding only the immediate benefit of being delivered from the fangs of the *écorcheurs*, did not perceive that by the method in which they consented to establish this force they were bartering away their own liberties. For its maintenance they granted to the king 1,200,000 francs per annum for ever, and thus deprived themselves of the power of the purse, the origin and safeguard of liberty in England. A few reflecting heads, indeed, saw further. Thomas Basin, bishop of Lisieux, a contemporary writer of bold and almost republican opinions, predicted and denounced[84] the abuse that might be made of standing armies for the purposes of tyranny. But the people had no conception of self-government. Attendance at the public assemblies was regarded only as a troublesome and expensive duty, from which they were glad to be relieved.[85]

[84] In his *Hist. Caroli VII.*, ap. Martin, t. vi. p. 422.

[85] Thus Charles VII., in answer to a remonstrance of the nobles in 1441, observes: "Assembler les Etats n'est que charge et dépense au pauvre peuple," and that "plusieurs notables seigneurs ont requis que l'on cessât de telle convocation faire."—Monstrelet, t. vii. p. 187.

An account of the rise and functions of the *Etats Généraux*, or French States, as well as of the Parliaments, &c., is given by Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. ii. part ii. The historical student will remember that the States-General, which however gradually fell into disuse, answered in some degree to our Parliament, and that the French Parliament, or Parliament of Paris, was in reality little more than a court of justice. It had at first been ambulatory, and was fixed at Paris in the reign of Philip the Fair, according to Pasquier, Mallot, and others, in 1302; but with more probability by Hénault, on the authority of Budé, in 1294. It consisted at first of two chambers, the *Grande Chambre* and *Chambre des Enquêtes;* and of two sorts of counsellors, the *Conseillers Jugeurs*, and the *Conseillers Rapporteurs*.

On the other hand, by this measure, the nobility were deprived of all military command except through the authority of the king; the important principle was established that none, of whatsoever rank, should impose a tax on his vassals without the authority of the King's letters patent; and all possessions or lordships where this should be done were declared *ipso facto* confiscated.

Thus the contest was now vigorously entered on between the French King and his feudal nobility, which being continued in the next and some following reigns, terminated in making France a powerful, but absolute, monarchy. In England, the great power of the Norman Sovereigns induced the barons to unite with the people in the acquirement and defence of their common liberties; in France, the extravagant privileges of the nobles, formidable alike to the crown and to the people, produced a strange but far from unexampled combination between those two extreme orders of the state: and when the subjugation of the aristocracy was completed, it was not difficult for the Monarch to hold the people in subjection.

It was impossible, however, that a measure which so vitally affected the interests of the French nobles should pass without opposition. In 1440 the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, the Counts of Vendôme and Dunois, and others, suddenly quitted the court and retired to Blois, after enticing the Dauphin Louis, then only eighteen years of age, into their plot. But the unusual vigour and activity displayed by the King, and the favour everywhere declared by the people towards his government, disconcerted the measures of the conspirators, who at length found it advisable to return to their obedience; the Dauphin made his submissions to his father at Cuset, and was banished into Dauphiné; and this revolt, called the *Praguerie* from the Hussite war in Bohemia, terminated without any serious consequences.

Much, however, still remained to be done in order to centralise the power of the crown of France. Normandy and Guyenne had been long held by the English, after whose expulsion it was some time before the immediate authority of the crown could be esta-

The former, composed of prelates, barons, and distinguished knights, had, as their name implies, the deliberative functions; while the latter, who were members of the *bourgeoisie*, were employed in previously preparing and examining all causes. As, however, the Parliament thus only saw through their eyes, they at length became the principal persons, and formed the body afterwards called *La Robe*. The only political function of the French Parliament was to verify and register the royal edicts; and by refusing to do this, they might exercise a sort of *veto*, which, however, though it sometimes annoyed the monarch, was seldom of much practical importance.

Besides the Parliament of Paris, there were also those of Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Aix, Dijon, Rouen, &c.

blished in those provinces. Brittany, though less powerful than Burgundy, pretended to an independence still more absolute; Provence was not yet united to the French crown; Dauphiné, as the appanage of the Dauphin, was in a great degree beyond the control of the reigning monarch, and was moreover still traditionally regarded as appertaining to the German Empire. The history of the next few reigns is the history of the establishment of the French monarchy by the reduction of its great and almost independent vassals: an undertaking which, though not finally completed till the time of Cardinal Richelieu, had already made progress enough in the reign of Charles VIII. to allow France to play a great part in the affairs of Europe. At the same period England had also emerged from its domestic troubles by the union of the two Houses of York and Lancaster in the person of Henry VII.; but the pacific policy of that Sovereign delayed till the reign of his successor any important interference on the part of England in the affairs of the continent.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

FROM 1453 TO 1513.

(*The Years show the end of their Reigns.*)

GERMANY.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	TURKEY.	POLAND.
Frederick III. . 1493	Charles VII. . 1461	Henry VI. . . 1461	Mahomet II. . 1481	Casimir IV. . 1492
Maximilian I. . —	Louis XI. . . 1483	Edward IV. . 1483	Bajazet II. . . 1512	Albert . . . 1501
	Charles VIII. . 1498	Edward V. . . 1483	Selim I. . . . —	Alexander . . 1506
	Louis XII. . . —	Richard III. . 1485		Sigismund I. . —
		Henry VII. . 1509		
		Henry VIII. . —		
POPES.	**NAPLES.**	**SCOTLAND.**	**SPAIN.**	**PORTUGAL.**
Nicholas V. . 1455	Alphonso I. . . 1458	James II. . . 1460	CASTILE.	Alphonso V. . 1481
Calixtus III. . 1458	Ferdinand I. . 1494	James III. . . 1488	John II. . . . 1454	John II. . . . 1495
Pius II. . . . 1464	Alphonso II. . 1494	James IV. . . 1513	Henry IV. . . 1474	Emmanuel the
Paul II. . . . 1471	Ferdinand II. . 1496	James V. . . —	Isabella . . . 1504	Great . . . —
Sixtus IV. . . . 1484	Frederick II. . 1501		Joanna . . . —	
Innocent VIII. 1492				
Alexander VI. . 1503	(*To Spanish Crown.*)		ARAGON.	
Pius III. . . . 1503			Alphonso V. . 1458	
Julius II. . . 1513			John II. . . . 1479	
Leo X. . . . —			Ferdinand . . —	

BOOK I.

FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1453, TO THE PONTIFICATE OF LEO X., 1513.

CHAPTER I.

MAHOMET II., after capturing Constantinople, May 29th 1453, made it the capital of his extensive empire, and took up his residence in that metropolis. The Emperor Constantine Palæologus had fallen while bravely fighting in defence of his crown; about 2000 of the inhabitants were put to the sword; many thousands more were sold into slavery, or sought a refuge in other lands; and the vacancy thus created was supplied by a Turkish population. The former metropolis of the Christian world thus assumed the appearance of an Eastern city; the ancient and magnificent cathedral of St. Sophia was converted into a Mahometan mosque; and the wish of Sultan Bajazet I. was at length accomplished; to obtain possession of Constantinople, and "to convert that great workshop of Unbelief into the seat of the True Faith."

In consolidating his new empire Mahomet was guided by politic and enlightened counsels. To entice back the fugitive Constantinopolitans, the free enjoyment of the religion and the customs of their ancestors was proclaimed; the Greek clergy and learned men were treated with indulgence; the Patriarchate was allowed to subsist; and Gennadius, the head of the party which had opposed a union with the Latin Church, having been elected to that dignity by an assembly of the chief citizens, was confirmed in it by the approbation of the Sultan. The renewal of the Patriarchate gave rise to that remarkable population of Greek nobles called *Phana-*

riots[1], who attained to a considerable share of wealth and independence. In spite, however, of these measures, a void was still left within the walls of Constantinople, which Mahomet was employed several years in filling. As his conquests proceeded he drafted to the metropolis families from Servia and the Morea; the Genoese colonies on the Black Sea, as well as Trebizond, Sinope, and other places, were with the same view deprived of a considerable portion of their inhabitants; and even Adrianople was compelled to contribute its reluctant quota of citizens to the new seat of Turkish Empire.

After the fall of Constantinople the Greek towns and Princes that still remained independent sent messages of congratulation to Mahomet II., who compelled them to acknowledge his Sovereignty either by paying a tribute, or by sending every year Ambassadors to the Porte. To these conditions Thomas and Demetrius, despots of the Peloponnesus, the Emperor of Trebizond, the Princes of Chios and Lesbos, and other potentates, submitted. Thomas and Demetrius, who were the brothers of Constantine, having in their first alarm meditated flight into Italy, the hatred inspired by their tyranny was converted into contempt by their fear, and the occasion prompted a formidable revolt. The population of the Peloponnesus, or Morea[2], was a mixture of Franks, Albanians, and Greeks, the last of whom, however, had received an infusion of Slavonian blood. The Franks were descended from the settlers at the time of the Latin Empire, and were the holders of small fiefs. The Albanians, a hardy peasantry, were chiefly immigrant agricultural labourers, retaining their native customs, and mixing but little with the Greeks. A poor and nomad race, supported chiefly by the flocks which they pastured on the mountains, their numbers and their warlike habits nevertheless rendered them the most formidable part of the population, and it was among them that a revolt was first organised against the Despots, conducted by one of their chiefs called Peter the Lame. Peter, however, proving incompetent to the enterprise, the Albanians offered their cause and their arms to the Archont Manuel Cantacuzene, a descendant of the illustrious family of that name, Lord of the Highlands of Maina. Under this new leader the insurgents captured the castle

[1] So called because they resided in the *Phanar*, that quarter of the city which surrounded the residence of the patriarch. They were employed by the Porte as tax-gatherers, &c. See Finlay, *Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination*, pp. 146, 294.

[2] The name of *Morrha* or *Morea* is first found about the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, and was applied to the western coast of the Peloponnesus, especially to Elis. It was not till after the Turkish conquest that the name was extended to the whole peninsula. See Finlay, *Medieval Greece*, p. 28 sq.

of Thomas at Cloumoutzi, and proceeded thence to besiege Thomas at Patras, Demetrius at Mestra. But in these attempts they failed. Mahomet espoused the cause of the Despots, despatched an army into the Morea, and reduced the rebels to obedience (1454).

Shortly afterwards another revolt, led by the Lacedemonian Archont, Nicephoros Lucanes, and Centurione, a Frankish noble and brother-in-law of Thomas, having deprived the Despots of the means to discharge their tribute, they incurred the implacable anger of the Sultan. In 1457, they received a threatening notice to keep the peace and pay up their arrears; otherwise the Sultan would come in person and put an end to so unwholesome a state of things. In the following year Mahomet fulfilled his threat. With a large force he overran the Morea, with the exception of the strong town of Monemvasia, and the mountain tract of Maina, where Demetrius and Thomas had respectively taken refuge, and he seized Corinth, the key of the peninsula. The conquered lands, together with the district formerly ruled by Constantine, were now annexed to the pashalic of Thessaly, while for the dominions left to them, the Despots had to pay an annual tribute of 500 *staters* (probably pounds) of gold. But a revolt of those princes determined Mahomet to take the government of the Morea into his own hands. In 1460 he proceeded thither in person, and reduced the whole peninsula, with the exception of Monemvasia, which town placed itself under the protection of Pope Pius II. Thomas, after flying successively to Navarino and Corfu, ultimately found a refuge at Rome, where he subsisted on a pension allowed to him by the Pope and Cardinals till his death in 1465. He left two sons, Andrew and Manuel Palæologus. Andrew, who had contracted a degrading marriage, also died at Rome, without issue, in 1502, bequeathing his imperial claims, which he had previously sold to Charles VIII. of France, to the Spanish Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. Manuel took refuge at Constantinople, where he was generously permitted to retain his religion, and where he died in the reign of Bajazet II. The fate of Demetrius was still more unfortunate than that of his brother Thomas. Having submitted to Mahomet II. on the promise of a maintenance, which after a little while was withdrawn, he fell into want and misery, and entering a convent at Adrianople, under the name of Brother David, died of a broken heart in 1471. Of the two sisters of the Despots, Helena, the elder, also died in a convent in the island of St[a] Maura, under the name of Sister Hypomonē: the younger, Zoë, married, in 1472, through the mediation of Pope Sixtus IV., John Basilios, Grand-Prince of White Russia or Moscow. Such

was the end of the Byzantine Dynasty in the Morea, and of the ancient Imperial Family of the Palæologi.[3]

Athens, the last Frankish Principality in Greece, whose name alone and some remains of its ancient splendour lend any interest to its fate, fell about the same time as the Despots of the Peloponnesus. Athens, and its once hostile rival Thebes, whose fortunes had become strangely linked together, were made over in 1205 to Otho de La Roche, a Burgundian Noble; and about half a century later these two famous cities were erected by Louis IX. of France into a Duchy in favour of Guy de la Roche. After obeying various masters, Athens came into the possession of the Florentine House of Acciajuoli (1386). It had for some time been little more than a fief of the Porte, when the crimes of the reigning Dynasty hastened its complete subjection. After the death of Duke Nerio II. in 1453, his widow, whom Mahomet II. had permitted to hold the Regency, disgusted her subjects by sharing her bed and throne with Pietro Almerio, Governor of Nauplia, a young Venetian, who had paved the way for his advancement by the murder of his wife. The Athenians having appealed to Mahomet in favour of Nerio's minor son, the Sultan appointed Franco Acciajuoli, nephew of the late Duke, to the Sovereignty. Franco now caused the Duchess Dowager to be imprisoned at Megara, where she was shortly after murdered; and Almerio in turn appeared before the Sultan as accuser. Mahomet terminated these quarrels by seizing Athens, and transferring Franco to Thebes. In 1458, on his return from his campaign in the Morea, Mahomet visited the former renowned abode of philosophy and art. The Athenian Acropolis and other remains still existed, and the Sultan, who, like many of his race, possessed some taste for magnificent architecture, broke out into passionate exclamations of wonder, delight, and thankfulness for the possession of so glorious a city. On a second visit, in 1560, Mahomet having discovered that Franco was plotting the recovery of Athens, Saganos Pasha, Governor of the Morea, was instructed to get rid of him. Franco received an invitation from Saganos, and was hospitably entertained in his tent till late in the night; when being abruptly informed that his last hour had struck, he was put to death by the Janissaries. Thebes with its territory was then annexed to the Turkish Dominions.

Thus by the year 1460 Mahomet had obtained possession of all

[3] The house of Comneni was extinguished about the same time, but their fate does not belong to the history of Europe. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. viii. p. 182.

continental Greece, with the exception of Albania and several important towns on the western coast and in the Morea which were held by the Venetians — as Spalatro, Scutari, Alessio, Durazzo, Zara, Navarino, Modon, Argos, Nauplia, Koron, and many more. Of the islands some had acknowledged themselves tributaries of the Porte; while Thasos, Samothrace and Imbros were subdued by Mahomet in 1457. Some few islands were in the hands of Genoese families, as Chios and Lesbos, or, as it was called in the middle ages, Mytilene; a far greater number either belonged to Venice or were ruled by some Frankish lord owing allegiance to that republic. Among the chief islands under Venetian domination were Eubœa, or Negropont, and Crete, or Candia. Naxos, or Naxia, was the seat of an independent duchy which comprehended several other isles; and Rhodes, with Cos, was held by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who acknowledged no superior but the Pope. The Knights had obtained possession of Rhodes by the victory of Villaret in 1310; but the Order was now in a declining state and overwhelmed with debt. In 1456 Mahomet, with 180 vessels, undertook an abortive expedition against Rhodes, though his troops succeeded in making a temporary lodgment in Cos. In 1462 he took Mytilene, and put an end to the Frankish dominion there. The necessity of a navy for reducing the islands and waging war with the Venetians induced Mahomet to establish a large naval arsenal at Constantinople, in which undertaking the ancient foundations of the docks of the Emperor Julian were of much assistance; and the Dardanelles were now fortified with castles on each shore near the ancient Sestos and Abydos.

Mahomet abolished in conquered Greece the Greek archonts and Frankish lords, substituting for them the Turkish system of Timars, or fiefs. The middle and lower classes lost perhaps little or nothing by this change. The Mahometan government, if we exclude the barbarous system of tribute children, was milder than that of their former petty tyrants; and the Rayahs, or Christian agricultural population, reaped more of the fruits of their labour than the serfs in many Christian states were permitted to enjoy. Greece was subjected to the government of several pashas under the supremacy of the Beylerbey of Roumelia[4], the Turkish commander-in-chief in Europe. The non-Mahometan part of the population was subject to the *Haratsch*, or poll-tax, from which were exempted only old men, children under ten years of age, priests, and those suffering under any permanent bodily disease or

[4] Roumelia comprehends Thrace proper, or south of Hæmus, with an additional tract towards the west.

disability. Many of the higher Greek families enriched themselves by farming the revenues of the Grand Seignior, or by commerce. Under the Ottomans this class adopted Asiatic customs, as they had assumed Italian ones under the Venetians. They wore the turban; their women affected the Turkish style of dress, and in their mode of living they imitated the arrangements of a Turkish household.[5] But neither life nor property was secure. The Sultan would sometimes hang up the richer Greeks and seize upon their treasures. The lower classes continued to retain many of their ancient customs, and particularly their armed dances. Their nationality, however, and consequently their patriotism, had become extinct; much of their land was left uncultivated; and, though they submitted to the Turks, they took care to have as little commerce or connection with them as possible. Under the Ottoman rule the fine arts vanished altogether. The Turk loved no serious pursuit but war, and had little taste for any pleasures except those of sensual enjoyment. The northern tribes that overran Italy for the most part respected and adopted its civilisation; the Turk remained always a barbarian, and wandered, listless and vacant, among the monuments of classic taste and ancient grandeur. Mahomet himself, indeed, possessed, or affected, some liking for art and especially for architecture; he sent to Venice for the painter Gentile, whom he loaded with honours[6]; and Gibbon has related the story of his cutting down the Turk whom he caught demolishing the marble pavement of St. Sophia.[7]

The actual fall of Constantinople, though long foreseen, filled Europe with grief and terror. Rome trembled as the victim that might be next devoured; for each new Sultan, as he girded on his sword in the barracks of the Janissaries, and drank from the cup which he returned to them filled with gold, was accustomed to exclaim, "Farewell, till we meet again at the Red Apple," — by which name the Turks designated the Roman capital. Rome must now depend chiefly on her own resources: the days were past in which the Pope might have hoped to precipitate the European kingdoms in a crusade against the infidels. Of all these powers the German Emperor was naturally one of the most interested, both as the leading European sovereign, and because his dominions might soon have to feel the progress of the Turkish arms. Frederick III., who then filled the imperial throne, possessed in Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., a minister who combined the most eminent talents with decision of character and

[5] See Martin Crusius, *Turco-Græcia*, ap. Ranke, *Völker und Fürsten*, B. i. S. 22.

[6] Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xvi. §. 22.

[7] *Decline and Fall*, vol. viii. p. 176.

energy in action; and at this time Sylvius must be regarded as one of the principal champions of Christendom against the Turks. It was he who incited Nicholas V., who then occupied the papal chair, to promulgate the celebrated Bull calling on all Christian princes to take up arms against the Infidel Ottomans, and promising to every man who took the field, either personally or by substitute, a plenary indulgence. A large share of the revenues of the Church was to be devoted to the crusade; a tithe was to be levied throughout Christendom, and a universal peace was to be enforced among the Christian powers.[8] But the Bull met with small success. The Church had sunk immeasurably in public opinion since the days of the early crusades; the appeal to the pocket was particularly unwelcome and suspicious; and the objection which might be made to the heresy, or at all events to the schism, of the Greeks afforded a decent pretext for inaction. Few volunteered their services; contributions came in scantily and slowly; and even the little money that found its way to the papal treasury seems to have been appropriated by Nicholas to the gratification of his literary tastes. He despatched agents through all the countries subject to the Turks, both in Europe and Asia, to buy up, regardless of expense[9], the Greek manuscripts which had been dispersed by the capture of Constantinople; and his conduct may perhaps be cited as one of the few instances in which a departure from strict honesty may have entitled those guilty of it to the gratitude of mankind.

The defection of the two great maritime republics of Italy, Venice and Genoa, from the common cause, rendered matters still more embarrassing. When Constantinople fell, both were at peace with the Turks, and desired to remain so, for the interests of their commerce. At Venice, indeed, the old Doge Foscari, hot and enterprising in spite of his eighty years, was for avenging by an immediate war the losses sustained by the Venetian merchants through the siege, and the death of their *Bailo*, or resident, and his son, who had been murdered; but Foscari was overruled by the more prudent, or timid, counsels of the Senate. They contented themselves with demanding back their countrymen who had been made prisoners, and sending a fleet to protect Negropont; and at the same time they despatched ambassadors to Adrianople, to lay the foundations of a new and more solid peace. By a treaty[10] concluded in the following

[8] The Bull, dated at Rome, prid. Kal. Oct. 1453, is in Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* t. ix. p. 616, sqq.

[9] "Nulli neque labori parcens neque impensæ."—Philelphus, *Epist. ad Calixtum III.* lib. xiii. ep. 1.

[10] Given by Marino Sanuto, in Muratori, *Ital. Rer. Scriptt.* t. xxii. p. 1154, sqq. Daru's version in his *Hist. de Venise* is incorrect.

year Venice secured her commerce, but precluded herself from taking part in any future struggle with the Moslems; a defection the more important as she was the only power able to cope with them at sea.[11] The alarm, or rather perhaps the despair, was still greater at Genoa than at Venice. When Constantinople surrendered, Pera delivered its keys to Mahomet by virtue of a capitulation which seemed to secure the rights and privileges of the Peratian colonists. In the preamble Mahomet swore to observe the treaty [12] by God and the prophet, by the seven volumes of the faith, by the 124,000 prophets, by the souls of his forefathers, by his own head and the heads of his children, and, lastly, by the sword which he bore; yet a fortnight after, he entered Pera, caused the greater part of the fortifications on the land side to be demolished, removed the heavy artillery from the ramparts, and ordered the inhabitants to be disarmed. The commerce of Pera was thus threatened with ruin. But the mother city, then torn with domestic factions, had nothing to do with the capitulation; she dreaded the immediate loss of Caffa and her other settlements on the Black Sea; and the Doge of Genoa, Pietro di Campo Fregoso, who was sufficiently employed with his own enemies and rivals, was glad to evade all responsibility regarding these colonies, by making them over, together with Corsica, then menaced by the arms of Alphonso V., to the *Casa di San Giorgio*, or Bank of St. George (Nov. 1453).[13]

With regard to the other European powers, whatever might have been their inclination to take part in the proposed crusade, few or none were in a condition to undertake it. France was exhausted by her long struggle with England [14], and the miseries thereby entailed upon her; while the civil dissensions fermenting in England, precluded all hope of assistance from that country. Spain also was not in a condition to engage in foreign wars; and though Alphonso, King of Naples, made the Pope some promises, he only partially fulfilled them. Burgundy seemed to be the only power that could lend any effectual succour; and Philip the Good

[11] "Magna jactura Veneti nominis, sed major Christianitatis; quæ, superstis Venetis, non habet amplius maris imperium. Neque Cathelani [the Catalans] aut Genuenses, quamvis potentissimi, sine Venetis pares poterunt esse Turcis." —Æn. Sylvius (Piccolomini), *Epist.* 155, *Opera*, p. 706 (ed. 1551).

Yet the Venetians were desirous of purchasing from among the relics at Constantinople Christ's seamless robe, and offered 10,000 ducats; a price rejected by the Turks as inadequate. Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xvi. § 15.

[12] The original treaty in Greek is in Von Hammer, *Gesch. des osman. Reiches*, Th. i. S. 675.

[13] The Casa di San Giorgio was a sort of Genoese East India Company. In 1528 it lost all its territorial possessions, but was compensated by some new taxes raised in its favour. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 31. Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, t. i. p. 31 sq.

[14] See Introduction, p. 69.

would willingly have wiped out the disgrace inflicted by the Turks on his House half a century before at the battle of Nicopolis; but he feared that his neighbour, Charles VII., might attack his dominions when stripped of their defenders. His only contribution to the cause of the Church was a splendid and absurd fête, in which the Knights of the Golden Fleece took part [15]; but the project of an expedition to the East remained a sort of dream, with which the half chivalrous though sensual Philip amused his declining years until his death.

Thus the whole weight of the Turkish war fell upon the Emperor Frederick III., and on Hungary, or rather on the latter country alone, for Frederick was prevented from doing anything by the disturbed state of his own dominions. In 1451 the Emperor had proceeded to Rome for his coronation, taking with him his ward, the young King Ladislaus Posthumus of Hungary.[16] During their absence, Count Ulrich of Cilly, great maternal uncle of Ladislaus, and Eyzinger, a Hungarian Knight, had excited disturbances on the pretence that the Hungarian King was unlawfully detained. When Frederick returned to Vienna, Eyzinger appeared before the Neustadt with a large army: even the Austrians themselves rose against their Sovereign, who was besieged in his palace, and compelled to surrender Ladislaus, then thirteen years of age, to the guardianship of Count Cilly (September 4th 1452). A council, composed of Bohemian, Austrian, and Hungarian deputies, conferred the regency of Hungary on John of Hunyad, that of Bohemia on George Podiebrad. Cilly obtained the title of "Superior Captain and Administrator of the Royal Revenue;" but Hunyad laid his hands on that of Hungary, allowing the young King only a certain yearly pension.

In 1453 Eyzinger formed a conspiracy against Count Cilly, whose government had excited great discontent, and, with the help of the Austrian States, compelled him to fly. Eyzinger was now installed in his stead as the young King's guardian; and he soon after carried Ladislaus to Prague, where he received the Bohemian crown from the hands of the Bishop of Olmütz (October 28th). During these transactions, Frederick III., almost powerless in his own hereditary dominions, was in a still worse condition as Emperor [17]; in fact, he seemed almost to have forgotten Germany, and contented himself with entrusting the affairs of the empire to

[15] See Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 183; Olivier de la Marche, liv. i. ch. 29.

[16] See above, p. 29.

[17] A letter of Æneas Sylvius (*Epist.* 127) conveys a striking picture of the disorganised state of the empire at this period.

commissaries. In such a state of things it was not to be expected that the Pope's Bull for a crusade should obtain much attention. Frederick indeed summoned a diet to meet at Ratisbon, in the spring of 1454, which was afterwards adjourned to Frankfort; but instead of appearing himself he delegated the matter to Æneas Sylvius. The energy and eloquence of that minister, and the urgent representations of the Hungarian ambassadors, who described the Turks as already threatening their frontiers, procured a vote of 10,000 men-at-arms and 30,000 infantry, but without fixing the time at which they should take the field.

The Hungarian ambassadors did not exaggerate. After the capture of Constantinople and submission of Peloponnesus, Mahomet II. turned his views to the North, and in 1454 overran Servia, which, though a tributary state, still obeyed its own despot, George. In this emergency John of Hunyad, who had been appointed by the Hungarian diet Captain-General of the National Force, compelled the Turks to raise the siege of Semendri, the most important of all the Servian fortresses on the Danube. Mahomet retired in the direction of Sophia, carrying with him 50,000 Servian prisoners.[18] Hunyad, after defeating another large Turkish division, wrested Widdin from the Turks, which he burnt; and then recrossing the Danube, took up a strong position near Belgrade.

In the following year the Turks again appeared in the southern part of Servia, but nothing of importance took place. A German diet, assembled at Vienna Neustadt, had separated on the announcement of the death of Pope Nicholas V.[19] (March 1455), without voting any aid to the Hungarians; but an extraordinary character had appeared there, a new Peter the Hermit, who succeeded in extorting from the zeal of the people what could not be raised by the care of the government. This was the fanatical Minorite, Giovanni da Capestrano, who had already filled all Europe with the fame of his miracles, and of his fiery zeal for the orthodox faith. Born in 1386 of a noble family, at the little town of Capestrano, in the Abruzzi, Giovanni had been bred up to the profession of the law, but soon abandoned it for one more congenial to his fanatical enthusiasm. Æneas Sylvius describes him as small of stature, mere skin and bone, but strong of mind, cheerful, laborious, learned, and eloquent. Capestrano had travelled through great part of Italy and Germany; and although his

[18] The campaign is described by Hunyad himself in a letter to the Emperor Frederick, in Katona, t. xiii. p. 963.

[19] Nicholas was distinguished by the architectural improvements with which he embellished Rome, as well as by his patronage of literature. He was the founder of the University of Glasgow.

discourses were delivered in Latin and afterwards translated by an interpreter, he had a singular talent of filling the masses he addressed with the same enthusiasm which animated himself. Æneas Sylvius had invited him to Neustadt in the hope that his eloquence might work on the assembled princes. That expectation was disappointed; but Capestrano was daily listened to with avidity by 20,000 or 30,000 Viennese, who received him as an apostle endowed with miraculous powers, and fell down and kissed his garment.[20]

The new Pope, Calixtus III., seconded the efforts of Capestrano, and sent him the cross. Thus armed, the monk traversed the greater part of Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and even Servia, and collected from those countries and from Germany a large tumultuary host. Calixtus displayed the greatest zeal in the cause. He had solemnly vowed on the Gospels to use every effort, even to the shedding of his own blood, to recover Constantinople from the infidels; he alienated part of his domains to raise money for the crusade, and even pawned his mitre, as Eugenius IV. had done before him[21]: yet with all these efforts, added to the tithe collected in Europe under the papal Bull, it was with difficulty that a fleet of sixteen galleys could be equipped! More attention was paid to the Pope's spiritual behests; and if the nations of Europe were disinclined to fight, they at least consented to pray against the Turks. At noon the "Turks' bell" was daily sounded in every parish, and processions were instituted, and prayers offered up, to arrest the progress of the common enemy of Christendom.[22]

Mahomet II. spent the winter of 1455 in preparing an expedition against Belgrade. Vast stores of ammunition and provisions were collected; a number of cannon of large calibre were cast, many of them near thirty feet long, with seven mortars for discharging stones of enormous size; and a fleet of vessels of small draught was prepared in the Lower Danube, partly to convey the artillery, and partly to prevent Belgrade from being relieved from the river. In June 1456 the march of the Turkish army began. Mahomet arrived before Belgrade without resistance, and pitched his tent on an eminence within sight of the town; a line of Turkish vessels secured with chains was flung across the stream above Belgrade, near the confluence of the Save and Danube; the town

[20] Matthew Döring (ap. Palacky, B. iv. S. 283) draws a less pleasing portrait of Capestrano, and describes him as fond of good eating and drinking, impatient of contradiction, &c. It makes a great difference whether the picture be drawn by a Roman Catholic or a Hussite.

[21] Bernini, ap. Zinkeisen.

[22] Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* t. x. p. 67.

was invested on the land side, and Mahomet's terrible artillery opened on its thick walls and lofty towers.

The whole burthen of the war rested on the shoulders of Hunyad. By the advice of timid counsellors, King Ladislaus, on the approach of the Turks, had fled by night from Buda to Vienna; while the neighbouring Hungarian barons were only roused from their apathetic slumbers by the roar of the Turkish cannon. Hunyad's force amounted to about 60,000 men, after the junction of Capestrano with his levies; but these were for the most part mere rabble, without proper arms or discipline—peasants, bankrupt tradesmen, monks, hermits, students, and adventurers of every sort. Capestrano was at their head with a band of congenial friars, one of whom, John Tagliacozzo, has written a description of the campaign.[23]

After a fortnight's bombardment, the walls of Belgrade were beginning to crumble, when John of Hunyad's vessels broke through the line of Turkish galleys; and that commander, accompanied by Capestrano, and followed by the greater part of his army, succeeded in throwing himself into the town (July 14th). The breaches were hastily repaired, the few cannon still serviceable remounted. Enraged at seeing himself thus foiled, Mahomet redoubled his efforts, and at length established his troops on the outworks. On the evening of July 21st a general assault was ordered; the combat was continued through the night, and by the morning the Janissaries had penetrated into the fortress, when they were surprised and repulsed by the Hungarian troops whom Hunyad had placed in ambush. Carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, Capestrano's followers, no longer to be restrained, pursued the flying enemy, carried the first and second lines of the Turkish entrenchments, with all the artillery, and were only arrested by the third, the ramparts and ditches which defended the permanent camp. Here Mahomet himself rushed into the thickest of the fight, clearing wherever he charged a path through the assailants, till a severe wound obliged him to quit the field. The Hungarians had now turned the captured guns against the Turkish fortifications; even the Janissaries began to waver; and though a charge of Osmanli horse seemed for a while to restore the fortune of the day, yet the Sultan, in despair, gave towards evening the signal for a retreat, which was soon converted into a disorderly flight. Furious with rage and disappointment, Mahomet, at Sophia, slew with his own hand many of his captains and attendants, or caused them to be executed before his eyes.[24]

[23] Printed in Katona, t. xiii. p. 1098 sqq.; cf. Raynaldus, t. x. p. 70 sqq.

[24] The principal authorities for the siege of Belgrade are Tagliacozzo and

The news of the relief of Belgrade diffused a universal joy through Europe, which, however, was soon damped by the death of Hunyad. The pestilential disorders which began to waste his troops had also compelled that commander to retreat; and he himself died suddenly at Semlin, August 11th 1456, only a few weeks after his victory. Hunyad was of the middle stature, and broad-shouldered; his chestnut hair flowed in natural curls; his eyes were large, his complexion ruddy, his countenance open and engaging.[25] Capestrano also expired in the following October, and thus Christendom was suddenly deprived of two of its foremost champions.

At this period, Count Cilly again administered the dominions of the youthful Ladislaus, having, in April 1455, in turn succeeded in overthrowing Eyzinger. Cilly's policy had had two objects—to annoy Frederick III., and to ruin Hunyad, whom he regarded with implacable hatred. Cilly, assisted by Frederick's own brother Albert, by the elector Palatine Frederick, surnamed the Victorious, and by other potentates, had attempted to depose the Emperor, who, with obscure menaces, was summoned to appear before a diet at Nuremberg, in November 1456; but that assembly more intent on their own interests, which throve by the Emperor's weakness, than moved by the grievances of the German nation, declined to second the views of Cilly and his confederates. Cilly's designs against Hunyad were a great deal more atrocious. A little before that commander's expedition to Belgrade, Cilly had invited him to Vienna, and there endeavoured to procure his assassination, which Hunyad escaped only by a fortunate discovery. After Hunyad's death, Cilly continued to plot against his family. Hunyad had left two sons, Ladislaus and Matthias Corvinus; and Cilly, wishing to obtain possession of Belgrade, invited the elder to the court of King Ladislaus, at the same time furnishing him with a safe-conduct. The interview was seemingly of the most friendly kind: Ladislaus Corvinus promised to give up Belgrade, besides all the other fortresses held by his father's troops, and Cilly and the young King descended the Danube with a considerable army to take possession. An intercepted letter revealed the Count's design of taking the lives of both Hunyad's sons, who resolved to anticipate him by a similar stroke. After the King, Count Cilly, and a few followers had entered the gate of Belgrade, the portcullis was suddenly lowered, and they were disarmed. At an interview on the following day, which Cilly attended unarmed, but with a cuirass under his clothes, Hunyad's sons produced the intercepted letter, and

[25] Chalcondylas, lib. viii. (p. 417 sqq. ed. Bonn); who, however, vary considerably. Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 197.

charged Cilly with his meditated crime. A warm altercation ensued; the Count, seeing the fate that awaited him, snatched a sword from an attendant, and wounded Ladislaus Corvinus on the head, but was immediately cut down and despatched by some guards, who rushed in at a concerted signal (November 1456).[26]

The hypocritical young King affected to approve the murder of his guardian and quieted his army outside the walls of Belgrade, which was preparing to come to his rescue. He appeared to bear no ill-will towards Hunyad's sons and accompanied them to the castle of Temesvar, the residence of their widowed mother, where he bound himself by an oath and a written promise to abstain from avenging the death of Cilly. But in the following year he invited them to Buda, where they were immediately arrested; and by a summary process the elder was condemned to be beheaded (March 1457). Æneas Sylvius describes him as a comely youth of twenty-four, with long light hair hanging loose upon his shoulders, after the Hungarian fashion.[27] Clothed in a long garment of gold brocade, his hands tied behind his back, Ladislaus Corvinus walked with undaunted step and cheerful countenance to the place of execution, and met his death with fortitude, though the bungling headsman took four strokes to accomplish it. King Ladislaus then proceeded to Vienna, carrying with him Matthias Corvinus as a prisoner. But he did not long outlive his namesake. Podiebrad invited him to Prague to celebrate his nuptials with Magdalen, daughter of Charles VII. of France; and he had not been long in that city when he was carried off by the plague in the 18th year of his age (Nov. 23rd 1457). Most of the contemporary chronicles, as well as Æneas Sylvius, accuse Podiebrad and the Utraquists of having poisoned him.[28]

After the death of King Ladislaus several competitors arose for the crown of Hungary; as William Duke of Saxony and Casimir King of Poland, as sons-in-law of Albert II.; and Charles VII. of France, either for any prince that might marry his daughter, so inopportunely disappointed, or for one of his own sons; while Frederick III. demanded Bohemia as a vacant fief that reverted to the empire. In Hungary, the popular feeling was in favour of Matthias Corvinus; but there was an influential party opposed to

[26] The circumstances of Cilly's death are variously related. Coxe (*House of Austria*, ch. xiii.), who places it in March, 1457, attributes it to an accidental rencounter; but there can be no doubt that it was a premeditated murder, which Æneas Sylvius, in a letter to Alphonso of Aragon, even attempts to justify (*Epist.* 253, *Opera*, p. 785). The substance of the account in the text is taken from Engel, B. iii. S. 200, and Palacky, B. iv. S. 400.

[27] *Hist. Bohem.* (*Op.* p. 140.)

[28] Engel, B. iii. S, 213.

the Hunyad family, the chiefs of which were Ladislaus of Gara, the Palatine, Nicholas of Ujlak, Voyvode of Transylvania, the Archbishop of Gran, and the Bishops of Raab and Agram. This party had summoned a diet to meet at Buda in January 1458, for the purpose of electing a King. On the day appointed for the election, Szilagyi, uncle of Matthias Corvinus, drew out a large body of troops under the pretext of protecting the electors, and by way of intimidating the opposite party, erected a gallows, conspicuous on the banks of the Danube. The populace assembled in great numbers on the frozen river, and the electors, overawed by this display, bestowed the crown on Matthias Corvinus [29] (January 24th 1458).

Podiebrad, the Bohemian Regent, who had refused large sums offered by the family of Matthias for his release, was now all complaisance towards his illustrious prisoner, in whose election he foresaw his own. He betrothed his daughter Cunigund to the Hungarian King, and after receiving a ransom of 60,000 ducats, and a promise of aid in obtaining the Crown of Bohemia, he conducted Matthias Corvinus over the frontiers. The new monarch was then only fifteen years of age; but he had already the spirit of a man, and he astonished the Hungarian nobles, as well as his uncle Szilagyi, who had obtained the appointment of Gubernator, or Regent, for a term of five years, by declaring his intention to reign without a tutor. Szilagyi, disgusted at what he deemed his nephew's ingratitude, joined the party that had opposed his election; but Matthias won him back with the government of Bistritz, on condition of his renouncing the title of Gubernator. Such was the spirit with which Matthias Corvinus began his long reign. It lasted till 1490; and during that period he rivalled his father as a champion against the Turks, without neglecting, in the midst of his warlike enterprises, the encouragement of literature and art.

In Bohemia, Podiebrad was elected to the throne, chiefly by the influence of the Hussite party, at Whitsuntide 1458. The Emperor flew to arms; but finding small support from the Bohemian Catholics, and being also embarrassed with the affairs of his hereditary dominions, as well as anxious to seize the crown of Hungary, he agreed in 1459 to invest Podiebrad with the Bohemian kingdom, and concluded with him a defensive alliance against all enemies but the Pope.

[29] Matthias particularly affected the name of Corvinus for its Roman sound, though it had not been customarily used by his father. Engel, B. iii. S. 298 Anm.

In Hungary the large party opposed to the Hunyad family favoured the pretensions of Frederick III.; who, in February 1459, caused himself to be crowned at Neustadt with the crown of St. Stephen, pledged to him by Elizabeth, which still remained in his possession [30]; and he shortly afterwards entered Hungary with an army, one of the wings of which was commanded by Nicholas of Ujlak, the Voyvode of Transylvania. The hostilities between the Emperor and King Matthias, which, with the interval of a long truce, continued four years, are devoid of any events of importance, and were concluded in 1463 by a peace, mediated through the Papal Legates, the Cardinals Bessarion and Carvajal. Frederick delivered to Matthias the crown of St. Stephen on receiving 60,000 ducats; but he retained the title of King of Hungary, and stipulated for the succession of his son to that kingdom, in the event of Matthias dying without heirs. In the same year Matthias had consummated his marriage with Podiebrad's daughter, who, however died before the end of it in bringing forth a dead child. Matthias was crowned with the Holy Crown at Stuhlweissenburg, March 29th 1464.

Meanwhile an insurrection, occasioned by bad government, had broken out in Austria. Wolfgang Holzer, the son of a cattle dealer, assisted by the Emperor's brother, Albert the Prodigal, who reigned in Upper Austria, excited the people of Vienna to rebellion and got possession of that capital (July 1462); and Frederick, who had hastened thither in alarm for the safety of the Empress and his son Maximilian, was kept waiting three days outside the gates till he had signed a capitulation. Even when admitted, he was entirely at the mercy of the insurgents, and would certainly have been captured had not Podiebrad marched to his relief. The Bohemian King now mediated a peace between the brothers, by which Albert obtained Lower Austria, with the city of Vienna, for a term of eight years. But his extravagance and tyranny soon became so intolerable that the Austrians regretted the sway of the tame and phlegmatic Frederick. Holzer, now burgomaster of Vienna, directed the fury of the populace against Albert; but he contrived to persuade them that Holzer was playing them false, and the demagogue was tortured and executed. The war which again arose between the brothers was terminated by the sudden death of Albert, December 2nd 1463; and Frederick reunited all Austria under his dominion.

Occupied with these domestic quarrels, Frederick could bestow little attention on the affairs of the German Empire, which was

[30] Mailath, *Gesch. der Magyaren*, B. iii. S. 40.

torn by domestic wars, and where in 1461 another abortive attempt was made to depose him. These disturbances, as well as the contest between the Emperor and Matthias, favoured the progress of Mahomet II., who often stroked his beard and vowed to take vengeance for his defeat at Belgrade. In 1458 he overran nearly all Servia, and carrying a great part of the population into slavery, supplied their place with Osmanlis. Henceforward Servia remained a Turkish province. Mahomet next turned his views towards Bosnia. Stephen Thomas, King of Bosnia, was already a tributary of the Porte; but disgusted with Turkish tyranny, he had appealed to a Hungarian diet held at Segedin [31] in 1458, which agreed to protect him, and invested his son with a portion of Servia that still remained unconquered. For the next three or four years Mahomet left Bosnia without much molestation, and in 1462 employed himself in reducing Wallachia. The Voyvodes, or Hospodars, of Wallachia, had been vassals of Poland, but after the fall of Constantinople became, like other neighbouring Princes, tributary to the Porte. Here had reigned since 1456 the cold-blooded tyrant Bladus, the son of Drakul. Mahomet himself is related to have shuddered with horror, when, on arriving with his army at Praylab, he beheld the place of execution, a plain more than two miles in extent, planted with stakes, on which upwards of 20,000 persons, men, women, and children, had been impaled by this inhuman monster.[32] In the following year (1463) the Turks overran the Herzegovina, reduced the Voyvode of Montenegro, and renewed their attempts on Bosnia. In the last-named country, King Stephen Thomas fell a victim to his own ill-timed generosity and the crimes of his unnatural son. In the disguise of a monk, Mahomet II. had penetrated into Bosnia to inspect its fortresses. He was discovered and brought before Stephen, who, neglecting the opportunity which fortune had thrown in his way, honourably dismissed the Sultan.[33] A large party of the nobles, displeased with this act, joined the party of Stephen's son, who was in open rebellion against his father, and soon after murdered him. Bosnia was now torn by the factions of three claimants of the Crown: that of the assassin, of Ban Radivoi his brother, and of Catherine, Stephen's widow—a state of things

[31] It was by a decree of this diet that the troops called *Hussars* were created. The twentieth man of all the vassals of the nobles was ordered to be armed as a trooper, who from *husz*, signifying in Hungarian twenty, and *ar*, a Slavonian suffix, obtained the name of *Huszar*. Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 229 Anm.

[32] Chalcondylas (lib. ix. p. 513 sq. ed. Bonn).

[33] Schimek, *Politische Gesch. des Königreichs Bosnien und Rama*, ap. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 142.

which enabled Mahomet to attack that country with advantage. These movements of the Turks were a principal reason with King Matthias for concluding with Frederick III. in 1463 the peace already mentioned. In September of that year, having assembled his vassals at Peterwardein, Matthias crossed the Save into Bosnia, drove the Turks before him, and after a siege of three months recovered the important fortress of Jaicza. At Christmas, having been forced to retire by a want of provisions, he entered Buda in triumph, followed by a long train of Osmanli prisoners clad in purple dresses.[34] In 1564, however, Jaicza, after a memorable defence, and in spite of the attempts of Matthias to relieve it, was captured by Mahomet; when all Bosnia, except a few fortresses and a small district in the North, fell into the hands of the Turks. Matthias made Nicholas of Ujlak King of the unconquered portion.

During these struggles Matthias Corvinus had in vain looked around for help. The accession of Æneas Sylvius to the Pontificate in 1458, under the title of Pius II., had, from his well-known zeal in the cause, awakened an expectation that something would be effected against the Infidels. One of that pontiff's first steps was to assemble a council at Mantua (August 1459) for the purpose of organising a crusade; but, in spite of the eloquence of Cardinal Bessarion, little was done. The complaints of the Hungarian envoys, that the Emperor left them no repose to turn their arms against the common enemy were hushed by Pius himself, Frederick's friend and former minister. On adding up the promises when the council was dissolved in January 1560, an army of 88,000 men appeared upon paper; but on paper it remained. The crusade was evidently a pious chimæra: yet it continued to be talked of; the Emperor had the vanity to procure himself to be declared generalissimo, and the Pope sent him a sword and hat which he had blessed!

Yet the zeal of Pius II. was unaffected and continued till his death, which indeed it contributed to hasten. He was even enthusiastic enough to fancy that his exhortations might work on a hardened and ambitious conqueror like Mahomet, and in a remarkable letter (1461) he exhorted the Sultan to be baptized; promising in reward for his compliance to salute him as Emperor of the East, and to confer on him by right what at present he held only by force![35]

The resistance against the Turks, which flagged under the

[34] Matthias has himself described this expedition in a letter to Pope Pius II. (in Katona, t. xiv. p. 666 sqq.

[35] *Opera*, p. 872, *Epist.* 396.

stimulus of religious zeal, was at length roused by the avidity of commerce and the plans of secular ambition. Scarcely had Servia, Wallachia, and Bosnia been conquered by the Turks, when a war broke out between them and the Venetians, which during some years diverted the Moslem arms from any formidable attempts against the rest of Europe.

Although by the treaty concluded with Mahomet II. after the fall of Constantinople, Venice had abandoned the common cause of Christendom, yet it might have been foreseen that the interests of her trade and the nature and extent of her empire, which brought her at so many points into contact with the Turks, must at no distant period involve her in hostilities with them. The treaty had already been frequently violated on both sides in some of its most important articles, when in the spring of 1463 an event that occurred in the Morea rendered a war inevitable. A slave belonging to the Pasha of Athens, having robbed his master of 100,000 aspers, fled to the Venetian town of Koron, where Girolamo Valaresso, one of the magistrates, not only sheltered the fugitive, but even divided with him the booty.[36] The enraged Pasha now appeared with a considerable force before Argos, which was betrayed to him by a Greek priest; for the hatred of those fanatics for the Latin heretics outweighed even their fear of the Mussulman yoke. At the same time Omar Bey, the Turkish governor of the Morea, annoyed and plundered the Venetian districts of Modon and Lepanto, and an unceasing system of annoyance was kept up on both sides. Luigi Loredano, the Venetian admiral, having, according to his instructions, in vain demanded the restoration of Argos, requested his government to supply him with 20,000 men in order to make an attack upon Lesbos; an application which brought the decisive question of war or peace before the *Pregadi*. Pius II. used every exertion to arouse the martial ardour of the Venetians and sent Cardinal Bessarion to promise his aid. After a warm debate, war was decided on by a small majority of the Venetian senate; and in September an alliance was concluded between Venice, the Pope, and the King of Hungary, by which it was agreed to carry on the war for three years, and that none of the contracting parties should enter into a separate peace. The Venetians were to maintain a fleet of forty three-banked galleys, while the Hungarians were to infest the northern Turkish provinces; for which purpose, in consideration of a subsidy of 25,000 ducats, they were to raise an army of 25,000 men. The Venetians also

[36] Sanuto, *Vite de' Duchi*, ap. Muratori, *SS.* t. xxii. p. 1172.

contracted an alliance with the Sultan of Caramania, and with Usan Hassan, chief of a Turkoman horde in Mesopotamia, who subsequently established the dynasty of the White Sheep in Persia.

Nothing could exceed the ardour of Pius II. in this projected enterprise against the Turks. Notwithstanding his years and infirmities, he declared his intention of taking the Cross in person, and summoned the younger Cardinals to accompany him. How could temporal Princes hang back when they beheld their aged Spiritual Father and the Princes of the Church, men whose profession called on them to sheath instead of draw the sword, hazarding their sacred persons in an encounter with the Infidels? Yet the example failed to produce much effect. Philip of Burgundy, indeed, reiterated his promises, and, to put himself in funds, restored to Louis XI. the towns on the Somme, which had been pledged to the Duke for 40,000 ducats. Yet two ships were the sole and tardy fruits of his engagements. Ferdinand of Naples sent 30,000 ducats—half the legacy destined by his father for this holy purpose. The Genoese promised eight ships. The Florentines, so far from aiding the expedition, secretly sided with the Turks, in the hope of reaping those commercial advantages which the Venetians would lose by the war; and they are said to have betrayed the Venetian correspondence to Mahomet, and to have prompted him as to the measures which he should take.[37] Personally at least even the Doge of Venice, Cristoforo Moro, was against the war, and pleaded his great age in excuse for not proceeding to it; but Vittore Capello, the leader of the war party, told him plainly that if he would not go with good words he should go by force, and that the interests of the Republic were of more importance than his life. Such were the power and liberty of the chief magistrate of Venice!

The Venetian fleet was reinforced, and unlimited power was conferred on Loredano to act for the interest of the Republic. The Venetians aimed at nothing less than the conquest of the Morea, the yearly revenue of which still amounted to 300,000 ducats. Their army in that country, under the command of Bertoldo d'Este, numbered about 30,000 men, including 3000 or or 4000 Cretan bowmen. Argos was recovered after a short siege, and Corinth was then invested both by sea and land. The wall of the Hexamilion was again repaired, to prevent the approach of succours from the north; and the labour of 30,000 men by day and night completed this structure in a fortnight. It was 12 feet

[37] MS. *Chroniche di Firenze del Dei*, ap. Hammer, Th. ii. SS. 72 und 550.

high, and was fortified with 136 watch towers and a deep ditch on both sides: in the middle stood an altar for the service of the mass, high over which floated the standard of St. Mark.[38]

This defence, however, proved of little avail. It served, indeed, to arrest the advance of Omar Pasha, who was hastening from the south to the relief of Corinth; but the approach of Mahomet himself with a large army on the northern side struck a panic into the Venetians, whose numbers had been reduced by dysentery, and who had lost their commander. They resolved to abandon the isthmus and its defences, and all the guns, ammunition, and provisions were hastily embarked on board the fleet. This ill-considered step proved the loss of the Morea. Scarce had the Venetian galleys quitted the isthmus when Mahomet appeared before the wall, breached it with his artillery, and, entering the Morea, speedily reduced the places which the Venetians had acquired either by revolt or capture.

The year 1464 offers little of importance, except the death of Pius II. That learned and enthusiastic pontiff, whose body was already broken down with age and disease, after a solemn service in St. Peter's, June 19th, set off in a litter for Ancona, accompanied by several cardinals, to fulfil his intention of leading the crusade in person. But when, exhausted with the fatigues of his journey, he arrived at that port, he found neither soldiers, nor money, nor ships, but only a beggarly rabble without any means of transport. The last of those who had undertaken the crusade at their own expense, tired of waiting for the Venetian fleet, departed under the very eyes of the Pope, while the poorer sort were clamouring for employment and bread. This heart-rending scene gave Pius his death-blow. The arrival of the Venetian fleet was signalled on the 10th of August; but on that very night Pius breathed his last, without having seen the Doge.

In September, Pietro Barbo, a Venetian, and Cardinal of St. Mark, was elected as the successor of Pius, and took the title of Paul II. The natural expectation that he would support his countrymen in their struggle with the Turks was not realised; and, indeed, he rather injured their cause, by directing against Bohemia the arms of Matthias Corvinus, the only ally of Venice. The high opinion formed of Paul's talent and virtue was disappointed, and he displayed in his conduct only passion, imprudence, perfidy, and ambition.

[38] Sanuto, *ib.* p. 1173; Sabellico, *Historiæ Rerum Venetiarum*, in the *Istorici delle Cose Veneziane*, Venezia, 1718, t. i. p. 718, ap. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 300. Sabellico is an important authority for this war.

The ill success of the Venetians in the campaign of 1465 led them again to seek the alliance of the Albanian chieftain, Scanderbeg, whom Mahomet had long in vain endeavoured to subdue; and Kroja and Scutari received Venetian garrisons. In 1466, Mahomet marched against Albania with an apparently overwhelming force of 200,000 men; but the attacks of Scanderbeg, and the difficulty of providing for so numerous an army, compelled him to retire. In the following January, however, Scanderbeg expired at Alessio, from the effects of a fever, recommending with his dying breath his son, John Castriot, a minor, to the protection of the Venetians. When Mahomet, some years afterwards, obtained possession of Alessio, he caused Scanderbeg's tomb to be opened, and his remains to be exhibited to the admiring Osmanlis. Pieces of his bones were sought for with avidity, to be converted into talismans, which were deemed capable of inspiring the wearers with some portion of the valour of that unconquered hero.[39]

For the next two or three years the Turkish and Venetian war offers little of importance. In July 1470, the Turks made themselves masters of the important island of Negropont, the ancient Eubœa. Towards the north, large bodies of their cavalry had penetrated, in 1469, as far as Cilli in Styria, devastating all around, and carrying off 20,000 persons into slavery. The alarm inspired in Italy by their progress produced, at the instance of the Pope, a league, which, besides the Pontiff, included the King of Naples, the Dukes of Milan and Modena, the republics of Florence, Lucca, and Siena, and Ferdinand of Aragon; yet it only added a reinforcement of nineteen Neapolitan and Papal galleys to the Venetian fleet, and achieved nothing of importance, except the surprising, plundering, and burning of Smyrna, in 1472. Meanwhile, from their fortress of Sabatz on the Save, the Turkish incursions were repeated every year, with a still increasing circle. The inhabitants of Laybach and Klagenfurt beheld those savage hordes sweeping up to their very gates, devastating the surrounding country, and carrying off the peasants as well as their flocks and herds. Matthias is said to have favoured some of these attacks on his ancient enemy Frederick; at all events, he made no attempt to check them till 1475, when, after taking Sabatz, he penetrated with his army down the Save and Danube to Semendria, driving the enemy before him; a success which shows what might have been achieved by well-concerted efforts. Venetian writers accuse Matthias of having, through the mediation of a Jew, con-

[39] Barletius, *De Vita et Gestis Scanderbegi*, in Lonicerus, *Chron. Turc.* t. iii. p. 230; Cf. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S 396.

cluded a secret peace with Mahomet [40], to which the Neapolitan King was also a party. The Hungarian Monarch had, in 1476, contracted a marriage with Beatrice, daughter of Ferdinand of Naples: and it is certain that the bride passed through the Turkish army, on her way to Hungary, and was treated with respect.[41] In that year the Turks approached the Salzburg Alps, and the very borders of Italy; and in the summer of 1477, their ravages were repeated in a still more dreadful manner: crossing the Isonzo, they threatened even Venice herself, and the sea-queen might have beheld from her towers the columns of fire that rose in the plains between the Tagliamento and the Piave. After the enemy had retired, the Venetians attempted to secure themselves from a repetition of this insult, by throwing up a lofty rampart on the banks of the Lower Isonzo, from Görtz to the marshes of Aquileia, protected at each end by a fortified camp. But scarcely was it completed, when a fresh swarm of Osmanlis, under Omar Bey, broke through in several places, and 100 villages became at once a prey to the flames. The historian Sabellico, who beheld this fearful spectacle from a tower near Udine, likened the whole plain between the Isonzo and the Tagliamento to a sea of fire.[42]

In other respects the arms of the Turks had not been successful. An attempt on Kroja in 1477 had been repulsed; and in Greece Lepanto had been delivered by Loredano and his fleet. But the war had now lasted thirteen years, and the resources of Venice were almost exhausted. The withdrawal of the Pope and the King of Naples from the Italian League, the family alliance between Ferdinand and King Matthias, their reported treaty with the Sultan, their suspected designs on Northern Italy, a dreadful plague which ravaged the Venetian dominions, all these were causes which induced this republic to enter into negociations with Mahomet (1478), and their ambassador Malipiero was instructed to submit to all the demands of the Sultan. But those demands rose with the concessions offered, and the Venetians in disgust resolved to continue the war. It went, however, in favour of the Turks. Kroja surrendered on a capitulation, which was not respected; Scutari was twice assaulted and then blockaded. Meanwhile the resources of Venice continued to decline, and Giovanni Dario, the Secretary of the Senate, was despatched to Constantinople, with full powers, to conclude a peace on any conditions. A treaty was accordingly signed, January 26th 1479, by which the

[40] Cf. Philelphi *Epist.* p. 195 (ed. 1502).

[41] Engel, B. iii. S. 349 f. und Anm.

[42] *Hist. Rer. Venet.* p. 111, ap. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 377.

Venetians ceded Scutari and its territory, Kroja, the islands of Lemnos and Negropont, and the highlands of Maina, and engaged to restore within two months all the places which they had captured during the war. They also agreed to pay the Grand Seignior a yearly sum of 10,000 ducats, in lieu of all customs on Venetian goods imported into Turkish harbours. The Sultan, on his side, restored all the places in the Morea, Albania, and Dalmatia, except those before specified. Although the states of Europe had done little or nothing to assist Venice in her arduous struggle with the Turk, they agreed in abusing the peace which necessity had imposed upon her.

While the Venetian commerce was secured by this treaty, that of the Genoese in the Black Sea had been nearly annihilated during the last few years of the war. In 1475, Caffa, their principal colony, fell into the hands of the Turks, whence Mahomet extended his dominion over the smaller settlements. Although Caffa had capitulated, the Turks, with their habitual disregard of such engagements, carried off 40,000 of the inhabitants; many of the principal citizens were barbarously tortured and killed, and fifteen hundred of the most promising youths were incorporated in the Janissaries.

The peace enabled Mahomet to direct his operations against Hungary and Italy. In 1479 the Turks made dreadful incursions into Sclavonia, Hungary, and Transylvania; but Paul Kinis, Count of Temesvar, whose name was long a terror to them, and Stephen Bathori, Voyvode of Transylvania, inflicted on them a memorable defeat on the Brotfeld, near Szasz Varos, or Broos (October 13th). An anecdote will show the brutality of these wars. At a supper after the victory, the bodies of the Turks were made to supply the place of tables, and Count Kinis himself danced to the sound of military music, holding a dead Turk between his teeth.[43] This signal defeat put a stop for some time to the Turkish incursions.

Mahomet soon after the peace wrested three of the Ionian Islands, St[a] Maura, Zante, and Cephalonia, from the despot of Arta. This conquest afforded the Sultan an opportunity to display one of those singular caprices in which despotic power alone can indulge. He caused some of the inhabitants to be conveyed to the islands in the Sea of Marmora, where he compelled them to intermarry with Africans, in order that he might have a race of coloured slaves![44] The Turks also made an ineffectual attempt to

[43] Engel, B. iii. S. 366. The Hungarians adopted the Turkish custom of cutting off the heads of their fallen foes. Two waggon-loads of Turks' heads were exhibited to the Hungarian Diet in 1492 (*ib.* p. 48).

[44] Cantacusino, ap. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 449.

take Rhodes, which was valiantly defended by the knights under their Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson.

The aid afforded to the knights, on this occasion, by Ferdinand of Naples, determined Mahomet to undertake an expedition against that monarch. The state of Italy was favourable to such an attempt; but, before relating its progress, it will be proper to take a brief review of the history of that country.

The treaty of Lodi before mentioned[45], to which Alphonso, King of Naples, acceded in January 1455, might have secured the peace of Italy, but for that monarch's implacable hatred of Genoa. The domestic factions of this city, and Alphonso's superiority at sea, compelled the Genoese to purchase the aid of France by submitting themselves to Charles VII., who invested John, Duke of Anjou, with the government of Genoa. This appointment of his ancient enemy incited Alphonso to still more vigorous action, and the fall of Genoa appeared imminent, when she was unexpectedly delivered by the death of the Neapolitan King, June 27th 1458.

In spite of some defects, Alphonso must be regarded as one of the greatest and most generous princes of the fifteenth century. He was both wise and courageous, he loved and patronised literature, and he was remarkable for a liberality which not unfrequently degenerated into profusion. His chief defects were his immeasurable ambition and his unbridled licentiousness. His last amour with a certain Lucretia d' Alagna, the daughter of a Neapolitan gentleman, has been recorded by the good pontiff Pius II., without a word of censure, in the *Commentaries* written after he was seated in the chair of St. Peter.[46]

Alphonso, as we have said in the Introduction, appointed by his will his natural son Ferdinand to be his successor on the throne of Naples; and, in spite of his illegitimacy, Ferdinand had been recognised by two successive Popes, Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V., as rightful heir. In order to strengthen his son's claim, Alphonso had restored to the Neapolitan States the right of electing their own King and making their own laws; and the States, out of gratitude for the recovery of these privileges, had confirmed the title of Ferdinand (1443). Calixtus III., however, who filled the papal chair at the time of Alphonso's death, refused to invest Ferdinand with the sovereignty of Naples, on the pretence that the

[45] Introduction, p. 52.

[46] Lib. i. p. 27 (ed. Frankf. 1614). Pius indeed believed Lucretia to be as chaste as her namesake of antiquity. The Life of Alphonso has been written by his counsellor and secretary, Antonio Beccatelli, called Panhormita, from his birthplace Palermo. This work, entitled *Dicta et Facta Alphonsi Regis Aragoniæ*, has been illustrated by the comments of Piccolomini, or Æneas Sylvius, and has been frequently printed.

war with Genoa prevented the forces of Italy from being employed against the Turks; but in reality, it is said, with the ambitious view of raising one of his nephews, the Duke of Spoleto, to the Neapolitan throne. This Pontiff, by name Alphonso Borgia, a native of Valencia in Spain, founded the greatness of the Borgian family, whose name has become synonymous with infamy. In the year of his accession, he bestowed the purple on his nephew Rodrigo Borgia, afterwards notorious under the title of Alexander VI. as the most wicked and profligate Pontiff that ever polluted the chair of St. Peter. On the news of Alphonso's death, Calixtus published a bull in which he claimed Naples as a fief escheated to the Church; and he endeavoured to procure the assistance of the Duke of Milan, in order to carry out his views upon that kingdom. But the strong matrimonial connection between the Houses of Naples and Milan — Ferdinand's son Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, having married Sforza's daughter Hippolyta (1456), while at the same time the Duke of Milan's third son, Sforza Maria or Sforzino, was betrothed to Ferdinand's daughter, Isabella — as well as political reasons, induced Sforza to support the cause of the Neapolitan monarch. From the opposition of Calixtus, Ferdinand was soon delivered by the death of that Pontiff, August 6th; and his successor, Pius II., acknowledged Ferdinand's claims, exacting however a yearly payment, and the cession of Benevento, Ponte Corvo, and Terracina, which had formerly belonged to the Church. Pius also effected a marriage between his nephew, Antony Piccolomini, and Mary, a natural daughter of Ferdinand's.

That monarch's most formidable opponents were the Neapolitan Barons, who led by Gian Antonio Orsino, Prince of Taranto, the uncle of Ferdinand's own consort Isabella, revolted against him. The malcontents having in vain offered the Crown of Naples to Charles, Count of Viana, eldest son of John II. of Aragon, as well as to John himself, applied to the Duke of Anjou, who was still residing at Genoa as representative of the French King; and they experienced from him a more favourable reception. The moderation of John of Anjou had rendered him popular with the Genoese; and when he communicated to their Senate the offer that had been made to him, they voted him a force of ten galleys, three large transports and a subsidy of 60,000 florins. John's father, René, who had renounced in his son's favour his claims to the Neapolitan throne, also assisted him with twelve galleys, which had been assembled at Marseilles for the crusade against the Turks, but which the French King now permitted to be employed in the projected enterprise against Naples.

Ferdinand, who was supported by the Pope and the Duke of Milan, endeavoured to detain John of Anjou at Genoa by inciting against him the former Doge, Campo Fregoso, who was discontented with the French because they had not rewarded him for his cession of that city. On the 13th of September Campo Fregoso with other exiles attempted to take Genoa by a nocturnal assault, which however was repulsed, and Campo Fregoso slain. Delivered from this danger, John of Anjou hastened on board his fleet, and on the 5th of October appeared off Naples; which city, as Ferdinand was absent in Calabria, would probably have fallen into his hands, but for the vigilance and courage of Queen Isabella. In all other respects John's enterprise was eminently successful. He was joined by the chief Neapolitan nobles, and Nocera opened its gates to him. The events of the following year (1460) were still more in his favour. He defeated Ferdinand with great loss in a battle near the Sarno (July 7th), and that monarch with difficulty escaped to Naples with only twenty troopers. Towards the end of the same month, Ferdinand's generals, Alexander Sforza and the Count of Urbino, were also signally defeated in a bloody and obstinate battle at S. Fabriano. All the strong places in Campania and the Principato now surrendered to the Duke of Anjou, who, had he marched directly on Naples, would probably have taken that city, in which there was a large party in his favour. Ferdinand, in this low ebb of his fortunes, is said to have owed the preservation of his crown to the great qualities of his consort. Isabella, accompanied by her children, requested contributions for her husband's cause in the streets and public places of Naples; and her fine countenance, her dignified, yet modest and engaging, address, proved in most cases irresistible. In the disguise of a Franciscan friar she also proceeded to the camp of her uncle, the Prince of Taranto, and besought him that, as he had raised her to a throne, he would permit her to die in possession of that dignity. Moved by her entreaties, Orsino adopted a policy which caused the Duke of Anjou to lose the fruits of his victories, and by interposing delays led him to fritter away his strength in small undertakings.

From this time the cause of the Duke of Anjou began to decline. In 1461 Ferdinand was assisted by Scanderbeg at the head of 800 horse; who are said to have been paid by Pope Pius II. out of the money raised by the council of Mantua for a crusade against the Turks. Pius also assisted Ferdinand with his spiritual weapons, threatening with excommunication all who should favour the cause of Anjou. The loss of Genoa by the French through the impolitic

36871

conduct of Charles VII., the death of that monarch and consequent accession of Louis XI., who was little disposed for foreign enterprises, were also fatal blows to the cause of the Duke of Anjou. Louis even formed an alliance with Francis Sforza, the friend of Ferdinand, and from motives of self-interest, the warmest opponent of French influence in Italy. Duke John was defeated by Ferdinand in an engagement near Troia, August 18th 1462; and in the following year the defection of some of his adherents, and the death of Orsino, by which all the possessions and fortresses of that Prince came into the hands of Ferdinand, determined John to quit Italy. His aged father René had indeed come to his aid with a fleet; but as the French King had abandoned both to their fate, they returned to France (1464), and subsequently enrolled themselves among the enemies of Louis XI. About the same time Genoa, with the concurrence of the French monarch, fell under the dominion of the Duke of Milan.

The same year (1464) was marked by the death of Pius II., already related, and that of Cósmo de' Medici. During the last years of his life, Cosmo, debilitated by ill-health, had intrusted the administration of Florence to Luca Pitti [47], who availed himself of his friend's retirement to promote his own advancement. His rule was harsh and tyrannical, and is said to have been regarded by Cosmo with sorrow.

The year after Cosmo's death the Florentines paid a high tribute to his memory by causing the title of "Father of his Country" to be inscribed upon his tomb. His contemporary, Pope Pius II., who could have been swayed by no motives of self-interest, has left a noble portrait of Cosmo in his *Commentaries*.[48] It was not so much by the extent of his wealth [49], as by the application which he made of it, that Cosmo gained his influence and credit. Far from relying on that pomp and show which are so captivating to the vulgar, his manner of life, both public and private, was of the plainest and most unostentatious kind. He employed his riches, not in dazzling the eyes of his fellow-citizens

[47] Pitti erected the palace still bearing his name, which, with its beautiful gardens and rich collections of works of art, continues to form one of the chief attractions of Florence.

[48] Lib. ii. p. 50, ed. Frankf. 1614.

[49] His wealth is said to have been so great, as even to affect the policy of nations. When Alphonso of Naples leagued himself with the Venetians against Florence, Cosmo deprived them of the sinews of war, by calling in the sums owing to him in those countries; and the money advanced by his agent in England to Edward IV. is said to have supported that monarch on the throne during the war of the Roses. Macchiav. *Istor. Fior.* lib. vii., and Comines, ap. Roscoe, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. i. p. 65. Other authorities, however, state that Cosmo's capital never exceeded 240,000 florins (*Ibid.* App. iii.), and it is probable that much of his influence depended on credit.

with his personal magnificence, but in the patronage of learning and the arts, and in the erection of unequalled monuments. He encouraged the architects Michelozzi and Brunelleschi, the sculptor Donatello, the painter Masaccio, and with their assistance erected and adorned several churches, convents and palaces in Florence and its neighbourhood. His agents, throughout Europe as well as in the East, were instructed to buy, or procure copies of all newly-discovered manuscripts; he founded two public libraries, one at Florence and another at Venice; whilst his private collection formed the basis of the present Bibliotheca Laurentiana, so named after his grandson Lorenzo. He was not, however, a mere *dilettante*. He took an interest in the higher speculations of philosophy, especially that of Plato, in which studies he displayed a just and profound judgment: nor did he neglect the improvement of the more useful and practical arts of life, and especially that of agriculture. But this man, so wise, so enlightened, so accomplished and so magnificent, preferred the interests of himself and his family to those of his country. By the charms of literature and art, and of a noble and splendid public luxury, he imperceptibly subjugated a lively and sensitive people: and Florence under Cosmo, like Athens under Pericles [50], remained indeed nominally a republic, but under a *first man*, or prince.

Nothing can more strongly show the firm hold of power which the great qualities of Cosmo had enabled him to seize, than his transmitting it to his son Peter, who, besides that he lacked the abilities of his father, was so great an invalid that he resided chiefly in the country, and was accustomed to travel in a litter. Yet the dominion of Peter survived the attacks of the able and experienced but treacherous statesmen by whom he was surrounded. Pitti, who had allied himself with Diotisalvi Neroni, Nicholas Soderini, Angelo Acciajuoli and other influential Florentines, encouraged by the death of Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan (1466), the firm ally of the House of Medici, attempted an insurrection, which, however, was frustrated by the vigilance of Peter de' Medici and the neutrality of the *Signoria;* and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the son and successor of Francis, remained true to his father's policy.[51]

This abortive conspiracy only strengthened the hands of Peter. Pitti lost all his influence and power; most of his confederates fled

[50] Ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή.—Thucyd. ii. 65.

[51] It may serve to show the still barbarous state of manners, that Galeazzo, who was in France at the time of his father's death, deemed it prudent to travel in disguise, lest some feudal lord through whose territory he passed should seize his person in order to extort a ransom. Muratori, *Annali*, t. ix. p. 295.

and were declared enemies of their country; others were banished, and some were even tortured and put to death. Peter now began to govern dictatorially; and he assumed those airs of princely state which his more prudent and moderate father had carefully avoided. Yet a grand festival was celebrated to thank God that the democracy had been preserved! The Florentine exiles, with the assistance of Venice, raised a considerable army, which they placed under the command of Bartholomew Coleone, a famous *condottiere*. The Florentines also armed, and were assisted with troops by Ferdinand of Naples and Galeazzo Sforza. The latter joined the Florentine army with a body of cavalry; but, either through cowardice or inability, proving rather a hindrance than a help, Peter de' Medici invited him to Florence, whilst the Florentine general, Frederick of Montefeltro, Count of Urbino, was instructed to deliver battle in his absence; and accordingly a bloody but indecisive engagement took place near La Molinella, July 25th 1467. Galeazzo, offended by this slight, returned to Milan; and the Venetians were obliged to abandon an enterprise which they had formed against that city in case Coleone should have proved victorious. Pope Paul II., with a view to compose these differences, but without consulting the parties interested, published the terms of an arbitrary peace (February 2nd 1468), in which he appointed Coleone general of a league against the Turks, with an annual subsidy of 100,000 ducats, to be paid rateably by the different states; and he threatened to excommunicate those who should refuse to accede to the treaty. Venice alone, however, in whose favour it was drawn, could be brought to assent; and as Milan, Florence and Naples refused to contribute, and answered the threat of excommunication with the counter one of a general council, Paul was induced to retract, and in April published a more moderate and equitable peace, to which all the belligerent states agreed.

Peter de' Medici, whose violence is lamented by Macchiavelli, took a fearful vengeance on the families of those who had promoted the war. The short remnant of his life offers little of importance. He expired December 2nd 1469, leaving two sons, Lorenzo and Julian, and two married daughters. Lorenzo, who was now twenty-one years of age, had even in his father's lifetime been intrusted with some share of the public business, and had displayed considerable ability. We learn from his own memoirs that on his father's death he was requested by the leading men of Florence to assume the administration, as his father and grandfather had done before him.[52]

[52] *Ricordi*, ap. Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. i. App. p. 348.

On July 26th 1471, Pope Paul II. expired of apoplexy. Vanity and selfishness were his chief characteristics. He was only forty-eight years of age at the time of his elevation to the tiara, and being remarkably handsome, proposed to take the title of Formoso; a folly from which it was difficult to dissuade him. Paul was also suspicious and cruel, and rendered himself notorious by his persecution of learned men. He regarded the members of the Roman Academy, established towards the close of his pontificate by Pomponio Leto, Platina, and other distinguished men, as enemies who were plotting against his own safety and the peace of the Church; and under pretence that they were heretics or atheists, caused several of them to be apprehended and subjected to the torture, at which he himself presided. Agostino Campano died under the hands of his officers; yet neither plot nor heresy could be discovered.

The impunity with which the Popes escaped the councils held in the early part of the fifteenth century, was well fitted to inspire them with a reckless contempt for public opinion; and from that period down to the Reformation, it would be difficult to parallel among temporal princes the ambitious, wicked, and profligate lives of many of the Roman Pontiffs. Among these, Francesco della Rovere, who succeeded Paul II. with the title of Sixtus IV., was not the least notorious. Born at Savona, of an obscure family, Sixtus raised his nephews, and his sons who passed for nephews, to the highest dignities in Church and State, and sacrificed for their aggrandisement the peace of Italy and the cause of Christendom against the Turks. Of his two nephews, Julian and Leonard della Rovere, the former, afterwards Pope Julius II., was raised to the purple in the second year of his uncle's pontificate, while Leonard was married to an illegitimate daughter of King Ferdinand of Naples. Peter and Jerome Riario, who passed for the sons of Sixtus's sister, were commonly supposed to be his own. Peter Riario, bred as a low Franciscan friar, became, in a few months, and at the age of twenty-six, Cardinal of San Sisto, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Archbishop of Florence; but in a few years debauchery put an end to his life (1474). For Jerome Riario was obtained the county of Imola from the family of Manfredi, and he was married to Catherine Sforza, a natural daughter of the Duke of Milan.

Italy was at that period in the highest bloom of material prosperity, destined soon to wither through the decay of Genoese and Venetian commerce, and the losses inflicted on the Church by the Reformation. But its manners, though cultivated, were stained

with a shameless libertinism, and many of its princes, as well as its Popes, were models of tyranny and profligacy. Among such princes, Galeazzo Maria, Duke of Milan, was conspicuous. Galeazzo was not altogether devoid of the talent which had distinguished his father; he possessed some eloquence, and his manners were elegant and dignified. But he was a tyrant after the old Greek and Roman type. Not content with the death of his victims, he buried them alive, or amused himself with their tortures: he not only dishonoured the wives and daughters of the noblest families, but sought a further gratification in acquainting husbands and parents with their shame. Among those whom he had injured, two men of nobler race than himself, Carlo Visconti and Girolamo Olgiati, with Lampugnano, a patrician friend, animated by the exhortations of Colas de' Montani, a distinguished scholar, resolved to rid the world of such a monster, and to establish a republic at Milan. The confederates agreed to execute their plot during the celebration of an annual festival in the cathedral, on the 26th of December 1476. The Court, with its attendants and guards, being assembled in the cathedral, Lampugnano approached the Duke as if to ask a favour, and saluting him with his left hand, stabbed him twice or thrice with the other; while Visconti and Olgiati, pretending to hasten to Galeazzo's assistance, completed the work which their companion had begun. But to their shouts for a republic not a voice replied. Lampugnano was cut down in the church; his confederates escaped for the moment, but were discovered a few days after. Visconti was cut to pieces at the time of his capture; Olgiati was reserved for an execution preceded by dreadful tortures, during which he made his political confession, founded on the maxims of the ancients.

As John Galeazzo, the son and successor of the murdered Duke, was a child of eight years, his guardianship, as well as the regency, was assumed by his mother, Bona, or Bonne, of Savoy, sister-in-law of Louis XI. Bonne entrusted the conduct of affairs to Ciecco Simonetta, brother of the historian, who had been in the service of Francis Sforza. In May 1477, four of Galeazzo Maria's brothers, namely, Sforza, Duke of Bari, Ludovico, or Louis, surnamed Il Moro, from a mother's mole, Ottaviano, and Ascanio, took up arms and attempted to seize the government. Their plan was frustrated by Simonetta; Ottaviano was drowned in attempting to escape by fording the Adda; the other three brothers were captured and banished. A fifth, the eldest, Philip, acquiesced in the regency of Bonne.

Italy was at this time divided into two great parties or leagues.

So intimate a connection, cemented by the marriage already mentioned, had been formed between Sixtus IV. and Ferdinand of Naples, as excited the jealousy and suspicion of the northern states of Italy; and Lorenzo de' Medici, alarmed by the circumstance that Frederick of Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, who had commonly fought in the service of Florence, had joined the Pope and Ferdinand, had, towards the end of 1474, succeeded in forming a counter-league with Venice and Milan. The Venetians were offended with Sixtus because he had diverted to his own purposes the sums which he had raised under pretence of a crusade, and left them to struggle unassisted with the Turks; and with Ferdinand, because he had opposed their design of obtaining possession of Cyprus, by availing themselves of the dissensions in that island.

For some years, however, the peace of Italy remained undisturbed, till the affairs of Florence afforded Sixtus IV. an opportunity to gratify his enmity against the House of Medici, excited by the protection which Lorenzo had extended to Niccolo Vitelli, Lord of Castello; thus frustrating the Pope's designs on that place in favour of his nephew, Jerome Riario. Though the forms of a republic were still observed, Lorenzo and Julian reigned almost despotically at Florence. But they had neither the application nor the abilities of their grandfather; their commercial speculations had been unfortunate, and they had abused their power by applying the public money to cover their losses. This state of their affairs had inspired their enemies with the hope of overthrowing them. Among these enemies were their commercial rivals, the ancient family of the Pazzi. Sixtus had gratified his hatred of the Medici by transferring to Francesco Pazzi, who had established a bank at Rome, the office of treasurer of the Holy See. In 1478, Francesco, with the connivance of the Pope and the active co-operation of his nephew, formed that plot against the Medici, known as the "Conspiracy of the Pazzi;"[53] and Sixtus was base enough to make his great-nephew, Raphael Riario, a mere youth of eighteen, who was studying at Pisa, an instrument in the plot. Raphael was made a cardinal, and sent to Florence as legate, in order that his house might become the rendezvous of the conspirators. The plan was to assassinate Julian and Lorenzo, and then to seize the government. After one or two failures, it was resolved to perpetrate the murders in the cathedral

[53] An account of this conspiracy has been written by Politian, the friend and *protégé* of the Medici. See the *Conjurationis Pactianæ Commentarium* in Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo*, vol. i. App. xxi.

itself, during the celebration of a solemn high mass on the 26th of April 1478; and the elevation of the Host was to be the signal for the deed of blood. But here an unexpected difficulty arose. The soldier who had undertaken to despatch Lorenzo, scrupled to commit the act at the very altar of God, although it had been sanctioned by Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa, as well as by Cardinal Riario; and so common was this feeling among the *bravi* of the time, that it was found necessary to secure the services of two priests; the only order of men, according to an observation of the historian Galli, sufficiently at ease inside a church to make it the scene of such a crime.[54]

The cathedral was filled with worshippers or spectators, but Julian was not among them. Francesco Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini repaired to his house, accompanied him to the church with every mark of friendship, and when the bell announced the elevation of the Host, despatched him with their daggers. The priests who were to murder Lorenzo were either less adroit or determined than their confederates, or Lorenzo was more wary or more active than his brother. He succeeded in gaining the sacristy with only a slight wound in the neck; and, bolting the door, secured himself till some friends came to the rescue.

Meanwhile the Archbishop Salviati and his associates had gone to the Public Palace to seize the magistrates; but the Gonfaloniere Petrucci, and the Priors, assisted by their servants, made a stout resistance, till the populace, who mostly favoured the Medici, came to their aid. The attempt of Pazzi's uncle to rouse the people, who, parading the town with a body of soldiers, called on them to assert their liberty, utterly failed. He was only answered with shouts of *Palle! Palle!* the rallying cry of the Medici.[55] When the magistrates learned the death of Julian, and the attempt upon Lorenzo, their indignation knew no bounds. Salviati, who had been secured during the tumult, was immediately hanged in his archiepiscopal robes outside a window of the Palace, and by his side Francesco Pazzi, who had also been seized. The populace executed summary justice on seventy persons of distinction belonging to the Pazzi party, including the two priestly assassins; and 200 persons more were subsequently put to death. Thus terminated a conspiracy whose nature, the persons engaged in it, and the place of its execution, all tend to show, as a modern writer[56] has observed, the practical atheism of the times.

Many European Sovereigns manifested on this occasion their

[54] Ap. Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* ch. lxxxv.

[55] From the *palle d'oro*, or golden balls, borne in the escutcheon of the Medici.

[56] Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs.*

sympathy with Lorenzo. Louis XI., especially, expressed in a letter to him the greatest indignation at the Pope's conduct; he even threatened to cite Sixtus before a general council, and to stop the annates; and he sent Philip de Comines to Florence to assure Lorenzo of his protection. Even Mahomet II. showed a friendly feeling towards the Florentine ruler by delivering up Bandini, who had sought refuge at Constantinople. But the Pope, supported by King Ferdinand, and impelled by the ambition of his nephew, displayed the most cynical contempt for public opinion. He fulminated against the Florentines the censures of the Church for hanging an Archbishop and imprisoning a Cardinal, his great-nephew, Raphael; he placed them under an interdict, annulled their alliances, and forbade all military men to enter into their service. By these steps his spiritual weapons were pressed into the support of the carnal ones, which he also adopted. In conjunction with King Ferdinand he despatched an army into Tuscany; and, to prevent the Florentines from being succoured by Milan, he created employment for the forces of the Regent Bonne by exciting an insurrection at Genoa, which, however, was only partially successful. At the instigation of Sixtus, Prosper Adorno, who governed Genoa for the Regent, threw off his allegiance, and defeated a Milanese army in the pass of the Bochetta, August 7th 1478. But the success of Adorno was frustrated by raising up against him a rival, Battista Fregoso, who, with the help of, Ibletto de' Fieschi and his party, drove out Adorno, and made himself Doge. The Riviera di Levante, however, still remained in the hands of Adorno.

The Pope also excited the Swiss to hostilities against Milan, and this step was combined with a profitable speculation. A board of priests was established in Switzerland to decide cases of conscience, as well as to sell indulgences, which were despatched thither in great abundance, and proved a very marketable commodity among a people who hired themselves out to slay and plunder; insomuch that Sixtus himself was astonished at the large sums which he drew from so poor a country. The Papal Legate excited the animosity of the Swiss against the Milanese Government on the subject of a chestnut wood in the Val Levantina, on the southern side of the St. Gothard, which had been made over to the canton of Uri by Galeazzo Maria in 1466, by a treaty called the *Capitulate of Milan*.[57] The wood had remained in dispute, and towards the close of 1478 the men of Uri, assisted by other cantons, carried their devastations as far as Bellinzona. Hostilities were con-

[57] Planta, *Helvetic Confederacy*, vol. ii. p. 204.

tinued with varied success till Louis XI. succeeded in mediating a peace.

Meanwhile the combined Papal and Neapolitan armies had entered Tuscany, the former under the command of the Duke of Urbino, while that of Ferdinand was led by his son and heir, Alphonso Duke of Calabria. The Pope demanded that Lorenzo de' Medici should be surrendered into his hands. As the Florentines had at first neither general nor army, the allies succeeded in taking several places; but Lorenzo at length managed to procure the services of Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, as well as of Robert Malatesta, Lord of Pesaro, Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, and other experienced captains; and the Florentine cause was proceeding pretty favourably in 1479, when it received a severe shock by a revolution that occurred at Milan. Louis the Moor, paternal uncle of the young Duke of Milan, having formed an alliance with San Severino, a celebrated *condottiere*, appeared suddenly before the Milanese town of Tortona (August 10th), and was admitted by the Governor; whence marching upon Milan, he found the same reception. The Duchess Bonne was now advised to reconcile herself with Louis; but that Prince, in whose hands the chief fortresses had been placed, soon displayed his true colours. Three days after entering Milan, he caused Simonetta to be confined in the Castle of Pavia, where he was subjected to a trial accompanied with dreadful tortures, and in the following year he was beheaded. Louis then caused the majority of John Galeazzo, who was only twelve years of age, to be proclaimed, in order that he himself might reign in his nephew's name, and Bonne retired to Abbiate Grosso.

This revolution deprived Lorenzo de' Medici of the alliance of Milan, as the new Regent was on good terms with the King of Naples, who restored to him his brother's Duchy of Bari. The Florentines were also alarmed at the defeat of their army by the Duke of Calabria at Poggio Imperiale; and even the friends and partisans of Lorenzo threatened him with desertion. In this crisis of his fortunes, Lorenzo adopted the bold step of proceeding in person to the Court of the treacherous Ferdinand; where by his talents, address, and eloquence, he made such an impression on that monarch that he succeeded in effecting not only a peace but a league with him (March 1480). This clandestine treaty made the Venetians as angry with Lorenzo as the Pope was with King Ferdinand, and they found no difficulty in persuading Sixtus to form a league with themselves; of which his nephew, Jerome Riario, Count of Imola, was appointed Captain-General. Jerome

now diverted his arms from Tuscany into Romagna, drove the noble House of Ordelaffi from Forlì, and was invested by Sixtus with the Lordship of that city.

Such was the state of Italy when Mahomet II. determined on the expedition before alluded to against Ferdinand of Naples, in revenge for the aid which he had given to the Knights of Rhodes. It is admitted by the Venetian historians that their Republic, with the view of ruining Ferdinand, not only made the peace already mentioned with the Pope, but also sent ambassadors to the Grand Seignior to incite him to invade Ferdinand's dominions, by representing to him that he was entitled to Brindisi, Taranto, and Otranto, as colonies formerly belonging to the Byzantine Empire: though it is probable that they did not communicate to Sixtus the step which they had taken.[58]

The landing of the Turks in Apulia induced the Pope to pardon the Florentines and reconcile them with the Church. Twelve of the leading citizens of Florence were despatched to Rome, where they were compelled to make the most abject submissions, and to receive at the hands of the Pope the flogging usually inflicted on such occasions; and by way of penance the Florentines were ordered to fit out fifteen galleys against the Turks.

Notwithstanding the peace between King Ferdinand and Lorenzo de' Medici, the Neapolitan army, under the Duke of Calabria, was still in Tuscany, when in August 1480, the Turks, under Kedûk Achmet, Pasha of Vallona, effected a landing in Apulia. They took Otranto, put the greater part of the inhabitants to death, sawed the Commandant and the Archbishop in half, and committed many other atrocities. They also attacked Taranto, Brindisi, and Lecce; but the approach of the Duke of Calabria compelled them to re-embark, leaving, however, a garrison of 8000 men in Otranto.

The Pope, alarmed by the Turkish invasion and the menacing demands of King Ferdinand, who threatened that if he was not immediately assisted, he would treat with the invaders, and facilitate their march to Rome, formed a league with Milan, Ferrara, Genoa, and Florence[59]; and in order to provide more speedy succour, he sent his own plate, as well as that of some of the churches, to the mint. Ferdinand also received a few troops from his son-in-law, King Matthias of Hungary, and from Ferdinand of Aragon. The Venetians, on the other hand, assisted the Turks to

[58] See Navagiero, *Stor. Venet.* in Muratori, *Ital. Rer. SS.* t. xxiii. p. 1165; Sanuto, *ibid.* xxii. p. 1213. Cf. Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xviii. §§ 3, 4.

[59] See the Bulls in Raynaldus, t. x. p. 610 sq.

victual Otranto. In 1481 the Turks made a fresh attempt on the Terra di Otranto, but could not penetrate the lines of the Duke of Calabria; and as the Neapolitan fleet was superior at sea, the garrison of Otranto began to feel the approach of famine. The unexpected news of Mahomet's death added to their discouragement, and on the 10th of September they capitulated. The Duke of Calabria, following their own example, violated the capitulation, and having captured some of the Turks after they had set sail, compelled them to serve in the army and in the galleys.

Mahomet's death took place May 3rd 1481, in his camp near Gebise, while on his way to Scutari; and with him expired his magnificent projects, which amounted to nothing less than the entire extinction of the Christian name. He was fifty-one years of age, of which he had reigned thirty. Possessing some of the qualities of a great and noble nature, he was nevertheless the slave of passion and caprice, which often betrayed him into acts of the basest perfidy and most revolting inhumanity. He was, perhaps, the greatest conqueror of his martial race; yet not a mere destroyer, for he could also construct and reorganise, as appears from the laws which he prescribed for his own state, and from the manner in which he preserved and adorned Constantinople.

Having thus brought down the conquests of the Turks and the affairs of Italy to the death of Mahomet II., we shall now direct our attention awhile to the nations of Western Europe.

CHAPTER II.

AFTER the expulsion of the English from France, the remainder of Charles VII.'s reign affords few events of importance, besides his quarrel with his son, the Dauphin Louis, and the flight of the latter to the Court of Burgundy. Louis, after his banishment into Dauphiné[1], displayed in the government of that province, in a manner remarkable in so youthful a prince, the same principles which afterwards guided his conduct as King of France. He cultivated the friendship of the people, and endeavoured to depress the nobles, whom he forbade to exercise the right of private war; he introduced many reforms into the administration of the province, which gave it the air of a little kingdom; he established a parliament at Grenoble and a university at Valence; he coined money bearing his own image and superscription; he raised a considerable army, and he negotiated with foreign princes on the footing of an independent sovereign. Against his father he waged open war. The hatred and jealousy between Charles VII. and his heir went on increasing, and in 1456 Charles resolved on reducing his rebellious son, and bringing Dauphiné under the power of the Crown. Louis felt that, from the want of *gens d'armes*, he could bring no force into the field able to cope with his father's[2], and under pretence of joining the expedition which the Duke of Burgundy talked of preparing against the Turks, he fled to the Court of that Sovereign, where he met with a magnificent reception.

Philip, however, would offer nothing but his mediation; and he even made a sort of apology to Charles VII. for receiving Louis, protesting that he meant only the good both of father and son. But all negotiations proved unavailing, and Louis remained in Brabant, where he was treated with regal magnificence: a residence was assigned him at Genappe, near Nivelle, with a monthly pension of 2500 livres; and it was here that, to amuse his leisure hours, the *Cent nouvelles Nouvelles* were composed, in imitation of the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. Charles VII. was accustomed to say

[1] See above, p. 72.

[2] See his letter, ap. Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 99.

that the Duke was sheltering the fox that would at last devour his hens. The residence of Louis at the Court of Burgundy afforded him, indeed, ample opportunity to observe all the weak points of his future enemy, and the foundation was now laid of that antipathy between the heirs of Burgundy and France, which afterwards proved of so much political importance. No characters could well be more dissimilar than those of the two young princes. That of Louis offers the picture of a personage not often seen in the world — a royal cynic. In those days of pomp and magnificence, which, as we have seen, were pre-eminently cultivated at the Belgian Court, Louis felt and displayed a profound contempt for all the trappings of state, and for everything that savoured of chivalry. In public conferences and assemblies, where the nobility and crown vassals vied with one another in all the splendour of silk and velvet, gold and precious stones, Louis appeared in a short coat, an old doublet of grey fustian, and a scurvy felt hat. Such a temper was naturally accompanied with a turn for irony and raillery. Louis took no pride in his rank and station; the only thing on which he piqued himself was, being more dexterous and able than others. Yet his simple, or rather mean, way of life, did not arise from the love of hoarding, but from the desire of employing the money which he saved in undertakings that might be useful to his interests. Expediency was his only rule; and throughout his life he preferred diplomacy to arms. In disposition he was sly and dissembling, also cruel where he deemed it necessary for his purpose. But there was a singular, and apparently incongruous, trait, in the character of this hard-hearted man of the world — he was weakly superstitious; not according to the superstition of his age, which delighted in the splendour of public worship, in magnificent religious foundations, and in the glorification of the clergy, but of a superstition trivial, debasing, centering wholly in himself. He cared little for the precepts of religion, and delighted in humiliating the clergy; yet he constantly wore round his neck a huge wooden paternoster. In short, he was directly opposed to the spirit of the middle ages, which it seemed to be his mission to destroy.

Such a temperament had led the Dauphin to hate and despise his father, the trifling, dissipated, extravagant Charles, and it now set him against the Count of Charolais, the son and heir of Philip, afterwards known as Charles the Bold. That young prince, though sedate and devout, was haughty, imperious, obstinate, and inflexible; a great admirer of that ancient chivalry which Louis so much despised, and finding his chief amusement in reading books relating to it. War was his favourite passion, and he de-

lighted in feats of arms and in bodily exercises. Like Louis, he was at variance with his father, being displeased with the favour shown by Philip to his ministers, the Croïs; and on this subject a violent scene took place in 1457, when the old Duke was so enraged as to draw his sword. In pursuance of his habitual policy with regard to France, Philip the Good had compelled his son to marry a French Princess, Isabella of Bourbon, though the Count of Charolais's own views were directed towards a daughter of Richard, Duke of York; a connection which might have afforded him a prospect of the English throne.

After the flight of Louis, Charles VII. took possession of Dauphiné, which was now finally reunited to the French monarchy, and never again administered as an independent sovereignty.[3] Charles did not feel himself strong enough to make war upon the Duke of Burgundy, but jealousy and hatred were rankling in his breast; he took every occasion to thwart Philip's interests, and affected to treat him with a hauteur which must have been very galling to "the great Duke of the West."

During the remainder of his reign Charles suffered no further serious disquietude from the English. A ray of glory might have been imparted to his declining days, had he known how to use the opportunity which fortune threw in his way, by the making over to him of the sovereignty of Genoa by the Doge Campo Fregoso in 1458; when Charles, as already related, made the Duke of Anjou Governor of that city. But the ill policy of the French King soon proved fatal to his dominion at Genoa. During the wars of the Roses in England, Charles naturally sided with Margaret of Anjou and the House of Lancaster, while the cause of York was espoused by the Duke of Burgundy. Charles was unreasonable enough to insist that the Genoese should aid Margaret with a fleet; and urged them to spend their blood and treasure, while he husbanded his own, in a cause to which they were perfectly indifferent. The anger of the Genoese was roused by this injustice; they rose and expelled the French Governor and garrison (March 9th, 1461); and an army which Charles despatched against them in the following July was utterly defeated.

Towards the end of his life, Charles VII. seems to have entertained the project of disinheriting the rebellious Louis, and leaving the crown to his second son, Charles, a purpose from which he is said to have been diverted by the councils of Pope Pius II.[4] His last days were passed in an alternation between a wretched listless-

[3] Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xiv. p. 3. [4] Raynaldus, anno 1461, t. x. p. 282.

ness and those sensual pleasures which hastened his end. At last he fell into so deep a state of dejection as to fancy that all the world, and especially his son, the Dauphin, were engaged in a league to poison him; and obstinately refusing all sustenance, he literally died of starvation, July 22nd 1461.

The Dauphin, now Louis XI., was still at the Court of Burgundy when his father expired.[5] With his characteristic dislike of pomp and magnificence, he declined Philip the Good's offer to escort him into France with a numerous retinue of knights; and he set off with only a few attendants to take possession of his new kingdom. The contrast between the two sovereigns was strikingly displayed at Louis' coronation, which took place shortly afterwards at Rheims. The Duke of Burgundy appeared there with a splendour worthy of an Emperor; whilst the French King, as he rode before in mean and shabby attire, resembled some valet sent to announce the approach of the Duke. The latter's retinue, both men and horses, were almost buried under the weight of rich velvets adorned with jewels and massy golden chains; the very beasts of burthen had velvet housings embroidered with the Duke's arms, and silver bells tinkled on their necks. One hundred and forty superb chariots, over which floated Philip's banners, conveyed his gold and silver plate, the money that was to be thrown, the wine that was to be distributed, to the populace; while fat Flemish bullocks and small sheep of the Ardennes, destined to supply the banquets, closed the procession. The King, on the other hand, in his ostentatious poverty, assumed a corresponding air of humble devotion. He was constantly on his knees; he could not be raised from them when he received the *sainte ampoule*, or when the Duke of Burgundy, as premier Peer of France, put the crown upon his head. Yet amidst all this affected humility, Louis' penetrating glance, the ironical smile that played about his lips, betrayed his true character to the intelligent observer.

After the coronation, magnificent tournaments were celebrated at Paris, at one of which Louis contrived an exhibition that at once gratified his cynicism, and gave presage of what he was meditating against the degenerate feudal lords. After the Count of Charolais and the rest of the nobles had jousted, and paraded before the spectators their splendid accoutrements, their jewellery and their plumes, a strange champion, grotesquely attired, as well as his horse, in the skins of wild beasts, suddenly entered the lists, and

[5] Louis' first act was to arrest the Duke of Somerset, who had entered Burgundy with a safe-conduct to treat with the Duke. Martin, t. vi. p. 522.

dismounted one after another all those gorgeous knights; while the King, hidden behind some Parisian ladies, quietly enjoyed the spectacle from a window. He had selected and handsomely paid a tall and vigorous *Gendarme*, who, mounted on a strong and fiery steed, overthrew all who ventured to oppose him.

Louis' first acts foreshowed the policy of his future reign — to lower the aristocracy, the church, and everything that could offer a counterpoise to the royal authority. After the coronation banquet, Philip the Good had knelt down before him and solicited a pardon for all who had offended him during his father's life; and Louis, who could hardly refuse the first request of his benefactor, promised compliance, with certain exceptions. But he did not observe even this qualified promise, and Philip foretold the resistance of the persecuted nobles. The way in which Louis received the addresses of the clergy, was in the highest degree rude and unmannerly. He stopped the Archbishop of Rheims, who was also Chancellor of France, at the first word; and his reception of the celebrated Cardinal Bessarion, whom the Pope had sent to compliment him, was still worse. The learned Byzantine had prepared a long and somewhat pedantic speech; but the King cut him short with a line from the Latin grammar: *Barbara Græca genus retinent quod habere solebant!*[6] On the other hand, he despatched letters to his "good towns," calling on the inhabitants to hold them well for the King — that is, against the governors, whom he suspected. These demonstrations did not remain mere idle words, but were soon followed up with corresponding acts. In order to curtail the jurisdiction of the Parliaments of Paris and Toulouse, he created that of Bordeaux; he established at Bourges a rival university to that of Paris, which intercepted the students of the south; and he published several ordinances respecting ecclesiastical matters, claiming the disposal of benefices, and forbidding all appeals to the Pope. One of the most remarkable of these was the ordinance of July 20th 1463, commanding the clergy to make within a year a return of all church property, "in order that they may no longer encroach on our signorial rights, nor on those of our vassals." He banished the papal collectors, and seized the temporalities of two or three cardinals; among them, those of the Cardinal of Avignon, one of the richest of pluralists, from whom he obtained the revenues of the bishoprics of Carcassone and Uzès, of the abbey of St. John d'Angély, and several others.[7]

In order to degrade the aristocracy, Louis elevated farmers and

[6] Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 206.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 185 sqq.

lawyers to the rank of nobles. But his main efforts were directed against the holders of the large French fiefs, several of whom might be regarded as rivals to the Crown. After Burgundy, the principal of these was the Duke of Brittany, whose fief was dissimilar to those of the rest of France. There prevailed in Brittany a sort of clanship somewhat analogous to that of the Scotch Highlands; the Duke styled himself Duke "by the grace of God;" he spoke of his *royal* and ducal powers, and wore a crown instead of the ducal hat. The pretensions of the Dukes of Brittany to independence had been favoured by the long struggle between France and England, and the question of homage to the Crown of France had been renewed at the accession of each Duke. The celebrated constable, Count Richemont, who, by the somewhat tragical death of his three nephews, succeeded to the Duchy of Brittany in 1457, with the title of Arthur III., had done only *simple* homage: that is, he neither took off his belt nor bent his knee, but standing, and girt with his sword, he placed his hands between those of Charles VII., and pronounced the accustomed formula, which, however, was received with reservation by the French monarch. The latter claimed a *liege* homage, which would have obliged the Duke to follow his banner in war, and to sit in his courts of justice; in short, to be a peer of France, a title by which the Dukes of Brittany would have thought themselves degraded. The question therefore was not one merely of rank and honour: it involved the more substantial points of feudal services and payments, as also what were called the *droits régaliens*, or the privilege of appointing to bishoprics and receiving the first fruits during vacancies.

At the accession of Louis XI., Brittany was held by Duke Francis II., the nephew of Richemont, who demurred to the King's demand of formal liege homage; and, in order to fortify himself against any attempts at compulsion, he contracted an alliance with the Duke of Normandy. The latter duchy, by a policy which it is difficult to explain, had been conferred by Louis on Count Charolais, together with a revenue of 36,000 livres and the Hôtel de Nesle at Paris. Louis can hardly be suspected of gratitude. One motive might have been that Charolais was at variance with his father; or Normandy might have been considered more easy to reduce if placed in the hands of a sort of foreign sovereign. Be this as it may, Louis, with his usual caution and foresight, did not immediately resort to open violence against the Duke of Brittany, but first of all proceeded to place the kingdom in such a state as might enable him to enforce his demands with safety. He first directed his views to the south, and, in an expedition which he

undertook in 1462, he recovered Rousillon from the King of Aragon, and assigned it to the Count de Foix. This donation was accompanied with other acts calculated to make him popular among his subjects in those parts. Thus, he exempted Dauphiné from the game laws, and granted to Toulouse, which had suffered from a great fire, an exemption from taxes for a century. A little afterwards he renewed his alliance with the Swiss, or *Ligues de la Haute Allemagne*, and with Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, to whom, as we have said, he abandoned all the French claims on Genoa and Savona, with the reservation of the sovereignty. But what lay nearest his heart was the recovery of the towns on the Somme, which had been pledged to the Duke of Burgundy, and by which that potentate might have opened to the English the road to Paris.

By the Treaty of Arras, Louis was entitled to repurchase these towns; but he seems to have promised Count Charolais that he would not do so during the lifetime of the latter's father. He preferred, however, that his money should go into the hands of Philip's favourites, the Croïs, rather than into those of his heir; and Charolais protested in vain. Thus, in October 1463, the towns of St. Quentin, Péronne, Amiens, Abbeville, in short, all those on the Somme and in Picardy, were reannexed to the Crown of France; but Orchies, Douay, and Lille, which had been pledged at an earlier period, remained in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. In order to raise the necessary sum of 400,000 crowns, the King, besides taxing his towns, also laid his hands on the sacred deposit in Nôtre Dame, the money of suitors, widows, and pupils placed there by the Parliament of Paris. Another measure of precaution was the truce which he concluded with Edward IV. at Hesdin (October 27th, 1463). This monarch had mounted the throne only a few months before Louis; but the wars of the Roses still continued in England. Soon after his accession, Louis had lent some assistance to Henry VI.; and, on the other hand, a large naval expedition, under the command of the Earl of Warwick, had been fitted out against France in 1462; but Warwick had contented himself with making a trifling descent at Brest.[8]

After these precautions Louis prepared to strike a blow against the Duke of Brittany, who on his side had not been improvident or idle. He had confirmed his alliance with Count Charolais, as Duke of Normandy (March 1464); he was negotiating with

[8] Michelet (*Histoire de France*, t. viii. p. 146) insinuates that Warwick had already been *bought* by Louis; and observes, that not a word of all this is to be found in Lingard or Turner. We shall return to this subject further on.

Edward IV., to whom he promised to transfer the homage of Brittany; and he entered into a league with the malcontent Dukes of Bourbon and Berry, and with John of Anjou, Duke of Lorraine and Bar, son of René, titular King of Naples. It being important for Louis to crush so dangerous a vassal, he caused an army to assemble gradually and secretly on the frontiers of Brittany; and he then announced to Francis II. that he would no longer be permitted to style himself Duke "by the grace of God," nor to exercise the prerogatives of a Sovereign Prince. The Duke of Brittany did not venture on a direct refusal of these commands; but he alleged the necessity of consulting his States, and the whole matter was referred to an assembly to meet at Chinon in September, where nothing was concluded.

Louis knew that his policy had excited the distrust and hatred of the French nobility, and that a great confederacy was organising against him. His dissembling yet decisive character inspired the nobles with fear; and De Brézé concentrated this feeling in an epigram, when he remarked that the King's horse did not carry him alone, but all his council. Not that Louis repelled advice; on the contrary, he gave everybody an attentive hearing; but ended by deciding for himself. The lurking discontent wanted only an occasion to explode, which was soon afforded by a hasty step of the King's. Louis was aware that Romillé, Vice-Chancellor of Brittany, was one of the chief agents in hatching the confederacy against him; that he was accustomed to travel about disguised as a monk, and was now at Gorcum, in Holland, with the Count of Charolais. The King, therefore, resolved to seize him and his papers, and it is said the Count of Charolais also; and he despatched thither the Bastard of Rubempré, a notoriously bold and desperate character, in a smuggling vessel; but Rubempré's appearance in the streets of Gorcum excited suspicion, and he was apprehended. The Duke of Burgundy was informed that Louis, guided by certain astrologers, who had foretold the Duke's approaching death, had resolved on kidnapping his successor; and the king's known addiction to astrology lent a colour to the charge. To clear his honour the King sent an embassy to the Court of Philip, consisting of the Count d'Eu, the Archbishop of Narbonne, and the Chancellor, Pierre de Morvilliers. The last discharged his mission with insolence. He reproached the Count of Charolais with his connection with the Duke of Brittany, demanded that Rubempré should be released, and that Olivier de la Marche[9],

[9] The author of the contemporary Memoirs. It is at the period of this embassy that the Memoirs of Philip de Comines begin, who was then in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, but afterwards attached himself to Louis XI.

who had incriminated the King, should be surrendered, as well as a Jacobin, who had abused him in his sermons. When the Ambassadors were departing, Count Charolais bade the Archbishop of Narbonne recommend him very humbly to the King, and tell him that he had received a fine reprimand from his Chancellor, but that Louis should repent of it before a year was past.

This breach with Burgundy encouraged the French nobles to fly to arms. They communicated with one another by means of envoys, who were recognised by a knot of red silk at their girdles; and towards the end of 1464 was concluded at Paris, the confederacy known as the *Ligue*, or *Emprise du Bien Public*, a name, as Sismondi observes, which shows that some deference was beginning to be paid to public opinion. More than five hundred princes, knights, squires, and ladies, are said to have enrolled themselves in this league. It was favoured by the clergy, whom Louis had offended by the measures before adverted to, as well as by excluding Bishops from the Parliament of Paris; and they allowed the agents of the nobles to meet in the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame.

Philip the Good, fearing the rash and precipitate temper of his son, stood aloof from this confederacy: and it was only at the persuasion of his nephew, John, Duke of Bourbon, that he was at length induced to join it. Bourbon, who had done good service against the English, had been alienated from the King by the refusal of the constableship on the death of Richemont, as well as by being deprived of the government of Guienne. The duchy of Bourbon lies in the heart of France, but John also possessed immense estates in the south, so that his territory might be said to extend from Bordeaux to Savoy. Among other principal leaders besides the Duke of Brittany, were the Duke of Alençon, Count Armagnac, and John of Anjou — the last had joined the league much against the inclination of his father René. The House of Anjou had been hurt by the surrender of Genoa, which diminished their chance of recovering Naples; while the Orleans family had also been offended by the King's alliance with Sforza, the old Duke, Charles, claiming Milan, as we have said, through his mother Valentina Visconti. The confederates published violent manifestos in which they denounced the acts of the King, and they declared that their revolt had no other object than the good of the people. The King on his side despatched letters through the kingdom in which he pointed out the evils that would spring from this "false and damnable rebellion;" and he asserted, perhaps with truth, that if he had consented to increase the pensions of the nobles, and

allowed them to oppress their vassals as before, they would never have thought of the public good.

Stratagem and negociation, Louis' familiar arts, were now of no avail; it was necessary to oppose force by force, and he applied himself to the levying of an army. He increased the pay of the military, and, to meet this charge, he laid on taxes which considerably damaged his popularity. Abroad he entered into alliances with the Bohemians and with Venice, and he endeavoured to conciliate the Pope; but the only foreign aid which he actually received was from the Duke of Milan and the King of Naples, who were naturally pleased that he should support them against the pretensions of his own vassals. Sforza sent his son Galeazzo Maria with troops; and King Ferdinand despatched some galleys to cruise on the coast of Provence. Louis also courted the Medici; and it was now that he allowed Pietro to insert the lilies of France in his armorial bearings — a favour that was probably bought. It was at this conjuncture (June 1464), that, in order to procure rapid intelligence from all parts of the kingdom, Louis first established posts, in imitation of those of ancient Rome, with relays of horses at every four leagues; a very necessary step towards his policy of centralisation.

In March 1465, the King's brother, Charles, Duke of Berri, from whom he had been some time estranged, joined the league and went into Brittany. This was the signal for the civil war which ensued, known as the *guerre du bien public;* and in May almost the whole kingdom, except Lyon, Dauphiné, the greater part of Auvergne, Languedoc, and Guienne, had risen in arms. The King first led his forces against Bourbon; but learning that the Duke of Brittany was in his rear, and that the Count of Charolais was marching on Paris at the head of 26,000 men, he hastened towards the north. The Duke of Brittany was on the Loire, Charolais on the Somme; and their design was to form a junction in the Isle of France and occupy Paris. Charolais' military character was precipitate and rash, and his natural imprudence was increased by his father's advice to strike hard, accompanied with a promise that he himself, if necessary, would come to his aid at the head of 100,000 men. Charolais penetrated to Paris without waiting for the Duke of Brittany; but his army was ill-organised and disciplined, and the Parisians made a valiant defence. Whilst the Count was hesitating whether to retreat or to await the arrival of his confederates, Louis unexpectedly approached, the banner of the Oriflamme glittering in his ranks, which, during the domination of the English, had lain forgotten. This is the last

time that the appearance of this celebrated standard is recorded. Louis attacked the Burgundian army at Montlhery, July 16th 1465. The accounts given of this battle by the two contemporary chroniclers, Philip de Comines and Olivier de la Marche, are not easily to be reconciled. Both leaders are said to have displayed personal valour, and both claimed the victory. Charolais remained in possession of the field, but he retired next day to Etampes, where he was joined by the Dukes of Brittany and Berri; while Louis seems to have reaped the more substantial advantage of the day, as he lost fewer men, and entered Paris as a conqueror.

About the middle of August the army of the league, which had received large reinforcements, and had been joined by many of the confederate princes, reappeared before Paris. A body of Swiss, in the service of the Duke of Lorraine, were now first seen in France, and were conspicuous by their evolutions and discipline. Louis had gone into Normandy to hasten the levies in that quarter, and meanwhile the Duke of Berri invited the Parisians to a negociation at Beauté-sur-Marne, where he endeavoured, though without success, to persuade them to open their gates to him. In a few days Louis returned with the Norman levies; but though the hostile armies lay opposed to each other till September, only a few unimportant skirmishes took place. As Louis was master of the Seine down to the sea, he could always command a supply of provisions, and was therefore in no hurry to risk a battle; he trusted rather to delay, and the effects which he hoped to produce through intrigue and address on princes of such dissimilar characters and interests as those now leagued against him. He also relied on some diversions that were making in his favour. Galeazzo Sforza had entered Dauphiné with 5000 men, and the citizens of Liège, with whom Louis had signed a treaty at the breaking out of the war, had risen in rebellion against the Duke of Burgundy, and after sending him a defiance at Brussels, had laid siege to Limburg. The King had also incited the inhabitants of Dinant to revolt; and they had ravaged the county of Namur, and suspended on a gallows before the gates of Bouchain an effigy of Charolais, with an insulting inscription, designating him as a bastard and a son of the old Bishop of Liège.

These were blows struck in the heart of the enemy's dominions; the Count of Charolais became anxious to make his peace with Louis, in order that he might be able to chastise the insolence of his rebellious subjects; and negociations between the King and the league were opened at Charenton. Louis, who had no pride, or at all events never suffered it to interfere with his interests,

flattered the vanity of Charolais by going thither in person, without asking for securities or hostages. He even condescended to say that the Count had fulfilled the promise made to his ambassadors—namely, that their master should repent his insolence before a year was expired, for he confessed that he repented of it already.

Rouen had opened its gates to the Duke of Bourbon; the example had been followed by some other towns of Normandy, and the demands of the princes and nobles became so extravagant, that Louis at first refused to listen to them. They were all, however, for the private advantage of the confederates; not a word about the "public good," except that they stipulated for an assembly to consider of some reforms in the constitution. Sforza advised Louis to concede every thing, in order to dissipate this formidable conspiracy, and to fulfil the conditions or not, according to circumstances. But Louis was not behind the subtlest Italian as a diplomatist. He improved upon this advice, and granted even more than the confederates asked; seeing that the more he now conceded, the more ready would the people be to help him hereafter. He distinguished the Duke of Burgundy from the other members of the league, and concluded with him a separate treaty at Conflans, October 5th. The terms seemed most disadvantageous to the crown of France; that especially by which the Count of Charolais recovered for himself, and his next heir, the towns of Picardy, with liberty to the King, after the demise of both, to repurchase them for 200,000 gold crowns.

The treaty with the other princes was signed at St. Maur des Fosses, October 29th. The King's facility was calculated to excite suspicion; but the nobles were carried away by the advantages offered to them, as well as by the example of Charolais. Nothing was said by them respecting the *Etats Généraux*, who might have questioned the concessions they had obtained; but in order to save appearances, they stipulated that the King should call an Assembly of Notables, to consist of twelve prelates, twelve knights and squires, and twelve lawyers. At the very time he was making these concessions, Louis entered a formal protest against them in the Parliament of Paris, as extorted by force, and therefore null and void; and the Parliament on their side registered the protest with reservations, declaring themselves under constraint.

By the failure of the League of the Public Good—for the treaty of St. Maur, notwithstanding its vast concessions, must be regarded as the consummation of its failure—not only was the fate of the French aristocracy decided, but also the future colour of the

French constitution. The barons of England, uniting their cause with that of the people against King John, established their own influence and the liberty of all. The French nobility, standing by themselves, and contending at once with King and people, finally lost every remnant of power, and paved the way for democracy and despotism. But their success would perhaps have been still more fatal to France. Under an aristocratical oligarchy public liberty might have been still more compromised; while France, instead of becoming a compact and powerful monarchy, would probably, like Germany, have had the elements of its strength dissipated among a confederacy of feudal Princes.

The first employment of Louis after his deliverance from the immediate danger was to upset the treaty by which he had effected it. With this view he entered privately into negociations with the Princes and nobles. He seemed mindful of the old fable of the bundle of rods, to be broken separately though infrangible while united. To conciliate Bourbon the King made him his lieutenant in the south, and conferred on the Bastard of Bourbon the office of Admiral of France. The renowned Dunois, the old Bastard of Orleans, was detached from the interests of that House by giving his son the hand of one of the Princesses of Savoy.[10] The Constable St. Pol, uncle to the Queen of England, was seduced by the prospect of advantageous marriages for himself and family. Even the Count of Charolais, now a widower, was propitiated by the offer of the hand of Louis' infant daughter, Anne, afterwards the celebrated Anne of France, with Champagne and the Laonnois as a dowry. But most of these promises Louis had no intention to keep, and his treacherous projects were favoured by the mutual jealousy of the Princes. The Dukes of Brittany and Normandy (Charolais) quarrelled on their journey from Paris to Rouen. Francis wanted to seize the governorship of that city, and the principal offices, civil and military, of Normandy, in order to indemnify himself for the expenses of the war. He appealed to force, and was supported by the King, who ceded to him the *droits regaliens* of that province, made him a present of 120,000 gold crowns, and came to his assistance with an army. Their united forces soon reduced Normandy, the towns of which made no defence, and that province was declared reannexed to the French crown (Jan. 21st 1466). This event was accompanied with a double perfidy. The King neglected to fulfil his promise of bestowing Normandy on his brother, the Duke of Berri, and

[10] Louis himself had married the daughter of Louis, Duke of Savoy.

the offer of Anne was transferred to the Duke of Calabria, but with no better intention of fulfilling it. In this state of things small attention was paid to the provisions of the treaty. The Notables, charged with the reformation of abuses, assembled, indeed, but were so selected as to leave the King nothing to fear from their proceedings.

Meanwhile the Count of Charolais was employed in punishing the towns of Liège and Dinant, in whose favour Louis had made no stipulations in the Treaty of Conflans, though it was he who had incited their rebellion. He sacrificed Liège to his desire of conciliating Bourbon, whose brother Louis had been made bishop of that city by Philip the Good; and in order that Louis might re-enter his diocese, from which he had been expelled, it was necessary that the King should withdraw his protection from the revolted citizens. The towns were reduced, condemned in heavy fines, and compelled to recognise the Duke of Burgundy as their governor and protector. Soon afterwards, however, both towns renewed their acts of violence and disobedience; and in August (1466) Charolais appeared before Dinant with a large army, battered it with his artillery, razed it to the ground, and massacred the inhabitants in cold blood, 800 of whom, tied together in couples, were thrown into the Meuse. This horrible example procured the submission of Liège. That town was spared, but Huy and St. Trojen, which lay in its jurisdiction, were abandoned to be plundered by that part of the army which had not participated in the spoils of Dinant.

Charolais must not bear alone the execration merited by these atrocious acts. The old Duke Philip was present before Dinant, and, though he was esteemed more merciful than his son, he refused to listen to any conditions. It was one of the last acts of his reign; he expired June 15th 1467. His title of "the Good" was derived from a certain sensual good humour, which often passes with the vulgar for good nature, and supplies the place of virtue. By his last will he directed that his heart should be carried to Jerusalem; for the Asiatic Princes at this time leagued against the Sultan Mahomet II. had promised to place him on the throne of that kingdom.[11]

By the accession of Charles, Louis foresaw that a war with Burgundy would soon become inevitable, and, in contemplation of it, he used every art to increase his popularity among his own subjects. He particularly cultivated the friendship of the Parisians, spoke familiarly with all, dined and supped with the principal magistrates and citizens, and engaged his Queen to make bathing

[11] Sanuto, *Vite de' Duchi*, ap. Muratori, *SS.* t. xxii. p. 1184.

parties with their wives. From his former intimacy with Charles he was well acquainted with all the weak points in his character, and he prepared to take advantage of them. That Prince, who has obtained the surnames of "the Terrible," "the Bold," and "the Rash," was of middle stature, of dark complexion, and of commanding aspect. In many respects he was the reverse of his father. He was temperate and true to his marriage vows, warlike, inured to hardship and fatigue; but improvident, overbearing, and cruel. While Philip was regretted, his son soon became universally hated; by the people, for his hostility to their municipal privileges, and the heavy taxes which he imposed upon them; by the nobles, for the haughtiness of his manners, and the inexorable severity with which he punished their excesses. Peace, order, and economy were the things chiefly coveted by the commercial Netherlanders: Philip had studied to maintain them; but by Charles they were neglected. The luxury and splendour of the court and nobles were excessive; while the middle and commercial classes, though wealthy, were frugal and orderly in their mode of living; and they were particularly annoyed by the troops, commanded for the most part by bastard sons of the nobility, who lived almost at free quarters upon them. The elements of discontent were, therefore, sufficiently abundant, and, in order to foment it, Louis retained agents in the principal Burgundian towns.

Soon after his accession, Charles had repaired to Ghent, when the citizens, discontented with a tax called *La Cueillette*, rose in insurrection, subjected the Duke to a kind of durance, and compelled him to repeal the obnoxious tax. This example operated in other towns, and Louis availed himself of the conjuncture to excite fresh disturbances in Liège. But that town was again soon reduced by Charles; Louis, as usual, having abandoned it to its fate. The state of the western provinces of France rendered it highly inexpedient for Louis to provoke immediate hostilities with the Duke of Burgundy. That prince, in spite of their recent quarrels, was again leagued with the Duke of Brittany, at whose court the Duke of Berri, enraged at his disappointment respecting Normandy, was now residing; and all the King's endeavours to conciliate his brother proved unsuccessful. The Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were negociating with Edward IV. of England, and towards the close of 1467 the long-protracted endeavours of these princes were brought to a fortunate conclusion.[12] A marriage was

[12] An elaborate treaty of commerce, to be in force thirty years, was concluded between Edward IV. and the Duke of Burgundy, Nov. 24th, 1467, Rymer, t. xi. p. 591. An abstract in Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 683. In the

arranged between Charles and Margaret of York, Edward's sister, which was celebrated with great pomp at Bruges in July 1468; and thus the blood of the House of Burgundy was once more mixed with that of the Plantagenets. Edward promised 3000 English archers to assist in an invasion of Normandy, on condition that the places conquered should be made over to England.

But before any fruits could be derived from this alliance, Louis had contrived to render harmless the league between the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. In accordance with his usual policy, he appealed against the princes to the people, and summoned the States General to meet at Tours in April 1468. Their composition was more than usually democratic. Most of the peers of France were absent, whilst one hundred and ninety-two deputies attended from sixty-four of the principal towns of France. The indignation excited by the alliance of the Dukes with England operated in favour of the King. The Assembly, although it complained of many domestic grievances, unanimously disapproved a separation of Normandy from the Crown; and they were of opinion that "Monsieur Charles" (the Duke of Berri) ought to be very well satisfied with his brother's handsome offer of a pension of 60,000 livres, seeing that an edict of Charles the Wise assigned only 12,000 to a younger son. Armed with this decision of his States, Louis hastened to strike a blow against Brittany, before the English succours could arrive. Besides the dread inspired by his arms, the King had gained by his liberalities the Sire de Lescun, the chief counsellor and favourite of Francis, who persuaded his master to a truce, and finally to subscribe the peace of Ancenis, September 10th, 1468; by which he abjured all alliances except the King's, and submitted the question of "Monsieur Charles'" appanage to the arbitration of the Duke of Calabria and of the Chancellor of Brittany. The Duke of Berri subsequently acceded to this treaty.

One motive with Francis for entering into it, was the non-appearance of the Duke of Burgundy. Charles had been retarded by fresh symptoms of an outbreak at Liège; whither had returned, armed with clubs and other rustic weapons, a crowd of half-naked, half-starved fugitives, who had been living in the woods. When Charles arrived on the Somme, nothing could equal his surprise at receiving a copy of the treaty; he could not be persuaded but that it was a stratagem contrived to arrest his advance, and he was on the point of hanging, for an impostor, the herald who brought the document. But when the truth, by further confirmation, at

following June a treaty of the same kind, but on broader and more liberal principles, was also concluded with Brittany. Rymer, *ibid.* p. 618.

length stared him in the face, he displayed a readiness to negociate; and the King himself, although he seemed to have Charles at an advantage, according to his habitual policy, preferred diplomacy to arms. His reliance, however, on his own superior dexterity brought him into a very awkward dilemma. He resolved on personally visiting Charles at Péronne, as he had previously done at Charenton during the war *du bien public;* though he had no security but a letter of the Duke's, in which he said, that happen what might, the King should come, remain, and depart in safety.

On October 10th, the day after Louis' arrival at Péronne, news came from Brabant, that the citizens of Liège had surprised Tongres on the night of St. Denis (8th to 9th October), and killed the bishop and canons in the presence of Louis' agents. At this news Charles affected a violent rage, and confined Louis in the castle, whence he could descry the tower where Charles the Simple had died as the prisoner of Héribert de Vermandois. The Duke's courtiers begged him not to spare "the universal spider," now at last caught in his own web; but Charles would have gained nothing by the King's death, and he contented himself with extorting from him some very hard conditions. Louis was required to confirm the treaty of Arras and Conflans, to convert the Duke of Burgundy's dependance on the French Crown into a mere empty homage for separate provinces, to abrogate the jurisdiction of the French Parliament in Flanders, to abandon the revenues of Picardy, and to confer on his brother, the Duke of Berri, the provinces of La Brie and Champagne instead of Normandy. Louis subscribed these terms, October 14th, but with the secret determination, in this case perhaps justified by the circumstances, to break them on the first opportunity. The Duke of Burgundy, aware of the King's superstition, would not receive his oath except on a piece of the cross of St. Laud, which Louis always carried with him. This precious relic, which derived its name from having been long kept in the church of St. Laud at Angers, was reputed to be a portion of the true cross; it had always accompanied Charlemagne on his journeys, and Louis was known to entertain the opinion that if he perjured himself upon it he would die within the year.

But the hardest condition of all, if Louis retained any moral sense or feeling of honour, was, that he was compelled to accompany the Duke of Burgundy to Liège, and to behold the chastisement of those very citizens whom his own arts had excited to rebellion. He carried out, however, to the last the new character he had

assumed of Charles' friend. Far from appearing at Liège as a mere forced and unwilling spectator, he exhibited himself before the town with the cross of St. Andrew in his hat, and to the cry of the citizens *Vive la France!* responded with a shout of *Vive Bourgogne!* Yet on this occasion he displayed as much military courage as moral cowardice, and repulsed a sortie from the town with great coolness, when the Duke had quite lost his head.

Liège was taken by assault on Sunday October 30th, when the Duke of Burgundy exhibited the most deliberate cruelty in his treatment of the citizens. Those who had survived the assault and sack were proceeded against for weeks, nay months, afterwards, with a show of judicial inquiry; but few escaped except those who could purchase their lives, and thousands were either hanged or drowned in the Meuse. The town was burnt with the exception of the religious edifices and the houses belonging to the canons and priests, and *gens d'armes* were despatched into the Ardennes to make an end of those miserable fugitives who had not already died of cold and hunger.

Louis had been permitted to return to France, November 2nd, more vexed perhaps at being overreached than at the loss of his honour: but for the present, at least, he considered it advisable to carry out the stipulations of Péronne; and he ordered the treaty to be published at Paris, and to be registered by the Parliament. Yet with all his cynicism he could not help feeling his degradation. He displayed an unaccustomed sensitiveness to public opinion, especially that of his capital; he passed on to Tours instead of entering Paris; and he ordered all the jays and other talking birds of this city, which made the streets resound with allusions to Péronne, to be delivered up to his Commissary. On the other hand, Charles the Bold now began to push those ambitious projects of founding a Burgundian kingdom, which had been entertained by his father; and with that view he entered into negociations with the Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol, surnamed the Weak, who was then staying in the Netherlands. In consideration of a sum of 80,000 ducats, Sigismund pledged to Charles in 1469 all the rights and possessions of the House of Habsburg in Alsace, the Breisgau, the Sundgau, the forest towns of the Rhine, and the county of Pfirt, or Ferrette. Charles thought of nothing less than overthrowing the King of France, and even obtaining the imperial crown after the death of Frederick III.; little dreaming that his aspiring aims were only preparing the way for his own destruction.

An unguarded expression of the Duke of Burgundy's seemed to

the superstitious yet unscrupulous mind of Louis to afford him a loophole of escape from his oath. He had suddenly asked the Duke at parting what he should do in case his brother were not content with the portion assigned him? And Charles had carelessly answered that he must satisfy him in some other way, and that he left the matter to them. Regarding this answer as absolving him from his terrible oath, Louis offered his brother the Duchy of Aquitaine in place of Champagne and La Brie; but the Duke of Berri, who was at that time governed by the counsels of the Cardinal de la Balue, would by no means consent to the exchange. La Balue, a roguish simoniacal priest, whom Louis had raised from a low condition to the height of trust and power, had sold himself to the Duke of Burgundy, and it is suspected to have been through his machinations that Louis was entrapped at Péronne: after which, finding that he had lost the King's confidence, he attached himself to the Duke of Berri. This was far from being the only instance in which Louis was betrayed by his ministers; for, clever and unprincipled himself, he selected his advisers for the same qualities. He was a great admirer of Italian politics, and especially of the government of Venice, in whose principles he had employed two Venetians to instruct him. A certain flexibility of conscience was in his view a recommendation of a statesman, provided it were combined with the requisite dexterity and audacity; and thus, for instance, Pierre de Morvilliers, Bishop of Orleans, was actually under prosecution for malversation in his judicial functions as *conseiller-clerc* in the Parliament of Paris, at the very time when he was made Chancellor. It was, therefore, no wonder that Louis was often deceived, for which he had nobody but himself to blame. On discovering the treachery of La Balue, he caused him to be apprehended, together with the Bishop of Verdun, his creature; he sequestered the Cardinal's enormous wealth, and he requested the Pope to send two apostolic vicars into France, to try these clerical offenders. But the Court of Rome was indignant at the arrest of a prince of the Church; and Louis, afraid to put La Balue to death, subjected him to a punishment which the cardinal himself is said to have suggested in the case of another criminal, and which had been long in use in Spain and Italy. Louis confined him in an iron cage eight feet square, in the dungeon of the Chateau d'Onzain, near Blois, where he remained ten years without being brought to a trial. The Bishop of Verdun was sent to the Bastille. After the removal of these counsellors, the King effected an arrangement with the Duke of Berri, April 1469; the latter consenting to accept Guienne and a

great part of Aquitaine, in compensation for Normandy, and binding himself by an oath on the Cross of St. Laud not to marry Charles' daughter, the heiress of Burgundy. By this arrangement Louis removed his brother from the sphere of the Duke of Burgundy's influence, rendered him an object of suspicion to the Duke of Brittany, and opposed him to the English, whose views were still directed towards Guienne.

The Duke of Burgundy expected that his brother-in-law, Edward IV., would make a descent on Guienne in 1470; but this was prevented by the insurrection of the Duke of Clarence, undertaken at the instigation of Warwick, whose daughter that Prince had married. The secret history of the Courts of England and France at this period is so important that we must take up the subject a little earlier. After the marriage of Edward IV. with Elizabeth Woodville, in 1464, the advancement of Elizabeth's family by marriages gave great umbrage to many of the nobility and especially to Warwick, who had also other causes of discontent. That nobleman, with his two brothers, the Archbishop of York and Lord Montague, now Earl of Northumberland, had hitherto governed the kingdom; but since the appearance of this rival family, the King seemed to have grown weary of Warwick's counsels. The first open symptom of coldness, however, between Edward and that nobleman arose on the occasion of the marriage of Margaret of York and the Duke of Burgundy, before mentioned. Warwick had advised a union with a French Prince, and Edward had authorised him to negociate with Louis on the subject; for which purpose Warwick proceeded to Rouen, in 1467. Here he was treated by the French King in the most intimate and confidential manner. The wall between their lodgings was pierced, in order that they might confer at all hours unobserved; Louis, by his presents and flattering attentions converted Warwick into a lasting friend, and from this time they appear to have kept up a constant secret correspondence.[13] At the very same time the Bastard of Burgundy was in London, employed, it was suspected, in negociating the marriage which afterwards took place between Charles and Margaret. Warwick returned in a month or two, accompanied by certain French ambassadors, whose object it was to prevent this marriage and the alliance that must spring from it between Edward and Charles, now become, by the death of his father, Duke of Burgundy; and they offered Edward an annual pension from the King of France, as well as to refer his claims to Normandy and Aquitaine to the

[13] Michelet, *Histoire de France*, t. ix. p. 42; Hearne's *Fragments*, p. 296 sqq. ap. Turner, *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 281.

decision of the Pope. Bribery and corruption were Louis's familiar arts; and it is not improbable that the bearer of such a message to his sovereign was himself not insensible to the charms of gold; a supposition which would at least explain much that is acknowledged to be unaccountable in the conduct of Warwick.[14] Edward rejected the proposals made to him by France, and Warwick retired in discontent to his castle at Middleham, in Yorkshire. In his absence he was accused of being a secret partisan of the House of Lancaster at the French Court, and a watch was placed upon his actions: but a reconciliation took place between him and Edward; Warwick again appeared at Court in 1468, and even escorted Margaret through London when proceeding to her husband in Flanders.

Clarence's marriage with Isabella, daughter of Warwick, took place at Calais, in July 1469, contrary to the inclination of King Edward. At this very time an insurrection broke out in Yorkshire, in which county the Nevilles possessed their principal interest. The Earl of Northumberland, Warwick's brother, though he defeated the rebels, did not efficiently quell the insurrection; and the insurgents were subsequently headed by two relatives of Warwick, the Lords Fitzhugh and Latimer, who openly avowed their object to be the removal of the Woodvilles. The King now summoned Clarence and Warwick to meet him at Nottingham, where he told Warwick that he did not believe the reports that were circulated to his prejudice. But soon after the royalists were defeated by the insurgents; when Earl Rivers and Sir John Woodville, the father and brother of Queen Elizabeth, being captured, were executed by the order, or pretended order, of Clarence and Warwick. The two last, together with the Archbishop of York, now sought the King at Olney, and in fact made him their prisoner, and he was placed at Middleham under the custody of the Archbishop.[15]

There are still some circumstances in Warwick's conduct at this period which it is difficult to explain, even on the assumption that he was the secret and bribed partisan of Louis and the House of Lancaster. Such was his putting down the insurrection in Scotland, in favour of Henry VI., in August 1469; which, if that assumption be adopted, can only be attributed to his not being yet thoroughly decided. For the release of Edward IV. a little after,

[14] See Hume, vol. iii. p. 234. M. Michelet does not hesitate to charge Warwick with having received bribes from Louis as early as 1462 (*Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 146), but there seems little in his conduct, previously to Edward's marriage at least, to justify the suspicion.

[15] See Lingard, *History of England*. Lingard is the first *modern* historian who has revived this well-authenticated fact.

an explanation has been offered by a recent historian. It appears from the manuscript chronicle of John de Vaurin, a contemporary writer[16], that the Duke of Burgundy addressed a threatening letter to the mayor and citizens of London, in case they did not behave loyally to their King, and that Warwick, though feigning to know nothing of the letter, permitted Edward to depart to London. It is probable enough that the large commerce which the Londoners enjoyed with the Low Countries would have rendered a war with the Duke of Burgundy highly unpopular; and they may have remonstrated with Warwick, and procured the liberation of Edward. A reconciliation now took place, which seemed to be sincere: Edward granted a pardon to Warwick, Clarence, and the other rebels, and promised his youthful daughter to the son of Northumberland.

Early in 1470, the project above alluded to of invading France in concert with the Duke of Burgundy was agitated; but suspicion still prevailed between the King and Warwick, and the expedition was prevented by an insurrection in Lincolnshire, headed by Sir Robert Welles, and supported by Clarence and Warwick. The rebels were defeated; Warwick and Clarence were proclaimed traitors, and sailed for Calais with eighty ships, but Warwick's lieutenant in that place, instead of admitting him, fired on and repulsed his fleet. Warwick then sought an asylum from Louis, who placed Harfleur at his disposal (May 1470); and English ships, sailing from that port, annoyed the commerce of the Netherlands, carried fifteen Belgian vessels into the Seine, and publicly sold at Rouen the goods captured from the Duke of Burgundy's subjects. Charles the Bold remonstrated with Louis, who promised satisfaction, but at the same time instructed his admiral to repel any attack that the Duke's fleet might make on the English ships. Louis was not prepared, however, for an open rupture with that prince, and with a view to conciliate him, he sent, in July, an embassy to St. Omer, which Charles received with more than his usual haughtiness. He had caused a throne to be erected higher than any ever raised for king or emperor; the canopy was of gold, the steps were covered with black velvet, and upon them were ranged in due order his princes, prelates, and barons, his knights of the Toison d'Or, and the great officers of his state and household. Although the French ambassadors fell upon their knees, Charles

[16] See Michelet, *Hist. de France*, liv. xvi. (t. vi. p. 299). That historian says, that some passages in the *Chronicle* which would have wounded English pride are omitted in Mr. Bruce's *History of King Edward IV.'s Arrival in England* (Camden Soc.).

did not even deign to salute them, but with his hand making a sign to them to rise, addressed them in a speech interlarded with oaths; refused to listen to their proposals of accommodation, and finally dismissed them from his presence with marks of the greatest anger.

Meanwhile Louis had succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between Warwick and Margaret of Anjou, who was then residing in France. The powerful Earl had put her friends to death, had thrown her husband into prison, and proclaimed her infant son a bastard born in adultery; yet, such are the victories often achieved by political interest over the most sensitive feelings of human nature, an alliance was effected between these once mortal enemies, and it was agreed that this very son of Margaret's, the last hope of the House of Lancaster, should be united to Warwick's second daughter. In order to effect this reconciliation, Louis had assured Margaret that he was more beholden to Warwick than to any man living; an extraordinary confession, which strongly confirms the suspicions of the Earl's integrity.[17] An armament was then prepared in the French ports: Warwick, accompanied by the Admiral of France, landed at Dartmouth; the standard of the Red Rose was again displayed in England; and in the short space of eleven days was accomplished that surprising revolution which restored Henry VI. to the throne. Edward IV., abandoned both by nobles and people, fled to Lynn in Norfolk, where he embarked for Flanders (Sept. 1470). The Duke of Burgundy afforded his brother-in-law an asylum, but at once declared that he could not openly interfere in the affairs of England; and he acknowledged the restored monarch.

This revolution encouraged Louis to dispute the validity of the Treaty of Péronne. In spite of his order that it should be registered, the Parliament of Paris had demurred to do so, on the ground that its provisions were at variance with the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and consequently *ipso facto* null and void; and they proceeded to resume their jurisdiction in Flanders, which the treaty had abrogated, by summoning Flemish subjects before them, and by receiving appeals from Flemish tribunals. These proceedings threw Charles into transports of rage. He caused the French summoning officers to be imprisoned, and executed such of his subjects as had appealed to the French Parliament. But Louis proceeded steadily in his plans. His next step was to declare certain bailiwicks for which the Duke of Burgundy should have done homage escheated to the crown; and, as he turned a deaf ear to

[17] Harl. MSS. ap. Turner, *Mid. Ages*, vol. iii. p. 284.

all Charles's remonstrances on the subject, the latter called upon the Dukes of Lorraine and Brittany, who had been securities for the due execution of the treaty, to enforce its provisions. The King, who had made up his mind to proceed to extremities, in order to support his cause by the public voice of the nation, summoned an assembly of Notables to meet at Tours, to whom he submitted the whole question (Nov. 1470). This assembly declared the Treaty of Péronne to be null and void, and pronounced the Duke of Burgundy guilty of high treason on a long list of charges that had been brought against him; in pursuance of which verdict the Parliament of Paris was instructed to proceed against Charles, and an officer was despatched to Ghent to summon him to appear before that court. The astonishment and rage of the haughty Duke at this summons may be readily imagined. With savage eyes he glared in silence on the messenger, then cast him into prison; but after a few days sent him back without an answer.

The conjuncture was unpropitious for Charles. His finances were burthened by the aid he was secretly lending to Edward IV. for the recovery of his throne; and the fate of the expedition undertaken by that prince, which we need only briefly recall to the reader's memory, was still undecided. Edward, accompanied by his brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, sailed from Veere in Zealand, March 10th 1471, with some Flemish vessels, and a force of 2000 men; and having landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, he marched to London, entered that city without opposition, and recommitted Henry VI. to the Tower. Warwick despatched Clarence against his brothers; but that prince, as Edward knew before he sailed, had returned to his allegiance, and, instead of opposing the King's advance, joined him with all his forces. Warwick, who had himself marched against Edward, was defeated and slain at Barnet, April 14th. On the very same day Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales, accompanied by a small French force, had landed at Weymouth, and were afterwards joined by the partisans of the Red Rose, and by the remains of Warwick's army. But Edward defeated them at Tewkesbury, May 4th, before they could form a junction with the Welsh; the young Prince of Wales, who was captured together with his mother, was slain, almost in the King's presence, by Clarence and Gloucester, and Margaret was thrown into the Tower, in which fortress her unfortunate husband expired a few days after, murdered, it has been supposed, but without adequate or indeed probable testimony, by the hand of Gloucester.

Louis, meanwhile, had commenced hostilities with the Duke of

Burgundy, though not in an open and vigorous manner, but by instructing the Constable Dammartin to inflict what injury he could. Charles on his side had invaded France with a large army, burnt Piquigny, crossed the Somme, and laid siege to Amiens, when all of a sudden, without any apparent motive, except perhaps the uncertain state of things in England, he began to negociate with the King, and on April 4th a provisionary truce of three months was concluded. Louis, besides his habitual dislike of war, was induced to agree to this suspension of arms from his knowledge that his brother, as well as the Duke of Brittany, was in correspondence with Charles. The truce, which was subsequently prolonged till June 13th 1472, brought a good deal of obloquy on the King: the Duke of Brittany called him the *roi couard*, and the Parisians vented their contempt and ridicule in libels and abusive ballads. Louis combated this feeling by striving to render himself popular. He visited the leading citizens, showed himself at the *Hôtel de Ville*, and on St. John's day lighted with his own hand the accustomed bonfire. By such arts did he secure the affections of the volatile Parisians.

The success of Edward in England turned the scale in favour of the Duke of Burgundy, and, instead of Louis receiving, as he had expected, 10,000 English archers from Henry VI., the might of England was now ranged on the side of Burgundy. Nevertheless, Charles observed the truce, though both parties stood watching each other, and resorted to all the arts of cabal and intrigue. The chief source of Louis' anxiety was the conduct of his brother. After their reconciliation, the King had presented the Duke of Berri, now called the Duke of Guienne, with the order of St. Michael, which he had recently instituted. These orders were not then regarded as merely honorary. The members of one were obliged to the observance of very strict duties towards the head and chapter, and bound themselves by an oath not to enter any other; and hence the acceptance by the Duke of Brittany of the Burgundian order of the *Toison d'Or*[18] was naturally regarded by Louis as an act of hostility. But, notwithstanding this pledge of reconciliation by accepting the order of St. Michael, the Duke of Guienne had kept up his connection with Charles. The birth of a Dauphin in June 1470, afterwards Charles VIII., by disappointing any hopes which the Duke of Guienne might have entertained of succeeding to the Crown of France, naturally rendered him more

[18] The order of the *Toison d'Or*, or Golden Fleece, was instituted by Philip the Good, on the occasion of his marriage with Philippa of Portugal, Jan. 1430. See Reiffenberg, *Hist. de la Toison d'Or*.

disposed to seize all present advantages. Contrary to the oath which he had taken, he was now in warm pursuit of Charles's daughter Mary, the heiress of Burgundy; though, in order to throw dust into the King's eyes, he pretended to be seeking the hand of a daughter of the Count of Foix.

Charles the Bold, taking advantage of the embarrassed state of the King's relations, both foreign and domestic, pressed the conversion of the truce into a peace, negociated at Rocroi October 3rd 1471, by which, among other advantageous conditions, the Duke recovered the towns of Amiens, St. Quentin, Roie, and Montdidier. But Louis delayed to ratify the treaty; Charles continued to intrigue with the French princes, and in 1472 the league was re-organised. At the head of it were the Dukes of Guienne and Brittany, the Count of Foix and Béarn, heir presumptive of Navarre, and even the King's own sister, the Duchess of Savoy. Nearly all the south of France seemed prepared to arm against the King. But the grand project of the league, the marriage of the Duke of Guienne to Mary of Burgundy, was distasteful to their ally, Edward IV., as, in case of the death of the infant Dauphin, it would have invested the Duke of Guienne with a power very formidable to England; and Edward made it a condition of his joining the league that they should abandon a project which, indeed, was not very palatable to the Duke of Burgundy himself.

While matters were in this state, the Duke of Guienne expired at Bordeaux, May 24th 1472. He had long been in an ill state of health; but his death happened so opportunely for the King, that it was immediately ascribed to poison, though the suspicion seems to rest on no adequate foundation. Louis had made every preparation to take advantage of his brother's death: large bodies of troops had been assembled on the borders of Poitou and Saintonge; parties had been organised in Bordeaux and the other principal cities; and no sooner had the Duke expired, than the King's generals entered Guienne, and without striking a blow reduced that great province to obedience under the Crown. The government of it was then intrusted to the Lord of Beaujeu, brother of the Duke of Bourbon.

Fortified by this event, the King refused to ratify the treaty of Rocroi; and Charles the Bold, burning with rage and mortification, prepared for immediate war. His military force, which was modelled on that of France, was of the most formidable description. He could bring into the field 2200 lances, each attended by a squire, an arm-bearer, and eight heavily armed foot soldiers; also 4000 archers, 600 musqueteers, and 600 artillerymen, making a total

of near 30,000 men. Having crossed the Somme, Charles took Neslé by assault, a small place defended by only five hundred *francs-archers;* who, little accustomed to regular warfare, had let fly some arrows during a parley, and killed a herald. When master of the town, Charles took a terrible vengeance; entering on horseback a church where the archers and many of the inhabitants had taken refuge, he encouraged his men to slaughter them in cold blood, exclaiming that it was a pretty sight, and that he had plenty of good butchers with him. On the following day he ordered the town to be burnt, and such of the archers as had escaped his fury to be hanged or mutilated. These and similar deeds obtained for him the name of Charles "the Terrible." The Duke then proceeded to Roie, which immediately capitulated; and it was here that he first published his declaration of war against the King, in a violent manifesto, in which he accused Louis of attempting his life, as well as of poisoning his own brother. The progress of the Duke was arrested at Beauvais, which, although unfortified, made so obstinate a defence, that towards the end of July he was obliged to abandon his attempt upon it. He then proceeded into Normandy, where he took and burned several towns, and committed terrible devastations. But he was unable to make himself master of Rouen; his army had dwindled down to 8000 men; and as the season was drawing to a close, he commenced a retreat in September.

Meanwhile the arms of the King had not been unattended with success. The French garrisons in Amiens and St. Quentin had made incursions far into the Netherlands, and other bodies of French troops had overrun and ravaged Burgundy and Franche Comté. Louis himself, at the head of a large force, had not only prevented the Duke of Brittany from forming a junction with Charles the Bold, but had even penetrated as far as Nantes. He was at the same time making conquests more congenial to his temper and habits. He had gained over Lescun, the chief counsellor of the Duke of Brittany; and it was about the same time that Philip de Comines abandoned the service of Charles the Bold for that of the King, with whom he had become acquainted at Péronne. Comines foresaw that the violence, cruelty, and obstinacy of Charles must ultimately work his destruction, whilst he found every day fresh reason to admire the prudence and ability of Louis. Notwithstanding his successes, Louis concluded a year's truce with the Duke of Brittany, and another of five months with Charles the Bold (November 3rd 1472), during which affairs were to remain *in statu quo.* The truce was frequently renewed, for Charles, after this repulse, changed his whole line of policy, and, abandoning

his designs against France, endeavoured to extend his power on the side of Germany. Louis, on the other hand, was seeking to enrich his subjects by the benefits of commerce. In 1472, by his granting to the town of La Rochelle the singular privilege of liberty to trade with the English and other enemies of the state, even while they should be waging war with France, that city became a sort of independent maritime republic. In the following year Louis concluded treaties with Hamburg, Bremen, Lubec, and other Hanseatic towns, the commercial rivals of the Netherlands, which were admitted to an unrestricted trade with France.

CHAPTER III.

THE mind of Charles the Bold at first floated among uncertain schemes; he thought of a kingdom of Belgic Gaul, a kingdom of Burgundy, a vicariate of the empire with the title of King; and he even entered into negociations with George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, who undertook to assist him to the empire after the death of Frederick III. It was with these views that Charles had obtained from Sigismund the Weak the assignment of the Rhenish provinces before alluded to; and in 1472 he added to these acquisitions by the purchase of Guelderland.

It was through one of those revolting crimes, so common in the middle ages among sovereign Houses, that Charles obtained possession of this province. Arnold, Duke of Guelderland, had in his old age married a young wife, who soon became weary of him, and, to get rid of him, entered into a conspiracy with her step-son, Adolphus. On a cold winter's night, in 1470, the unnatural Adolphus seized his old father, who was sick and in bed, dragged him five leagues barefooted over the snow, and confined him in the basement of a tower, lighted only by a small loop-hole. The Duke of Burgundy, perceiving the advantage that might be made of this event, contrived that both the Pope and the Emperor should call upon him to liberate Duke Arnold, who was his relative; and, in obedience to their commands, he summoned Adolphus to appear at his court, and to bring his aged father with him. Charles's attempts to reconcile them were unavailing; Adolphus proved refractory both to reason and coercion; and, having attempted an escape from the durance in which he was placed, was recaptured and kept in prison till Charles's death. After his son was thus disposed of, Arnold, to punish him, sold the Duchy of Guelderland and the county of Zutphen to Charles for the almost nominal sum of 90,000 ducats and a yearly pension; when Charles took armed possession of these territories; and in order to obtain investiture of them from the Emperor, as well as to negociate with him respecting other schemes of ambition, he invited Frederick to an interview at Trèves, in September 1473. His plans seem now to have settled in the revival of the ancient Burgundian kingdom, into

which, however, Charles's French fiefs could not enter; and it was, therefore, to consist of the provinces and towns of the Netherlands, the bishoprics of Utrecht, Dôle, and Liège, Guelderland, and the Austrian possessions in Alsace and Suabia, transferred to Charles by Sigismund.

With these views, Charles represented to Frederick that he would make him more powerful and respected than any Emperor had been for three centuries; and he vividly described the irresistible force that must necessarily arise from the union of their rights and possessions.[1] The chief inducement, however, held out to the Emperor to place the new crown upon the brow of Charles was a marriage between Frederick's son Maximilian and Charles's daughter Mary, the heiress of Burgundy. But this marriage of policy would never have been effected through negociation, had not love lent its assistance. Maximilian, then a youth of fourteen, with blooming countenance and flowing locks, dressed in black satin and mounted on a superb brown stallion, won all hearts at his entry into Trèves, and especially that of Mary. In all other respects, nothing could be more unsuccessful than this interview. The two Sovereigns were of the most opposite characters: Frederick, slow, pedantic, and cautious, was hurt and offended by the pride and insolence of the Duke; while Charles could not conceal his contempt for the poverty of the Germans and the impotence of their Emperor, who was quite thrown into the shade by his own magnificence. Louis XI. employed his arts to sow dissension between them, and secretly warned Frederick that the Duke cherished designs upon the empire. But there was little need of the French King's intrigues to defeat a negociation in which neither party was sincere. Charles had been offering his daughter to Nicholas, Duke of Lorraine, at the very time when he proposed her to the Austrians, and Frederick was alarmed at the opening prospect of Charles's ambition, by his demand to be made Imperial Vicar. The interview, which had lasted two months, amid a constant alternation of fêtes and negociations, was unexpectedly brought to an abrupt termination. Charles was so sure of success that he had made all the necessary preparations for his expected coronation in the church of Nôtre Dame; the requisite seats had been prepared, and a splendid throne erected; a crown and sceptre, a superb mantle embroidered with pearls and jewels, in short, all the insignia of royal dignity had been provided, and his consort had been brought to Trèves to partake in the august ceremony. But two days before the time appointed for it, Frederick, whose

[1] Schmidt, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vii. Kap. 24.

suspicious temper had been roused by Charles's refusal that Maximilian and Mary should be betrothed previously to the coronation, suddenly left Trêves, and stole down the Moselle in a boat, without so much as taking leave of the Duke, or even acquainting him with his intended departure! Charles was deeply wounded by the Emperor's flight, which cast upon him an air of ineffaceable ridicule; and we may imagine that Louis XI. was not among those who laughed least.

Charles, however, had obtained investiture of Guelderland and Zutphen; and he soon after prosecuted his ambitious plans, and avenged himself for the Emperor's slight at the expense of the See of Cologne. Robert, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, had been involved in disputes with his chapter; some of his towns, as Bonn, Cologne and Neuss, or Nuys, had thrown off their allegiance; and the chapter had elected Hermann, landgrave of Hesse, as protector or administrator of the diocese[2], between whom and Robert a war arose. After his flight from Trèves, Frederick proceeded to Cologne, where he took part with Hermann and the chapter against Robert. The latter sought the assistance of Charles the Bold, who, in July 1474, appeared with a large army before Neuss, which was defended by Hermann.

Neuss was among the most strongly fortified places of that period, and the siege of it, which lasted nearly a year, is one of the most remarkable of the fifteenth century.[3] It is unanimously agreed by contemporary writers that Charles's efforts on this occasion were the cause of his ultimate ruin. Besides his own large army, and his immense artillery, he had hired some thousands of mercenaries, and especially several Italian *condottieri;* and for these preparations, though he was the richest Prince in Europe, he had been obliged to procure a loan from the Bank of Venice. At the opening of the siege, the Duke caused 6000 cavaliers, clothed in the superb armour of that period, to parade round the town; a spectacle whose grandeur could not be equalled by any modern army. The Duke himself made the most active personal exertions; but though the little garrison of 1500 Hessians was reduced to the extremity of eating horse-flesh, whilst Charles's camp abounded with provisions, and he himself kept a splendid table, at which foreign ambassadors and other distinguished guests were daily entertained, he could not prevail over that little band.

[2] Ecclesiastical establishments frequently placed themselves under some secular protector, called in German *Kastenvogt*, or *Schirmvogt*, in Latin *Castaldus*, or more frequently *Advocatus*. See Planta, *Helvetic Confederacy*, vol. i. p. 112, note.

[3] The details of the siege of Neuss are related by Loehrer, *Gesch. der Stadt Neuss* (1840), from original documents.

Frederick had promised to take the command of an Imperial army which he intended to raise; but with the characteristic slowness of the German body, it was not ready to march till the spring of 1475; and the Emperor then prudently resigned the command to the Elector Albert Achilles of Brandenburg, an able general, with whom was joined Prince Albert of Saxony. The contingents of the different provinces marched under their particular standards. At the head of the troops of the Imperial cities the little ensign of the Empire was alternately borne by the captains of the towns of Strasburg, Cologne, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfort, and Ulm; while the immediate nobility of the Empire marched under the famous standard of St. George, the guard of which was confided by turns to the knights of Franconia and Suabia. The chapter of Cologne and the Rhenish Princes had also entered into a treaty with Louis XI., who promised to attack the Duke of Burgundy with 30,000 men; but he did not keep his word, and was perhaps retarded by a league which Charles had formed against him with Edward IV. Louis, however, lent some money to the Swiss, who invaded the Burgundian States, committed considerable devastation, and took the town of Héricourt, November 13th 1475; and they subsequently united in their confederacy some of the places belonging to the Duke of Burgundy.

Charles had already delivered many fruitless assaults on Neuss, when, in May 1475, on the approach of the Imperial army, which numbered upwards of 50,000 men, he ordered another attack; but his troops were repulsed with great slaughter. Charles had now lost the pith of his army, and if an attack had been made upon it, according to the advice of the Elector of Brandenburg, it might no doubt have been annihilated. But Frederick listened to the proposals of the Duke for a renewal of the marriage treaty between Maximilian and his daughter, together with an immediate payment of 200,000 crowns; and Charles raised the siege of Neuss June 28th, which had lasted since the 29th of July of the preceding year. A peace was concluded (July 17th) between the Emperor and Charles, by which both parties sacrificed those whom they had pretended to assist; and the Duke of Burgundy was thus extricated from this immediate danger, but only to precipitate himself soon afterwards into another which proved his destruction.

The league just alluded to between him and Edward IV. had been contracted in July 1474. Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army, and to challenge the Crown of France; he was to obtain at least the provinces of Normandy and Guienne, while

Charles reserved for himself only Nevers, Champagne, and the towns on the Somme. He was probably never serious in the matter, and wished merely to divert the attention of Louis; but the English, after losing a great deal of time in preparation, at length, in July 1475, landed at Calais an army of 15,000 men-at-arms and 15,000 archers, led by the King in person. Charles, as we have seen, had at that time raised the siege of Neuss; and though he joined the English about the middle of July, he gave them no assistance, and would not permit them to enter his towns; St. Pol, also, the Constable of France, who was in league with the Duke, but alarmed with what he had undertaken, fired on the English army when it appeared before St. Quentin. Disgusted at this reception, Edward listened to the overtures of Louis XI., and on August 29th a peace was concluded at Pecquigny. Louis agreed to pay down 75,000 crowns, and 50,000 more during the joint lives of himself and the English King; and it was stipulated that the Dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter.[4] Louis is said to have obtained this peace by a liberal distribution of bribes to some of the chief English nobility. The most honourable part of it is the stipulation which he made for the release of his unfortunate relative, Margaret of Anjou, for which he paid 50,000 crowns more. She was liberated from the Tower in the following January, and conducted into France.

This treaty was arranged during a short absence of the Duke of Burgundy, who, on his return to the English camp, found everything concluded. He had now leisure to turn his arms against the Duke of Lorraine, who, during the siege of Neuss, had joined the Swiss, had defied Charles in his camp, and had invaded and plundered Luxembourg. In order to explain this conduct of the Duke of Lorraine, we must trace his history a little further back. René d'Anjou, titular King of Naples, as the son-in-law of Charles of Lorraine, had succeeded to the Duchy on Charles's death; but his title was contested by Antony of Vaudemont, the brother of Charles, who, with the help of the Duke of Burgundy, defeated and captured René, and threw him into prison, as before related. To procure his release, René was obliged to give his daughter Yolande in

[4] Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. xi. p. 804 sqq., t. xii. p. 15. Louis engaged that the Bank of the Medici should guarantee the payments; a fact which has escaped Roscoe and all the other historians of the Medici, though calculated to convey a high notion of the commercial greatness of that house. See Macpherson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 698, note. In June of the same year, Edward had borrowed 5000*l.* from Lorenzo the Magnificent and Juliano, Rymer, xii. pp. 7, 9. At that time the old French crown was worth 4*s.* 2*d.* English; the new crown, or *écu de soleil*, 4*s.* 3½*d.*, as settled by the commissioners of the two countries in Jan. 1480. Rymer, t. xii. p. 115.

marriage to Antony's son Frederick; and he afterwards vacated the duchy in favour of his son John, titular Duke of Calabria. John, on his death, was succeeded by his son Nicholas, the prince to whom, as before mentioned, Charles the Bold offered his daughter; but Nicholas dying suddenly in August 1473, the duchy again reverted to René, who was still alive, but too old to reign, and it was conferred on his daughter Yolande. She vacated it in favour of René II., her youthful son by Frederick, and it thus returned to the House of Vaudemont: but Charles the Bold, who hated and suspected that family, caused the young Duke to be seized, and carried into his own territories; nor would he release René till he had extorted from him a treaty which made Lorraine completely dependent on Burgundy. It was in revenge for this treatment that René II. had joined Charles's enemies, as before related.

After the peace with the Emperor, the Duke of Burgundy took the field against the Duke of Lorraine, having first concluded at Soleure a nine years' truce with Louis XI. Each abandoned to the other his *protégé*—Louis, the Duke of Lorraine; Charles, the Constable St. Pol, who had taken refuge at his court. St. Pol had committed great treasons against the King; and he was brought to trial and beheaded on the Place de Grève, November 24th. The judicial execution of so great a nobleman, issued of the House of Luxembourg, and allied to most of the sovereigns of Europe, showed that the times had much changed since the League *du bien public*. Louis' abandonment of René, though not so heartless as the conduct of Charles, who had trafficked with the life of the man who had confided in him, was still a glaring example of his faithless policy; for he had sworn by the *Pâque Dieu* that if he thought René in danger, he would come to his assistance: yet he did not stir a finger. Lorraine fell an easy prey to Charles, who took Nanci before the end of November 1475. Contrary to his usual custom, he spoke the inhabitants fair, declared his intention of making Nanci his residence, and of incorporating Lorraine with Burgundy.

Charles next turned his arms against the Swiss, whom he hoped to overcome as easily as Lorraine. He had to deal, however, not only with the Swiss, but also with the German towns pledged to him by Sigismund of the Tyrol. Charles had made himself personally unpopular with the Swiss and Alsatians by his proud and overbearing conduct; and the Alsatians were also further alienated by the violence and extortion exercised by Charles's bailiff, Peter von Hagenbach, and the knights whom he favoured. This discontent was fomented by Duke Sigismund. Hagenbach was seized and brought to a formal trial; and the judges, who had already made up their minds, sentenced him to be executed at Breisach.

Louis had observed these political blunders of Charles, and he used all his endeavours to increase the animosity which they were naturally calculated to produce. He had contracted an alliance with Frederick III. against the Duke of Burgundy; and though the enmity between the Swiss and the House of Hapsburg seemed irreconcilable, yet, with the same view of injuring Charles, he had succeeded in bringing about a treaty between them. Previously to this, Louis had himself formed, in January 1474, a compact called the "Perpetual Alliance," with the eight Cantons of which the Swiss confederacy then consisted; and this remarkable treaty served as the basis of all subsequent ones between France and Switzerland down to the time of the French revolution. It secured troops for the French Kings, subsidies for the Swiss proletarians, commissions and pensions for the higher classes. Louis promised yearly 20,000 francs in quarterly payments so long as he lived, and the Swiss undertook to provide soldiers whom he was to pay; the cantons were to enter into no truce or alliance without the French King's consent, and he on the other hand promised to make them parties to all his treaties. But though Louis had thus fortified himself by alliances against the Duke of Burgundy, he did not openly break the truce which he had made with that prince: and taking up his residence at Lyon, he remained on the watch for any opportunities which the rash expedition of Charles might throw in his way.

The Burgundian army which marched against the Swiss in January 1476, was chiefly composed, after the feudal fashion, of men of various nations, called together only for a short time, and having different kinds of weapons and methods of fighting; so that they were no match for the Swiss and German levies, composed of soldiers inured to arms, and exercised in military discipline. Charles was joined on his march by large bodies of Italians, whose leaders were men of the worst character; yet he gave them all his confidence. He had especially employed two Neapolitans to raise troops for him among the Italian bandits, James Galiot and Count Campo Basso; the latter was a traitor who sold the secrets of the Duke to Louis XI., and hinted how the King might seize and murder him. A more respectable coadjutor was Frederick, son of the Neapolitan King Ferdinand, whom Charles had enticed with the offer of his daughter.

When the Swiss heard of the approach of the Duke of Burgundy, they were seized at first with some alarm. They represented to him that theirs was a poor country, and that the spurs and horses' bits of the Burgundian knights were of more value than

the whole Swiss nation could pay, if captured, for their ransom; and they offered, but without effect, to restore the territory of the Pays de Vaud, which they had conquered from the Count de Remont. The Pays de Vaud was occupied by the Bernese troops, and they had garrisons in Granson and Yverdun; but Charles's army had taken possession of the greater part of that district, when he himself appeared, early in the spring of 1476, before Granson, and took the town and castle. The Swiss army had concentrated itself at no great distance, and everybody advised Charles not to abandon his advantageous position, covered by the lake on one side, and by his artillery on the other. He was, however, too proud and rash to listen to such remonstrances, and on March 3rd he delivered battle. Nothing could be more unskilful than his array. He himself led the van, which, instead of consisting of bowmen and light troops for skirmishing, was composed of his most choice *gens d'armes;* and, as the road was hemmed in by the lake and mountains, they had no room to deploy. To receive the charge the Swiss had fixed the ends of their long lances in the earth; and in order to draw them from this position by a feint the Duke ordered his first line to retreat; but this manœuvre alarmed the second line, which took to flight. At this crisis the troops of other cantons arrived; the deep tones of the trumpet of Uri resounded in the valley, making concord with the shrill horns of Unterwalden and Lucerne. The cry of *Sauve qui peut!* rose among the Burgundians. Nothing could stop them longer. The Duke himself was carried away by the stream of fugitives; but the loss was ridiculously small on both sides. The Swiss captured all the Duke's artillery and camp, and burst without ceremony into his vast and splendid tent, lined with red velvet. His jewels were all spilt on the ground; the Fuggers alone were rich enough to purchase the large diamond which had once sparkled in the diadem of the Great Mogul[5], and the splendid Italian hat of yellow velvet, circled with precious stones, which a Swiss soldier, after placing it on his own head, had flung away with a laugh of contempt.[6]

This victory, though so easily won, acquired a great military reputation for the Swiss. But they did not use their advantage skilfully. Although they occupied the passes leading into Burgundy, they neglected those towards the Pays de Vaud, and Charles penetrated through them to Lausanne, in the neighbourhood of which he long

[5] This great diamond was sold by a mountaineer for a florin to a neighbouring *curé*, and passing from hand to hand, was at length bought by Pope Julius II. for 20,000 gold ducats. It still adorns the tiara of the Pope. Barante, *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne*, t. vii. p. 220 (ed. 1836).

[6] Fugger, *Miroir de la Maison d'Autriche*, ap. Michelet, t. ix. p. 230.

lay encamped, till his army was sufficiently recruited to venture another attack. He then marched against the town of Morat; but it was so valiantly defended during a fortnight by Hadrian von Bubenberg, that the Swiss army had time to come to its relief. The united force of the cantons had been joined by the nobility of Suabia and the Tyrol, by the vassals of Duke Sigismund, and by the contingents of Basle and of the towns of Alsace; the young Duke René of Lorraine also fought with them with enthusiasm. The Burgundian army is said to have been thrice as strong as the Swiss; yet the latter began the attack, June 22nd, and Charles again rashly abandoned an advantageous position to meet them. This time his defeat was bloody, as well as decisive. His loss is variously estimated at from 8000 to 18,000 men[7], including many distinguished knights and nobles; among them the Duke of Somerset, who led a band of English archers in the service of Charles. The latter, with only eleven attendants, after a flight of twelve leagues, arrived at Morges, on the Lake of Geneva, and proceeded thence to Gex. He had sunk into a state of the deepest despondency; he suffered his beard and nails to grow; and his countenance resembled that of a madman, so that his courtiers and servants feared to approach him.

René II. took advantage of Charles's distress to attempt the recovery of his Duchy of Lorraine; with which view he hired some Swiss and German mercenaries and opened a secret correspondence with the Italian *condottiere* Campo Basso. With this force and the assistance of his own subjects, René drove the Burgundians from the open country into the town of Nanci, to which he laid siege. Rubempré the commandant relied for the defence of the place chiefly on a body of English archers, who not choosing to endure the famine which ensued in a cause in which they were engaged merely as mercenaries, compelled him to surrender the town (October 1476). The rage of Charles at this news was uncontrollable; though the winter was approaching, he resolved immediately to attempt the recovery of Nanci, which he instructed Campo Basso to invest: and he himself joined the besieging army in December. He had been able to procure but little assistance from his subjects. To his applications for money the Flemings made a jeering answer, that they had none to spare, but that they would expose their lives to bring him back in safety to his own dominions.

[7] The force of armies, and the numbers of slain or wounded are very little to be relied upon in these remote periods; but the bones of those slain in this engagement formed during three centuries a hideous monument, which the French, or rather perhaps some Burgundian regiments, destroyed when passing this spot in 1798.

Meanwhile René was approaching to raise the siege with a well disciplined army which it was evident Charles's force would be unable to withstand; yet he would listen to no counsels of retreat. All day long he lay in his tent reading or affecting to read, and nobody ventured to approach him; till at last M. de Chimai, with something like self-devotion, entered his presence and told him that he had only 4000 men in fighting order. "Be it so," replied the Duke: "if necessary I shall fight alone." It was evident that mortified pride would drive him to attempt the most desperate risks. He assaulted the town in the very presence of René's army: the assault was repulsed, and René then offered him battle, January 5th 1477. Before it began, Campo Basso went over to the enemy with his Italian troops. Charles displayed both valour and conduct in the engagement, and was well supported by his nobles; but it was from the first a hopeless struggle, and after the fall of Rubempré, Charles ordered a retreat towards Luxembourg. Campo Basso, however, had taken up a position to intercept it; Charles's army broke and fled in all directions, and he himself urging his horse over a half-frozen brook, was immersed and slain unrecognised. Thus perished miserably, in the midst of his ambitious dreams, Charles of Burgundy, the great Duke of the West. The peasants now rose on all sides, and for many days Lorraine presented a scene of murder and pillage. On January 10th a messenger appeared before Louis XI. sent by René to relate the finding of the Duke of Burgundy's body, and bearing with him Charles' battered casque in proof of his tale. By this victory young René II. recovered Lorraine.

Louis betrayed an indecent joy at the death of an enemy whom he had not ventured openly to oppose. Immediately after the defeat of the Duke of Burgundy at Granson, he had already begun to profit by his misfortunes. He caused a process for high treason to be instituted in the Parliament of Provence against the aged René, who had assisted Charles; and, to frighten the old man, a dreadful sentence was pronounced against him. But Louis then entered into negotiations with him; and he was compelled to make his daughter Margaret, who had just been dismissed from her captivity in London, renounce the inheritance of Provence in favour of Charles du Maine, the childless son of her father's brother; at whose death in 1481, Provence devolved to the French crown. René was compensated with the Duchy of Bar, and the payment by Louis of Margaret's ransom.

The death of Charles offered the opportunity of seizing Burgundy, the most important of all the fiefs of France. Immediately on

receiving intelligence of that event, the King ordered La Tremouille, who commanded a corps of observation in the territory of Bar, and Chaumont d'Amboise, Governor of Champagne, to take military possession of the two Burgundies, and to announce to the inhabitants his intention of affiancing his god-daughter, Mary of Burgundy, to the Dauphin. At the same time, royal letters were addressed to the "good towns" of the Duchy to recall to their recollection that the said Duchy belonged to the crown and kingdom of France, though the King protested that he would protect the right of Mademoiselle de Bourgogne as if it were his own. Louis also revived his claim to Flanders, Ponthieu, Boulogne, Artois, and other lands and lordships previously occupied by the Duke of Burgundy. In order to conciliate John, Prince of Orange, whom he had formerly despoiled of his principality, and who had been confidentially employed by the Duke of Burgundy, the King named him his Stadtholder in the duchy and county, and promised to restore his estates. Commissaries were appointed to take possession of Burgundy, who required the Burgundian States, assembled at Dijon, to do homage to the King of France within a space of twelve days: but the States raised a difficulty by asserting that they did not believe in Charles's death; a very common opinion, though his body had been exhibited six days at Nanci. A report ran that he was a prisoner in Germany; another that he was hidden in the recesses of the forest of Ardennes. In their dilemma, the States appealed to Charles's daughter, Mary, and the faithful counsellors by whom she was surrounded; who answered that Louis' claim to Burgundy was unfounded; that duchy being in a different situation from other fiefs vested as appanages in French princes; and at all events, if the King insisted on reuniting Burgundy to the French crown, that it contained several lordships to which he could make no pretensions; especially the counties of Charolais, Mâcon and Auxerre. The Burgundians, however, did not think it prudent to incur Louis' anger, and did him homage, January 19th 1477: though a few towns, as Châlons, Beaune, Sémur, made some show of resistance. Franche Comté also submitted, though in a feudal point of view this province was dependant not on the crown of France but on the empire.

Mary herself was in still greater embarrassment than the Burgundians. The different provinces of the Netherlands had their own separate rights and privileges, and all of them had more or less felt themselves aggrieved by the despotic and military authority exercised by Charles's ministers. The wealthy and industrious citizens of Bruges, Antwerp, Brussels, and other towns had

been oppressed and disgusted by the insolence and extortion of Charles's nobles; and they rose in opposition to the collectors of the taxes. The States assembled at Ghent, before they would support the government with their money, obtained a promise from Mary that their privileges should be confirmed, and the abuses of the previous government abolished. It was on this occasion that she granted to the Hollanders and Zealanders the charter called the Grand Privilege, by which all the rights of sovereignty were transferred to the States. Mary agreed by this instrument that she would neither raise taxes nor conclude a marriage without their consent; that they might assemble without her authority; that she would undertake no war, not even a defensive one, without their approval; that the right of coining money should be vested in them; lastly, that they should choose the magistrates, and that she should only enjoy the privilege of selecting from the names presented to her.

Louis must have seen that insurmountable difficulties opposed the marriage of the Dauphin and the heiress of Burgundy. Mary was twenty, while Charles the Dauphin was only eight, and deformed in person; moreover, what probably Louis did not know, Mary's heart was engaged to Maximilian. The French King, however, was bent on despoiling her either by fraud or force, and in order to embroil matters, he sent Oliver Necker to demand her hand for his son. This man, born of low parents at Tielt near Courtrai, had been the King's barber, whence he was advanced to be valet, and finally ennobled, with the title of Count de Meulant. Oliver appeared as plenipotentiary at Ghent with laughable magnificence. His secret object, however, was to excite sedition, and his house became the rendezvous of all the turbulent spirits in the city. Mary gave him a public audience in the Council House, where he presented his credentials, but declared that he could deliver the message confided to him only in private. He was told that such an audience could not be granted to a person of his rank, and that if his message were a proper one, it might be delivered in public. As he still persisted in his silence, the bystanders began to hoot; the mob outside took up the clamour and threatened to throw the Count into the river; upon which he slunk away as quickly as possible.

Meanwhile the King was engaged in reducing the towns in Picardy. At Péronne he was waited on by Mary's Chancellor, Hugonet, and the Sire d'Humbercourt with a letter in which she signified that the government was in her hands, naming the members of it, and that Hugonet and Humbercourt had full powers

to treat. In reality, however, Mary was entirely under the control of the Flemish States, who contemplated erecting a sort of republic, and had appointed a Regency quite independently of her. Louis had not listened to her ambassadors, who had scarcely departed when a deputation came to him from the states of Flanders and Brabant to negotiate a peace; and they remarked that Mary was entirely guided by the advice of her three Estates. "You are deceived," answered Louis; "Mademoiselle de Bourgogne conducts her affairs through people who do not wish for peace; you will be disavowed:" and he handed to the deputies the credentials presented to him by Mary's ambassadors. The deputies returned in a furious passion to Ghent, where they presented themselves at the levée of the Duchess to give a public account of their mission. When they mentioned the credentials, Mary exclaimed that it was an imposture, and that she had never written anything of the kind. At these words the Pensionary of Ghent, the head of the deputation, drew the fatal despatch from his bosom, and handed it to her before the assembly. Mary was struck dumb with astonishment and shame.

The same evening Hugonet and Humbercourt were arrested. They had previously been very unpopular; the people were lashed into fury against them by the addresses of certain intriguers; they were arraigned, and after being dreadfully tortured, were condemned to death. Having vainly entreated in their favour the judges at the Hôtel de Ville, Mary hastened to the Marché du Vendredi, where the people were assembled in arms; and ascending the balcony of the Hoog-Huys, with tearful eyes and dishevelled hair, implored the people to spare her servants. Those in the neighbourhood of the Hoog-Huys cried out that the prisoners should be spared; but the remoter crowd, who beheld not the spectacle of Mary's touching grief, persisted in the sentence. After a momentary contention, the merciful party was forced to yield; and Mary returned to her palace, her heart swelling with unspeakable anguish at the treachery of Louis. Three days after Hugonet and Humbercourt were executed (April 3rd 1477).

After this bloody catastrophe, Louis altered his tone. He complained loudly of what had been done; stepped forward as the protector of Mary, who had been kept a kind of prisoner, and declared the democrats of Ghent and Bruges guilty of high treason. Nothing seemed to resist the progress of the French; they occupied Hainault, threatened Luxembourg, and penetrated into Flanders. At length Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, awoke and put on foot an army of 20,000 men, though scarcely to be called

soldiers. The command of them was given to the impious Adolphus of Guelderland, who after the death of Charles had been liberated from his imprisonment by the citizens of Ghent, and had set up pretensions to the hand of Mary. He led the Flemings to Tournay; but here the men of Bruges began to quarrel with the men of Ghent; the French seizing the opportunity, defeated both, and Adolphus of Guelderland, after a brave defence, was slain (June 27th 1477).

Such was the end of one of Mary's suitors. She had had several more: as the Dauphin; the son of the Duke of Clèves; young Ravenstein; the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV.; Lord Rivers, brother-in-law of the same monarch; and Maximilian of Germany. Various circumstances had prevented the Emperor from pursuing the Burgundian match for his son during the lifetime of Charles; and indeed, as we have seen, he had been leagued with the Swiss against that Prince; but in April a formal embassy had arrived at Bruges, whither Mary had retired after the tragedy of Ghent, to demand her hand for Maximilian. That prize was an object of so much contention and intrigue that it required all the address of Mary's confidants, Madame Hallewyn, Olivier de la Marche, and Charles's widow, Margaret of York, to procure the ambassadors an audience; though, according to the account in the *Weisskunig*, Mary had already opened a secret correspondence with the Archduke. It had been arranged by Mary's council that she should confine herself to giving the German ambassadors an audience, and should postpone her reply; but when the ambassadors recalled to her recollection a written promise which she had made to marry Maximilian, and a ring which accompanied the letter, and inquired if she was willing to keep her promise, policy gave way to love, and she at once acknowledged her engagement. She was betrothed, April 21st; but four months elapsed before the Austrian Prince came to seek his bride in Flanders. This was owing partly to the want of money, partly to the dilatoriness of Frederick. The bridegroom was so poor that Mary is said to have advanced to him 100,000 florins in order that he might make a befitting appearance in Ghent. The espousals, which took place August 18th 1477, laid the foundation of the future greatness of the House of Austria.

The states and towns of the Netherlands had employed the interval between the death of Charles and the betrothal of his daughter not only to obtain from Mary the confirmation of their ancient privileges, but also to extort new ones. Maximilian, brought up in the tenets of the Hapsburg family respecting the

divine rights of Princes, looked with no favourable eye on these citizens; and his own character in turn was not much calculated to please a somewhat coarse commercial people. He was a polished knight and even a poet, after the fashion of those times; and worse still, a poring, tasteless devotee of the old school learning. Instead of marching against the French, who were burning several of the Belgian towns, he repeated at Bruges the celebration of his wedding, and then retired to Antwerp, where he lived in ease and luxury.

The attention of Louis, however, was diverted from Belgium by the affairs of Franche Comté and Burgundy. Louis had recovered Franche Comté, chiefly through the influence of John, Prince of Orange, whom as we have said, he had made governor of that province; but being jealous of the Prince's influence there, he soon began to raise up rivals against him, and he refused to restore John's estates. This drove the Prince into open rebellion. He renewed his allegiance to Mary, whose father-in-law the Emperor, in a proclamation, reminded the inhabitants of Franche Comté of their duty to the Empire. The Prince of Orange at the head of a considerable force defeated Louis' lieutenant Craon, at Vesoul (March 19th), and took possession of that town, as well as of Rochefort and Auxerre in the name of Mary. In this state of things Louis proposed a truce to Maximilian and Mary, to which they foolishly assented (September 1477). The French King likewise secured himself on the side of England by renewing the truce of Pecquigny for the term of his own life and that of Edward IV. The House of York was indeed hampered by its own quarrels, in which, early in 1478, Clarence fell a victim to the unappeased resentment of the King, and to the machinations of his brother the Duke of Gloucester. Louis is said to have been consulted respecting that unfortunate prince, and not obscurely to have advised his death by quoting a line from Lucan.[8]

In January 1478, Maximilian and Mary purchased a peace with the Swiss by the payment of 150,000 florins; but Louis was still able, by means of bribery, to secure the services of those venal mountaineers. Little, however, was done in that year, and in July the truce between the French King and the Flemish sovereigns was renewed for a twelvemonth: only to be broken, however, in the spring of next year, when the Netherlanders resumed the offensive, seized Cambray, and invaded the Vermandois. Louis contented himself with holding them in check, and directed all his

[8] *Cabinet de Louis XI.*, ap. Martin, t. vii. p. 136.

efforts towards Franche Comté, where the Sire de Chaumont, assisted by large bodies of Swiss, soon overran the whole province. Dôle, the chief town, though valiantly defended by the students of the University, who were cut to pieces in a sally, was taken, sacked, and burnt, when most of the other towns quietly submitted. Yet they were plundered by the Swiss; for pillage, as well as pay, was the object of their service.

The French were not so successful in Flanders, where they had to contend with the terrible leaders of the Walloons; men whose character may be inferred from their names, as the Boar of the Ardennes and the Bull-calf of Bouvignos. These leaders, with the Prince de Chimai and others, invaded Luxembourg with 10,000 men. Maximilian himself entered Artois and Hainault, and completely defeated the French at Guinegate, a hill near Térouenne in Artois; but he neglected to make any good use of his victory, which, in fact, had cost him so dear that he had been obliged to abandon the siege of Térouenne. War was still conducted in a most barbarous manner. Maximilian caused the French commandant of the little town of Malaunoy to be hanged, because his obstinate resistance had delayed the Flemish army three days; and Louis in retaliation hanged near fifty of his prisoners of the highest rank; seven on the spot where his commandant had been executed, and ten before the gates of each of the four towns of Douay, St. Omer, Lille, and Arras. The letters of Louis at this period abound with a sinister gaiety; he talks of nothing but hanging and making heads fly.[9]

The war after this period offers nothing worth recording. On August 27th 1480, a truce was concluded for seven months, which was afterwards prolonged for a year. During this truce the King reviewed, near Pont de l'Arche, an army of 30,000 combatants, including 6000 Swiss — the first instance on record of a camp of manœuvre in time of peace. In 1481 died Charles du Maine, the last heir of the second House of Anjou. The agreement by which Provence was to fall to the Crown on this event, has been already mentioned, and, as Charles made Louis his heir, Anjou and Maine also fell to him, as well as the claims of that House on Naples: a fatal legacy, which Louis XI's. practical and prosaic mind neglected to pursue, but which was destined to be the source of many misfortunes to his successors. René had died in the previous year. The annexation of Provence with its ports made France a great maritime power.

Another death of more importance was that of Mary of Burgundy,

[9] Martin, t. vii. p. 130.

March 27th 1482, in consequence of a fall from her horse at a hawking party near Bruges. She left a son and a daughter, Philip and Margaret; a second son, born in September 1481, had died immediately after baptism. Mary with her last breath recommended her husband to the Netherlanders as the guardian of her son Philip, now four years of age; but they erected a kind of republic, and paid not the slightest heed to Maximilian. He was recognised, indeed, as Regent in Hainault, Namur, Brabant, and some other provinces where the *Kabbeljauwen*[10], or democratic party prevailed; but the *Hoeks*, or aristocrats, were against him, and the Flemings would not hear of his guardianship. The citizens of Ghent seized the person of young Philip, and the Flemish Notables, supported by a cabal, long since entered into with the French King, appointed a regency of five nobles, who immediately began negotiations for a peace with France. They opposed Maximilian on all points, even the disposal of his daughter, whom they wished to betroth to the Dauphin, and to send into France for her education.

The health of Louis was now fast declining. He had been struck with an apoplexy, which had impaired his mental as well as his bodily faculties, and had reduced him to a living skeleton: yet he persisted in directing everything. He was grown so suspicious that he avoided all the large towns, and at length almost entirely confined himself to his castle at Montils-lez-Tours, in Touraine, which, from the triple fortification of ditch, rampart, and palisades with which he surrounded it, obtained the name of Plessis.[11] Forty crossbow-men lurked constantly in the entrenchment, and during the night shot at everybody who approached; while a strong guard surrounded the castle and occupied the rooms. All round Plessis were to be seen corpses hanging on the trees; for Tristan l'Ermite, provost of the Marshalsea, whom Louis called his *compère*, or gossip, caused persons to be tortured and hanged without much troubling himself for proofs of their misdeeds. All day might be heard around the castle the screams of agonizing wretches; others disappeared noiselessly in the river.[12]

[10] These two parties came into existence after the death of William IV., Count of Hainault, in 1355; with whom expired the line of Hainault, which also held Holland and Zealand. The original principles of these parties are not known, but at a later period the *Kabbeljauwen*, or Cod-fish party, represented the municipal faction, while the *Hocks* (fish-hooks) were the nobles, who were to catch and control them. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. i. p. 40.

[11] From *Plcisseicium*, or *Plexitium*, an enclosure (locus undique clausus. Ducange). The *Prevôt des Maréchaux*, or *de la Maréchaussée*, was an officer whose duty it was to guard the highways.

[12] Such is the account of Claude de Seissel, which, from his enmity to Louis, may be a little exaggerated; but Comines

Louis had sent his queen into Dauphiné; his son was educating or rather growing up without education, at the Chateau d'Amboise. Louis was accustomed to say that he would always be wise enough if he knew these five Latin words: *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare.*[13] Even Louis' daughter Anne, and her husband, the Sire de Beaujeu, were rarely permitted to see the King, though they had always been faithful and affectionate. He was attended only by astrologers and physicians, and some of those low people in whose society he delighted. In order to divert himself, he sent for rare animals from distant climates, and hired musicians and peasants who danced before him the dances of their countries. From the King's fear of death, Jacques Coictier, his physician, gained a great ascendant over him, and being a brutal and avaricious man, extorted 10,000 gold crowns a month, beside making the King give him several Lordships and the presidency of the *Chambre des Comptes*. Pope Sixtus IV., aware of the King's abject superstition, sent him so many relics from Rome that the people became riotous at the spoliation of the churches. Among them were the *corporal*, or holy cloth, on which "Monseigneur Pierre" had sung the mass, the rods of Moses and Aaron, &c. Yet, which is a most singular trait in his character, Louis remained to the day of his death inaccessible to the influence of the clergy.

It was from such a retreat that Louis pushed his old policy of bribery, espionage, and cabal, with more vigour than ever. We have already alluded to his intrigues with the Flemings: he caballed not only with the Flemish aristocracy but also with the demagogues of Ghent, two of whom, Rym and Coppenole were subsequently executed. Thus as the King was dropping into his grave, he confessed that greater advantages were offered to him by the guardians of Philip than he could ever have expected. Maximilian, who kept *memoranda* of all the insults and injuries he had ever received from the French, maintained the war as a sort of point of honour, though it had been unattended with any important operations; but his influence ceased with the death of his wife, and the Regents concluded a peace at Arras, December 23rd 1482. The principal article stipulated the future marriage of Margaret, then two years' old, and the Dauphin Charles, and that she should be educated in France. Artois, Burgundy, with the Lordships of Mâcon, Auxerre, Bar-sur-Seine, and Noyers, were to be

shows that great cruelties were exercised at Plessis and elsewhere. See Martin, t. vii. p. 145.

[13] "He who cannot dissemble, knows not how to rule."

her dowry, and were to remain in the hands of Louis; but these territories were to revert to her brother Philip if the marriage was not consummated, or if Margaret died without children. In pursuance of the treaty the infant Margaret was carried to Paris.

Louis XI. expired August 30th 1483, in his sixty-first year. He was a bad man but a politic King, and laid the foundation of that centralisation and that absoluteness in the French monarchy which were at length brought to completion by Cardinal Richelieu. In these plans, however, he was much assisted by fortunate circumstances. The death of his brother gave him Guienne; that of Charles the Bold enabled him to take possession of Burgundy; while Anjou, Maine, and Provence, fell to him by the extinction of the House of Anjou. Louis favoured industry, and encouraged all ranks of men, even ecclesiastics and nobles, to devote themselves to commerce; he planted mulberry trees, and endeavoured to introduce the culture of the silk-worm into France; he brought skilful workmen from Italy in order to establish the manufacture of stuffs of gold, silver, and silk; and Tours became under his auspices what Lyon is now on a larger scale. Yet in spite of the favour he had always shown to the middling and trading classes, he was as unpopular among them as he was among the nobility. It was indeed impossible that such a character should inspire love: and even, without any personal considerations, and merely in a political point of view, the popularity which his other measures were calculated to win was forfeited by the heavy taxes which his system of policy compelled him to impose. Taxation had been almost tripled since the death of Charles VII., owing to the large army maintained by Louis, the number of his spies and secret agents, and the vast sums which he spent in bribery and corruption in most of the courts of Europe. Louis XI. was the first to assume officially and permanently the titles of "Very Christian King" and "Majesty," though the former had been occasionally used before.[14]

Charles VIII., the son and successor of Louis, was in his fourteenth year at the time of his father's death, and therefore according to the ordinance of Charles V. had attained his majority. But though there was no occasion for a regency, Charles's tender years,

[14] The principal authorities for the reign of Louis XI. and the affairs of Burgundy during that period are, the *Mémoires* of Philippe de Comines, of Olivier de la Marche, and of Jean de Troyes, all of which are in Petitot's collection. Of Comines there are several separate editions. The *Chroniques des Ducs de Bourgogne* of Chastellain, and those of Jean Molinet, are in Buchon's *Chroniques nationales Françaises*, t. xli. sqq. The reader may also consult Duclos, *Hist. de Louis XI.*

coupled with his feebleness both of mind and body, rendered him unfit immediately to assume the reins of government; and Louis had foreseen and provided for this contingency by naming Charles's sister, Anne, who was eight years his senior, to carry on the government till her brother should be in a condition to undertake it. Anne had secured the favour and approbation of Louis by many qualities which resembled his own; and he was accustomed to say of her, in his usual cynical way, that "she was the least foolish of any woman in the world: for as to a wise woman, there is none." Her masculine understanding and courage would indeed have rendered her worthy of the throne of France if it could have devolved to a female. Anne's husband, Peter of Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu,—whence she was commonly called "la Dame de Beaujeu"—a man of good sense and some practical ability, was little consulted by her in the administration of affairs, though a useful instrument in carrying out her views.

But Louis, Duke of Orleans, who had married Joanna, the second daughter of Louis XI., and who as first Prince of the Blood considered himself entitled to direct the King, felt himself aggrieved by this arrangement. The first days of emancipation from the iron rod of his father-in-law were, however, devoted not to ambition but to pleasure. This young prince of twenty-one was united to an ugly wife for whom he felt no affection; and immediately after the death of the King he commenced a round of dissipation, in which women, dice, tournaments and the luxuries of the table succeeded one another by turns. He soon, however, occupied himself with the more dangerous schemes of ambition, and entered into intrigues with Maximilian of Burgundy, Francis II. Duke of Brittany, and several of the French nobles; and thinking to obtain his ends through the people he persuaded the Council to summon the *Etats-Généraux* to meet at Tours January 5th 1484.

To divert the storm which she foresaw, Anne sought by her measures to gain the love and confidence of the people. She abandoned the hated tools of her father, and among them Oliver Necker, who was condemned to death for various crimes; one of the blackest being his having caused a prisoner to be executed whose wife had sacrificed to him her honour as the price of her husband's life. Even Philippe de Comines was compelled to retire. The taxes which weighed most heavily on the people were abolished, and a body of 6000 Swiss, besides other mercenaries, was dismissed. With the princes and nobles Anne adopted the politic arts of her father, and gained many of them to her cause by a skilful distribution of money and honours. The Duke of Orleans and the

Counts of Angoulême and Dunois were each presented with a company of 100 lances and a considerable yearly pension, and the Duke also received the confiscated estates of Oliver Necker. By these means Anne contrived to render the proceedings of the *Etats* harmless against her.[15]

The Duke of Orleans, however, was not appeased by his pensions and honours, and some disturbances in Brittany afforded him an opportunity to display his discontent. Landois, the minister and favourite of Duke Francis, a tailor by origin, had driven the Breton nobles to revolt by his cruelties, who, having failed in an attempt to seize him at Nantes, had assembled at Ancenis; and hereupon Landois, with the consent of Duke Francis, invited the Duke of Orleans into Brittany, holding out to him the prospect of marrying the eldest daughter and heiress of Francis, although negotiations were actually on foot for betrothing her to the Archduke Maximilian. Francis himself was the last male representative of the House of Montfort; but he had two daughters, Anne and Isabella, and as Brittany was not a male fief, it would of course descend to the elder. The Duke of Orleans listened to the proposal made to him, and in April 1484 proceeded into Brittany; but the story of his having been captivated by the personal charms of Anne can hardly be true, as that princess was then only eight years of age.

The Breton nobles were now proceeded against with the greatest cruelty. Their houses were razed, their woods cut down, and in their despair they resorted to the French Regent for protection; binding themselves by oath to acknowledge the French King as their natural lord after the death of Duke Francis, with reservation however of the ancient laws and customs of Brittany. On the other hand the Duke of Orleans, proclaiming that he intended to deliver the King from those who held him prisoner, formed a league with Count Dunois, the Duke of Alençon the old Constable of Bourbon, and other malcontent princes; and he persuaded the Parliament of Paris to annul the decree of the *Etats-Généraux* which invested Anne with the regency. But the machinations of this faction were disconcerted by the death of Landois, who was the soul of it. Duke Francis and his minister having despatched an army to reduce the malcontent barons at Ancenis, the ducal forces, inspired by the universal hatred against Landois, joined the insurgents, and marched upon Nantes; the inhabitants of that

[15] Their proceedings are published among the *Documens inédits sur l'histoire de France*, and throw great light on the system of government both civil and ecclesiastical of those times.

city rose, Landois was seized in the very chamber of the Duke, and hanged after a summary process, July 14th 1485.

The Duke of Orleans and the confederate princes had also lost an ally by the revolution which placed Henry VII. on the throne of England. After the battle of Tewkesbury in 1474, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, flying by sea, was driven on the coast of Brittany, where Francis afforded him protection; engaging however that Richmond should undertake nothing against the crown of Edward IV. After the death of that sovereign, Landois, with a view to strengthen his own power in Brittany, had resolved to take advantage of the troubles in England to assist Richmond to the throne, and to effect a marriage between him and the heiress of Brittany; and he gave him 5000 men to invade England. The issue of that first unfortunate attempt against Richard III. is well known. It was frustrated without a single battle; the Duke of Buckingham, who had declared for Richmond, being deserted by his troops, was captured and beheaded; the rising of the Bishop of Ely also failed, and the Bishop of Exeter and Marquis of Dorset, Henry's supporters on the southern coast, were glad to escape to Brittany on the approach of Richard. Meanwhile Richmond and his Breton forces had been detained by contrary winds; and finding on his arrival on the English coast that the plot had failed, he did not even land.

About Christmas 1483, the English emigrants in Brittany, who were pretty numerous, held a meeting in a church at Rennes, and swore allegiance to Henry, on condition that he should marry the eldest daughter of Edward IV. The news of this proceeding caused Richard III. to strain every nerve in order to get rid of Richmond; and Landois, who found his own designs frustrated by the projected marriage between Henry and Elizabeth of York, entered into negotiations with Richard. The English King promised military assistance against the insurgent Breton barons, engaged to confer the estates and honours of Richmond on the Duke of Brittany, and to present Landois with the confiscated properties of the English emigrants, on his undertaking to seize and imprison Henry; but the latter having got intelligence of this design, escaped with great difficulty into Anjou a little before the day appointed for its execution; and Duke Francis, who does not appear to have known the whole extent of Landois' base plan, dismissed the other English emigrants, who were received and sheltered by the French Regent. In 1485, Richmond, with the assistance of the French Court, made preparations in Normandy for another invasion of England. The Regent was induced to take this step by Richmond's promise to

convert the truce between England and France into a peace, and to withdraw the pretensions of the English Crown to Normandy, Anjou, and the other provinces which had formerly belonged to it. The result of Richmond's second attempt we need not detail. He sailed from Harfleur August 1st 1485, with less than 2000 men, and landing at Milford Haven was joined by large bodies of the Welsh and English; Richard was defeated and slain in the battle of Bosworth, August 22nd: and Henry Tudor mounted the throne of England with the title of Henry VII.

By the death of Landois and of his ally Richard III., the confederate princes found all the hopes of their faction disconcerted; and although they had armed their vassals and hirelings, they were glad to submit to the terms dictated by the Regent Anne. Dunois was banished to Asti in Piedmont, a town belonging to the Duke of Orleans; while the latter was obliged to allow the King's troops to take possession of all his fortresses. The Constable Bourbon escaped with impunity, in consideration of his great age, and because the Regent's husband was his heir. The Duke of Brittany, in a treaty concluded at Bourges, acknowledged himself the vassal of France, though the question whether he owed simple or liege homage was still left undecided; and thus was terminated what has been called *la guerre folle*, or the foolish war.

The Regent Anne, however, foresaw that the future union of Brittany with France, though promised by the Breton States, would ever be a matter of great uncertainty, as Francis was bitterly averse to it; but the step which she took to give additional support to the claim of her brother Charles had an opposite effect to what she intended. In the preceding century, the possession of the Duchy had been an object of contention between Charles of Blois and John of Montfort. The latter, from whom Duke Francis was descended, had prevailed; but the claims of the House of Blois had been transmitted to that of Penthièvre, and had come by marriage to John des Brosses: from whom and his wife they had been purchased by Louis XI. Anne procured from Madame de Brosses a confirmation of this transfer to her brother Charles VIII.: a step which so highly incensed Francis that he called his States together in 1486, and extorted an oath from them on the consecrated host, the gospels, and the relics of the holy cross, that after his death they would recognise his two daughters as the only true heirs of the Duchy, and would oppose with all their might any other pretenders.

Some successes of the Archduke Maximilian in 1486, who had not hitherto been able to accomplish anything for his confederates,

the French princes, again awoke the hopes of the latter, and led to a new coalition.

In 1485, Maximilian seemed to have brought his disputes with the towns and states of the Netherlands to a happy termination. Having quieted the disturbances in Liége, Utrecht, and Holland, he had leisure to proceed against the Flemings, who had compelled him to intrust his son Philip to their guardianship, just as they had obliged him to send his daughter Margaret into France. After taking some other Flemish towns, he appeared before Ghent, the seat of the regency, and compelled it to a capitulation, by which he recovered the guardianship of his son Philip. Some of the German soldiery having excited a disturbance by their misconduct, which was resented by the citizens, Maximilian seized the occasion as a pretext for depriving Ghent of its fortifications and artillery. He also raised the taxes, publicly tore the charter of the city, abolished the democratic government of the guilds, and established an aristocratic council in its place. In February 1486, the Emperor Frederick had procured his son to be elected King of the Romans, and in the following April Maximilian was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the Archbishop of Cologne.

Maximilian now determined on breaking the treaty of Arras, and entering Artois with a considerable army, he took Térouenne and Sens; but the Duke of Crèvecœur, the French general, by keeping within the fortified places, exhausted Maximilian's resources, and obliged him to dismiss his mercenaries and retreat. In the following year, 1487, the French took St. Omer, and gained a victory near Béthune. The war, however, was carried on by neither side with vigour, Maximilian being involved in contentions with Ghent and Bruges, and the Regent wishing to destroy the faction of the Dukes of Orleans and Brittany before putting forth her whole strength in Artois.

The disturbances in Flanders soon assumed a very serious aspect. Maximilian having caused Adrian de Vilain, one of the demagogues of Ghent, to be seized and carried off to Brabant, the prisoner contrived to escape by the way, and having returned to Ghent, he succeeded in exciting an insurrection. Meanwhile Maximilian had been entrapped to Bruges by a stratagem. Against the advice of all his friends he accepted the invitation of the inhabitants to attend the celebration of Candlemas; but he had not been long there when news arrived that Ghent was in full revolt (February 10th 1488); and on Maximilian's preparing to proceed thither, the citizens of Bruges shut their gates, and tumultuously demanded the dismissal of his obnoxious counsellors.

Maximilian displayed great intrepidity and presence of mind in this conjuncture; and he addressed the people several times during three days that he went about in danger of his life. On the fourth the rioters broke into his palace; Maximilian fled for refuge to the house of a grocer in the market-place, where he was made a prisoner, and subsequently carried to one deemed more secure. His suite were pursued by the infuriated populace; several were seized and tortured, and sixteen were executed; among whom was Peter de Langhals, the *scout* or mayor of Bruges.

In vain did the States of the other provinces threaten and remonstrate. Maximilian was kept a prisoner till May 16th, nor was he released till he had agreed to a burthensome and disgraceful capitulation, and given three of the leading nobles as hostages for the performance of it. By this capitulation he promised the Flemish malcontents to observe the treaty of Arras; to renounce the guardianship of his son Philip, so far as Flanders was concerned; to restore the popular government in Ghent and Bruges; to release Flanders from all connection with Germany, and to withdraw his German troops from that province within three days, and from the rest of the Netherlands within eight. He was obliged to read these conditions from a lofty scaffold erected in the market-place, and to swear in the most solemn manner to observe them.

These occurrences prevented Maximilian from executing his part of the agreement with the Dukes of Brittany and Orleans, and the new coalition of French princes before-mentioned, which included, besides those dukes, Dunois, who had now returned from Asti, the Count of Angoulême, the whole house of Foix, the Sire d'Albret, and his son John (who had become by marriage King of Navarre), the Prince of Orange, the Governor of Guienne, the Duke of Lorraine, and several other princes. A want of concert, however, prevailed among them. By prompt action the Regent succeeded in occupying Guienne, the seat of the greatest danger, and in compelling the submission of Angoulême and D'Albret. The rest of the malcontents fled to Brittany; but the principal nobles of that duchy, in number more than fifty, were jealous of the Duke of Orleans, and suspected some of the other confederates of treachery; and they entered into an agreement with the French Court to compel Duke Francis to dismiss them. Accordingly, when a French army entered Brittany, Francis found himself deserted by a great part of his troops.

We shall not pursue the details of the war which followed. In May 1488 the Dukes of Brittany and Orleans were declared guilty

of high treason, and to enforce this decree against them, a fresh army of 12,000 men, under La Tremouille, was despatched into Brittany. The malcontents were completely defeated in the battle of St. Aubin, July 27th 1488, when the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were made prisoners. Among the forces of the Duke of Brittany was a body of 400 English archers, commanded by Lord Woodville, brother of the Queen Dowager, who had obtained the secret permission of Henry VII. to lead them into France. After the defeat, Woodville and all the English were mercilessly put to death by the French; as well as a body of Bretons accoutred in the garb of Englishmen, and wearing the red cross in order to strike greater terror into the enemy. The Prince of Orange, who had put on the red cross, and only saved himself by tearing it off, and hiding himself under some dead bodies, was sent to the Castle of Angers. The Duke of Orleans, after being carried to several fortresses, was at length confined in the Tower of Bourges.

After this defeat the rest of Brittany speedily submitted, and Duke Francis was obliged to accept at Sablé the hard conditions imposed upon him in the name of Charles VIII.; one of the principal of which was that neither of his daughters should be given in marriage without the consent of the French King. Scarce was the treaty signed when Francis died, September 9th 1488; upon which the Council of France immediately claimed the guardianship of his daughters, and required that the eldest, Anne, should not assume the title of Duchess till commissioners had decided between her claims and those of Charles. Francis by his will had appointed the Marshal de Rieux to be Regent, or protector, of the duchy, and guardian of his daughters. De Rieux would have married Anne, who had not yet attained her twelfth year, to the Sire d'Albret, who was at least forty-five, though Anne testified the greatest repugnance to the match; and as De Rieux pressed his plan, and as great part of Brittany was occupied by the French troops, Anne fled to Rhedon, and afterwards, by invitation of the citizens, took up her abode at Rennes, where she patiently awaited the assistance promised by Henry VII. of England.

The alliance of that cautious and niggardly monarch had been sought both by the Regent of France and the Duke of Brittany; the former had pressed, if not for assistance, at least for neutrality; while Francis had urged all his former services towards Henry as a claim for his support. The English monarch, with his usual temporising policy and aversion to war, had left matters to take their

course, trusting that Brittany would prove a match for the French arms; and had only rendered the small and indirect assistance of Woodville's corps. But the warlike spirit and ancient animosity of the English towards the French revived at the prospect of Brittany being swallowed up by France, and Henry saw himself under the necessity of taking some decisive step. In the present temper of the nation it was not difficult to procure a considerable subsidy; and by a treaty concluded with the Marshal de Rieux on the part of Anne, he agreed to maintain at least 6000 men in Brittany from February till November 1489; the cost of which, however, he was to be repaid, and to receive two seaport towns as security. One of the conditions of the treaty was, that the hand of Anne should not be disposed of without Henry's consent.[16] Alliances were at the same time made with Maximilian and with Ferdinand of Spain.

In pursuance of this treaty, the English landed early in 1489, under the command of Lord Willoughby de Broke, and about the same time (May), 2000 Spaniards made a descent in Morbihan. The French retired into their garrisons, and left the English and their allies masters of the open country, hoping to wear them out by the length and desultory nature of the warfare. And so indeed it proved; for the English, finding they could obtain no assistance from so feeble and divided a court as that of Brittany, departed when the term of their engagement had expired, without having achieved anything considerable.

De Rieux had brought Henry to consent to Anne's marriage with the Sire d'Albret; but the aversion of Anne, seconded by the Chancellor Montauban, who represented that D'Albret's power was not sufficient to be of any use to Anne in her present necessities, at length obtained a commutation of this marriage for one with Maximilian, which was celebrated by proxy in 1490. But neither was Maximilian in a condition to lend any effectual assistance; and all that Anne obtained by this union was the title of Queen of the Romans.

We shall here resume that prince's history. The Emperor Frederick III. would not acknowledge the capitulation which his son had made with the Flemings, and he endeavoured to raise an army in order to take vengeance on them for the insult offered to the Empire by the imprisonment of the King of the Romans. The Diet assembled for that purpose produced, however, little but long speeches; and but for the zeal and patriotism of Duke Albert of Saxony, who furnished troops from his own resources, nothing could

[16] Rymer, t. xii. p. 362.

have been attempted in the Netherlands. Frederick accompanied the imperial army of which Duke Albert was general; and in a Diet held at Mechlin, he procured the treaty extorted from Maximilian to be annulled, and the warmest resolutions to be adopted against the Flemings.

The war which followed, however, does not present any events of importance. The siege of Ghent was attempted, but abandoned (July 1488); and the French on their side, alarmed at the prospect of having to contend at once with Germany, England, and Aragon, did not venture to attack Duke Albert. In 1489 the Regent Anne made proposals for a peace to the German States assembled at Frankfort; and though Maximilian was at first averse to it, by the advice of the German princes, a treaty was concluded July 22nd, on the basis of that of Arras. Charles VIII. promised his friendly intervention to restore the obedience of the provinces of Flanders, Brabant, and their adherents to Maximilian, and he engaged to re-establish in their estates, D'Albret, Dunois, and their allies, Maximilian making the same promise with regard to the adherents of France in the Netherlands; but the question respecting the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, as well as some other points, was referred to an interview to take place in three months between the very Christian King and the King of the Romans. Charles agreed to evacuate his acquisitions in Brittany, but certain conditions were attached which afforded a loophole for opening up the whole treaty.

The assistance of the French being thus withdrawn from his domestic enemies, Maximilian soon got the better of them. Having assembled his Kabbeljauwen adherents at Leyden, under the name of the States of Holland, he pursued the war with the Hoeks, and took from them the town of Rotterdam. The Flemish towns and Philip of Clèves, their leader, now submitted, and a treaty was concluded, October 1st 1489, by which they agreed to recognise Maximilian as Regent, to pay him a compensation of 300,000 gold pieces, and to compel the counsellors who were in office at the time of his imprisonment to ask pardon on their knees, bareheaded, dressed in black, and without their girdles. Having brought the affairs of the Netherlands to this happy conclusion, Maximilian repaired to Austria, leaving Albert of Saxony, the Count of Nassau, and the Prince of Chimai stadtholders in the Low Countries. In the following year their fleet of thirty-eight ships, commanded by Jan von Egmont, obtained a complete victory over that of the Hoeks, July 21st 1490, and captured the Hoek leader,

Francis von Brederode, who died soon afterwards of his wounds. Duke Albert remained imperial stadtholder in the Netherlands till his death in 1500.

We have already mentioned Maximilian's marriage with Anne of Brittany in 1490. The method of its celebration by proxy, conducted after a German fashion, afforded the French some merriment. The Duchess being put to bed, a naked sword was placed at her side, and Maximilian's representative, the Count of Nassau, holding his credentials in his hand, placed his naked leg next to the sword. This laughable consummation was at first regarded as legal; but as Maximilian delayed to appear in Brittany, the French jurists found time to declare the wedding null; and their decision was confirmed by a decree of the Council, which pronounced the ceremony an unseemly trick.

In fact the French Court had determined that the heiress of Brittany should marry Charles VIII.; and the Sire d'Albret, then commandant of Nantes, who had given up all hopes of Anne for himself, was bribed to forward their views by a large sum of money, a pension of 25,000 francs, the restitution of his estates, and other favours. Early in 1491, D'Albret betrayed Nantes to the French. The young Duchess, who was at Rennes, was now in a dangerous position, and Maximilian's lieutenants were precluded from lending her any assistance by insurrections in the Netherlands. The heavy taxes and the tampering with the currency had caused symptoms of rebellion in Ghent. In Friesland, Jan von Egmont having caused two men to be executed for refusing to pay the tax called Knight-Money, the people rose and assembled under a banner in which was depicted a loaf and cheese; whence these insurgents were called the bread and cheese folk. Towards the end of 1491 they seized Alkmaar. A third insurrection was excited by the French, who persuaded the young Duke of Guelderland, then in their custody, to make an attempt for the recovery of his duchy, and they supported him with one thousand horse. His cause was also espoused by Robert and Eberhard de la Mark, by the Bishop of Liége, and by René II., Duke of Lorraine.

Meanwhile Charles VIII., qualified by his advancing years, had begun to take a greater share in the government. The Sire de Beaujeu, husband of the Regent Anne, had become Duke of Bourbon by the death of the old Duke in April 1488; he and his consort often retired to their estates, and Anne no longer appeared so frequently in the Council, though her influence continued paramount with the King. The first decisive step by which the

King manifested that he was no longer in tutelage, was the liberation of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Orleans. Notwithstanding the Duke's neglect of Joanna, and his project of obtaining a divorce, she was devotedly attached to him; she had insisted on sharing his captivity, and had frequently, but in vain, implored her sister, the Regent, for his liberation. She had more success with Charles. She threw herself at his feet, and by tears and entreaties obtained her prayer; though Charles could not help remarking, that he prayed Heaven she might never have cause to repent it. One evening, on pretence of hunting, Charles rode towards the tower of Bourges, and stopping at a little distance, sent for the Duke. It was nearly three years since Louis had crossed the threshold of his prison. As he approached the King, he threw himself on his knees and burst into tears; but the King fell on his neck, and gave him every token of esteem and affection. A solid proof of his sentiments was his bestowing the government of Normandy on Louis (May 1491).

After his liberation, the Duke of Orleans abandoned all his designs upon Anne of Brittany, from gratitude both to his wife and to the King; and indeed any further prosecution of them would have been unavailing. Charles VIII. having entered Brittany with large forces, and sat down before Rennes, where the Duchess was residing, her counsellors and friends advised her to capitulate. On November 15th a treaty was made, by which Charles and Anne agreed to refer their respective claims to the decision of twenty-four commissaries; Rennes was to be placed in the hands of the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; and a pension of 40,000 crowns was assured to Anne in case her pretensions were rejected. Anne also stipulated that she should have liberty to retire into Germany to her husband, the King of the Romans. But this was only meant for the public eye, and to deceive the representative of Maximilian. In secret another engagement had been entered into, which was to deprive that prince at once of a wife and a son-in-law.

It has been already related that Charles VIII. had been affianced to Maximilian's daughter, Margaret of Austria, who had been sent into France for her education. Her tender years, for she was now only eleven, had prevented the consummation of the marriage, and Charles resolved to substitute Anne of Brittany in her place. The acquisition of that duchy seemed to outweigh the probable loss of Artois and Franche Comté, the dowry of Margaret. On the very day that the treaty was signed, the King entered Rennes, and had

a long conversation with the Duchess; and three days afterwards they were secretly affianced. The King then set off for Langeais, in Touraine, where he was soon joined by Anne, and their marriage was publicly solemnised, December 16th 1491. Anne was then near fifteen; Charles twenty-one. By the marriage contract, they mutually assigned to each other their pretensions to the duchy, and Anne, whose sister had died the year before, engaged, in case she should survive the King, not to contract a second marriage, except with a future King of France or his presumptive heir.

The couple thus singularly united, formed the most striking contrast, both in mind and person. Anne was eminently handsome, of majestic presence, of bold and energetic character; while Charles was deformed in body, and weak and fantastic in mind. A celebrated Italian physiognomist[17] of that age describes him as having a great head, a long nose, and large prominent eyes; though his body was robust, his legs were weak and slender. Brantôme, and some other French writers, have characterised him as a great king, apparently from admiration of his extravagant plans of ambition, though he was entirely deficient in the qualities necessary for their execution. He seems indeed to have possessed courage, and a certain goodness of heart; but he was so illiterate, as scarcely to be able to read; he was without prudence or judgment, and averse to all labour and application.

The rage and astonishment of Maximilian at the news of the double injury inflicted on him may be imagined. Thoughts of vengeance immediately rose in his mind, but without any prospect of being able to gratify them; for he could expect assistance neither from the empire nor from the Netherlanders; his only hope rested on England, which he thought would not suffer Brittany to be incorporated with France. Henry VII., however, though he allied himself with Maximilian, was moved thereto rather by the hope of extracting supplies from his subjects than by any serious idea of making war upon France. Maximilian addressed long, but unheeded, manifestoes to the European Courts, in which he satisfactorily proved how much he had been injured; and he sent the Count of Nassau to Paris to demand back his daughter Margaret and her dowry; but the French King, relying on the cabals and disturbances which he hoped to excite in Flanders, returned an evasive answer.

The greater part of the year 1492 elapsed without much being

[17] Bartholemew Coclès, ap. Martin, t. vii. p. 226.

done. Henry VII. had procured large sums from his Parliament on the pretext of the war, which had excited considerable enthusiasm in England; nothing less was dreamt of than the conquest of France, and many pledged or sold their manors to appear in the field and partake the expected triumph. Yet, though Henry declared himself ready for action in May, the expedition was put off under various pretences till October, when 1600 English men-at-arms and 25,000 foot encamped before Boulogne. Henry however, had been long before negotiating with the French Government, and on Sept. 3rd, a formal treaty was concluded at Étaples. By subsequent conventions[18] (Nov. 3rd and Dec. 13th) Charles VIII. engaged to pay Henry within fifteen years 620,000 gold crowns in the name of Anne of Brittany, as an indemnity for the English succours; and also 125,000 gold crowns in his own name, as arrears of a pension formerly promised to the Kings of England for a hundred years by Louis XI. through his plenipotentiary, the Bishop of Elne, though Louis himself had never ratified it, and had broken off all connection with England after the death of Edward IV. Henry VII. excused himself to his subjects for this peace by alleging that he could expect no assistance either from Maximilian or Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. These monarchs had, indeed, concluded a treaty with Charles at Barcelona, Jan. 19th 1493, by which the latter, in his anxiety to remove all obstacles to the Neapolitan expedition that he was contemplating, had restored to them Roussillon and Cerdagne, without exacting the repayment of the sums formerly advanced by Louis XI. on these two counties.[19] The recovery of these provinces was regarded by the Spaniards as only second in importance to their recent conquest of Granada.

The war with Maximilian now alone prevented Charles from crossing the Alps. Maximilian had met with some successes. Arras had been delivered to him a little after Bapaume had been taken; while a general insurrection had broken out in Franche Comté after the repudiation of Margaret. The French arms would no doubt have retrieved these checks; but negotiations were opened, and a peace concluded between Charles and Maximilian at Senlis, May 23rd 1493. The Princess Margaret was given up as well as the provinces which formed her dowry, a few towns ex-

[18] Rymer, t. xii. pp. 506, 509.

[19] Ferdinand does not appear, as many historians have asserted, to have bound himself by this treaty not to oppose the enterprise of Charles. See Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 250. The treaty is in Dumont, *Corp. Dipl.* t. iii. pt. ii. p. 297 sq.

cepted, which were to be permanently retained, and a few others which were to be held till the majority of Philip. Margaret afterwards contracted two unfortunate marriages; first, with Don Juan heir of Castile, and after his premature death, with Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who also died, leaving her a second time a widow at the age of twenty-four. At a later period, under Charles V., she became renowned as the prudent and politic ruler of the Netherlands.

By these sacrifices, in order to obtain a peace with his immediate neighbours, did Charles prepare for his rash expedition into Italy; but before relating the events which it produced, we must return to the affairs of that country, and of the rest of Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

No sooner was Pope Sixtus IV. delivered from the apprehensions inspired by the presence of the Turks in Italy[1], than he immediately recommenced the prosecution of his ambitious designs for the aggrandisement of his nephew, the Count of Imola. In order to provide funds for his extraordinary expenses he monopolised the sale of wheat in the States of the Church; he rendered venal all the offices of the Apostolic Court, and openly advertised them for sale with the prices affixed; nay, he even sold, though rather more secretly, a good many benefices, and some cardinals' hats.[2] He intrigued with the Venetians in order to rob Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, of his dominions, and to divide them between Venice and his nephew; and war was declared against the Duke in May 1482. Hereupon the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines, who had in vain endeavoured to dissuade the Pope from this step, recalled their ambassadors from Rome, and declared in favour of the Duke of Ferrara. The Venetians took Rovigo with its *Polesini*[3], together with several other Ferrarese towns, and were approaching Ferrara itself, when they were suddenly deserted by their ally. This conduct of the Pope was partly occasioned by the altered views of his nephew, who had been gained over by the magnificent promises of the Courts of Spain and Naples, and partly by his own apprehensions respecting the good faith of the Venetians, whom he suspected of a design to retain Ferrara for themselves. Through the mediation of Ferdinand of Spain, a peace was concluded towards the end of the year between the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara's allies, and thus at the beginning of 1483 nearly all Italy was arrayed against Venice. The Duke of Calabria was now enabled to relieve Ferrara by passing with his army through the Papal territories; and the Pope, as the Venetians would not listen to his exhortations to lay down their arms,

[1] See above, p. 111.

[2] He established whole colleges, the places in which were sold for 200 or 300 ducats a piece. Some of these bore the most singular titles, as, for instance, the "College of a hundred Janissaries." Ranke, *Popes*, vol. i. p. 412 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

[3] The isles formed by the Adige, Po, Tartaro, and other rivers on the north-east coast of Italy, are called *Polesini*. That of Rovigo is one of the largest and most fertile.

did not scruple to excommunicate them for pursuing the very same course in which he had before encouraged and assisted them. But the Venetians, unlike the Florentines, disregarded these censures, and appealed from the Pope to a future council, before which Sixtus was summoned to appear by the Patriarch of Aquileia; they forbade their clergy even to open the Papal bulls, and punished such ecclesiastics as refused to perform divine service.

The attention of Sixtus and his nephew was distracted by disturbances in the Papal States, while a misunderstanding between Louis the Moor and the Duke of Calabria, enabled the Venetians to detach Milan from the League. Their fleet took several Neapolitan towns, and even laid siege to Taranto; and at length, in spite of all the efforts of Sixtus to prevent it, they succeeded in effecting a peace at Bagnolo (August 7th 1484) with all the belligerents, except the Pope himself and Ferdinand of Naples, and all northern Italy was thus reduced to tranquillity. The Venetians were the only gainers by this treaty, which secured to them Rovigo and its Polesina.

Sixtus IV. expired a few days after, it is said, of vexation, that nothing had been done for his nephew, and for the maintenance of the papal authority. This successor of St. Peter took a pleasure in beholding the mortal duels of his guards, for which he himself sometimes gave the signal. He was succeeded by Cardinal Gian Batista Cibò, a Genoese, who assumed the title of Innocent VIII. Innocent was a weak man, without any decided principle. He had seven children, whom he formally acknowledged [4], but he did not seek to advance them so shamelessly as Sixtus had advanced his *nephews*. Yet he endeavoured to procure some advantages for his family from the disturbances which broke out about this time at Naples. Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, who was universally hated for his luxury and pride, had persuaded his father to impose new burthens on the nobles; whereupon the barons revolted, and appealed to the Pope as Lord-paramount; Innocent accepted the appeal, demanded the tribute formerly payable by the Crown of Naples, instead of the palfrey with which his predecessor had been content, and cited King Ferdinand to appear at Rome. A war now broke out between Rome and Naples, in which the Venetians and Genoese supported the Pope, while Florence and Milan joined Ferdinand. But the Duke of Calabria carried his arms to the walls of Rome and shut up Innocent in his capital, who, in these straits, was glad to accept the me-

[4] Hence the epigram concluding with the line:
"Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem."

diation of Ferdinand of Aragon, Lorenzo de' Medici, and other potentates. The King of Naples was desirous of peace in order to put down his rebellious barons, and he therefore listened to the conditions proposed with the secret determination not to observe them. A peace was patched up August 12th 1486, after which Ferdinand began to take vengeance on his nobles, whom he had engaged to spare; and most of them became his victims, except the Prince of Salerno and the sons of the Prince of Bisignano, who escaped to the Court of France. Ferdinand also neglected to fulfil the conditions which he had stipulated with the Pope: the latter for some time contented himself with remonstrating, till in 1489 he formally excommunicated the Neapolitan monarch and deprived him of his kingdom. Ferdinand appealed to a council, and preparations for war were made on both sides; but Innocent proceeded no further, and Lorenzo de' Medici, who was the friend of both parties, mediated between them. Lorenzo, who had experienced much inconvenience from the enmity of the late Pope, had courted the friendship of Innocent, whose son Franceschetto Cibò, was given in marriage to Lorenzo's daughter; and the Pope this year bestowed a Cardinal's hat on Lorenzo's son John, afterwards the celebrated Pope Leo X. But as John was then only fourteen, the consecration was deferred till 1492.

During the intervening years, Italy was in the enjoyment of peace, for which she was in a great degree indebted to the policy of Lorenzo, whose connection with the Pope had established his power on new foundations. In foreign affairs he used it with justice and moderation. He had become as it were the balance point of the Italian States[5]; and as he repressed the jealousies and aggressions of the petty but ambitious princes by whom he was surrounded, so likewise he himself abstained from any attempt to extend the Florentine dominion at the expense of his neighbours. But with regard to the internal affairs of Florence his power was not exercised with a similar moderation: his yoke became heavier every day. About the year 1489 he began to assume the title of *Principe del Governo*, or chief of the government[6], a name hitherto unknown in Florence; and the interests of the state were sacrificed in order to support his commercial credit. In 1490 a sort of national bankruptcy ensued. The interest of the public debt was reduced from three to one and a half per cent., many religious foundations were suppressed, and the coin was debased in order to rescue the bank of the Medici from

[5] Filippo de' Nerli, ap. Roscoe, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. ii. p. 34.

[6] Scipione Ammirato, lib. xxvi. p. 184, ap. Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.* ch. xc.

ruin. After this crisis, Lorenzo, who though still in the prime of life, was subject to ill health, began to think of retiring from public affairs; but whilst he was meditating this scheme, a more violent access of his disorder, which seems to have been unskilfully treated by his physicians, carried him off at his villa at Careggi, April 8th 1492, in the forty-fourth year of his age. His political character has been variously estimated by different writers, according to their principles or prejudices, but none can deny him the praise of having been a warm and enlightened patron of literature and art.

Peter, the eldest of the three sons of Lorenzo, succeeded to his father's power, at the age of twenty-one. His tall, strong and active frame qualified him for those robust exercises in which he delighted, and in which his pride chiefly lay; under the tutorship of Politian he had made such advances in classical learning as his faculties permitted; he had a good address, a facile elocution, an harmonious voice, and the gift of poetical improvisation, so common among the Italians, and rendered so easy by their language. But his understanding was weak; he was proud and overbearing, and could brook no opposition; he applied himself but little to public business, yet he pretended that the state should blindly follow his directions. Pope Innocent VIII. did not long survive his friend and ally Lorenzo. He expired July 25th 1492; a pontiff who, if not distinguished by eminent ability or virtue, was at least exempt from the blind nepotism and the atrocious crimes by which some of his predecessors and followers were characterized. The great defect of his administration was want of vigour. If he did not commit crime himself, he tolerated it in others, and under his reign Rome became a scene of robbery, violation, and murder. According to the contemporary *Journal* of Stefano Infessura[7], Innocent endeavoured to prolong his days by the transfusion of blood; but three boys who had been used for that purpose, having died under the operation, the Jewish physician who had advised it fled, in order to avoid making more victims. The barbarous state of the science of medicine in those days is also shown by the treatment of Lorenzo de' Medici, who was probably killed by the rich potions formed of pearls and other jewels that were administered to him.[8]

Pope Innocent VIII. was succeeded by the atrocious Cardinal Roderigo Borgia, a Spaniard of Valencia, where he had at one time

[7] Ap. Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. xi. p. 555. It should be remarked that Muratori, in his edition of this *Diario* in the *Scriptores*, has somewhat mutilated it. It will be found in its perfect state in Eccard's *Hist. Med. Ævi*, t. ii. Leipsic, 1723.

[8] Roscoe, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. ii. p. 232.

exercised the profession of an advocate. After his election he assumed the name of Alexander VI. Of twenty cardinals who entered the conclave, he is said to have bought the suffrages of all but five; and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, whom he feared as a rival, was propitiated with a present of silver that was a load for four mules. Alexander's election was the signal for flight to those cardinals who had opposed it. Giuliano della Rovere retired to his bishopric of Ostia, where he fortified himself for a siege; and afterwards by way of greater security, he proceeded into France; while the youthful Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, then only in his seventeenth year, retired to Florence. Pope Alexander had by the celebrated Vannozza, the wife of a Roman citizen, three sons: John, whom he made Duke of Gandia, in Spain; Cæsar and Geoffrey; and one daughter, Lucretia, whose morals would have better entitled her to the name of Messalina.[9]

Italy, which now seemed so peaceable, prosperous, and happy, was on the eve of becoming the scene of those foreign invasions which long deluged her fields with blood, and ended by reducing some of her most fertile provinces under transmontane domination. The prince whose counsels brought this misfortune on his country became deservedly one of the chief sufferers by them. The marriage which had been long arranged between John Galeazzo, the young Duke of Milan, and Isabella, daughter of Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, was consummated in 1489. As Galeazzo, though now arrived at the age of manhood, was of so weak a capacity as to be totally incapable of governing, his uncle, Ludovico, continued to engross all the power of the state; nay, according to the testimony of a contemporary historian[10], he scarcely allowed the young Duke and his consort the common necessaries of their station. But Isabella, a woman of spirit and ambition, though aware of her husband's incapacity, considered herself at least entitled to rule in his place; and she complained of the bondage in which he was held to her father Alphonso. The latter persuaded King Ferdinand to send an embassy to Milan to remonstrate with Louis; who, alarmed at the hostility which he foresaw from Alphonso after he should have succeeded to the throne of Naples, an event which might be soon expected, as well as at a

[9] The principal sources for the atrocious life of Alexander VI. are, Stefano Infessura before mentioned, who was secretary to the Roman Senate and people, and the *Diary* of John Burchard (in Eccard), who was Alexander's master of the ceremonies. Burchard, however, may be suspected of sometimes exaggerating, as he applies to Alexander stories already related by Boccaccio. See Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschicht-schreiber*, sub nom.

[10] Corio, *Storia di Milano*, ap. Sismondi, *Rép. It.* ch. xcii.

league entered into between Ferdinand and Peter de' Medici, began to concert measures of defence. With this view he arranged an alliance with Pope Alexander, through his brother Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, the Roman Vice-Chancellor, which the Venetians were also induced to join (April 21st, 1493). In the same year the Pope married his daughter, Lucretia Borgia, to Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro. Louis also treated with Maximilian, who became Emperor in August, to procure for himself the title of Duke of Milan, to the exclusion of his nephew, John Galeazzo; and to draw the bonds of connection closer, he concluded a marriage between Maximilian and Bianca Maria, sister of Galeazzo, which was celebrated at Milan, December 1st. But not content with these precautions Louis despatched, in 1493, an embassy to Charles VIII. of France, exhorting him to claim the crown of Naples, and assuring him of success in such an enterprise through the support of Milan, Venice, and the Pope; and Alexander VI. is said to have joined in soliciting Charles to attack King Ferdinand. The French monarch was easily persuaded to revive the pretensions of the House of Anjou; but before we relate the results of his expedition we must bring down to the same period the histories of Spain and Germany, which countries bore no inconsiderable part in the events which ensued.

Henry IV. of Castile [11], commonly called the Impotent, was, if possible, still weaker than his father, and was governed as absolutely by Don Juan Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, as John II. had been by Alvaro de Luna. After divorcing his first wife, Blanche of Aragon, by whom he had no children, Henry espoused in 1455 Joanna, sister of Alphonso V. of Portugal, a young, handsome, and lively princess; but who, like her husband, has incurred the charge of shameless profligacy. No issue appeared from this marriage till 1462, when Joanna was delivered of a daughter, of whom Beltram de la Cueva, Joanna's reputed paramour, was very generally thought to be the father. So strong was the belief in the illegitimacy of the infant Princess, who obtained the name of La Beltraneja from her putative father, that the nobles banded together for the redress of grievances, refused the oath of fealty which Henry required them to take to her, as heir presumptive, and demanded that Henry's half-brother, Alphonso, should be acknowledged as successor to the throne and committed for safe custody into their hands. The King complied with this demand, but on the condition of Alphonso's future union with the child, whom he regarded as his own daughter. Henry also named a

[11] See Introduction, p. 57.

committee of five nobles for the reform of abuses; but they carried their plans so far that Henry was persuaded to disavow their acts. Hereupon the nobles proceeded to depose their Sovereign after the theatrical fashion described by the Spanish historians. An image of the King, clothed in his robes of state, and seated on a throne, was placed on a lofty scaffold erected near the town of Avila: the figure was publicly arraigned from a written manifesto, and as each article was read, was despoiled of some part of its paraphernalia. The Archbishop of Toledo tore the crown from its brow; the Marquis of Villena, so lately the King's chief favourite, wrested the sceptre from its hand; the Count of Placentia snatched the sword of justice from its side, and the image was at last hurled headlong from the throne. Don Alphonso was then installed in the vacant seat, and received the homage of the assembled nobles (1465).

The majority of the nation, however, and even some of the nobles, disapproved of this act, and sided with the King. For a while Henry and Alphonso both maintained their respective Courts and exercised all the functions of royalty; till after a few years a furious civil war which had ensued was checked by the sudden death of Alphonso at the early age of fifteen (July 5th 1468). His party now proclaimed his sister Isabella Queen of Castile; but as she steadily refused to accept that title so long as her brother Henry lived, it became necessary to effect an accommodation. Henry consented without much difficulty to grant a general amnesty; to dismiss to Portugal his Queen Joanna, whose unchastity was notorious; and to confer on Isabella the principality of the Asturias, the appanage which gave title to the heir apparent of the monarchy. At an interview between Henry and Isabella at Toros de Guisando in New Castile, September 9th 1468, the King solemnly recognised his sister as his successor, and the nobles tendered to her the oath of allegiance.

The splendid prospect now opened to Isabella naturally attracted to her numerous suitors; among whom are mentioned a brother of Edward IV. of England, probably Richard, Duke of Gloucester; the Duke of Guienne, brother of Louis XI. of France; and her own kinsman Ferdinand, son of John II. of Aragon. The addresses of the last were viewed with most favour by Isabella, as well from the political advantages of such a match, as from the personal qualities of Ferdinand, who was then in the flower of his age. But to some of the nobles, and especially to the Marquis of Villena, who had now rejoined Henry IV. and regained his former influence, a union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon was regarded

with aversion; and they entered into the views of their weak monarch, who was still bent on the succession of his reputed daughter Joanna. In order to defeat the marriage between Ferdinand and Isabella, King Alphonso of Portugal was invited to demand Isabella's hand; but her refusal was supported by the sentiment of the nation, and the attempt only urged Isabella and her adherents to hasten on the marriage with Ferdinand: an event ardently desired by John II., who with the view of rendering his son more worthy of Isabella's hand, had already made him King of Sicily, and associated him with himself in the government of Aragon. On January 7th 1469, a marriage contract was concluded, by which Ferdinand, in order to conciliate the Castilians, relinquished to his consort all the more essential rights of the Castilian sovereignty. But Ferdinand was obliged to seek his betrothed under circumstances of considerable danger. His father being engaged in a war with the revolted Catalans, headed by John of Anjou, could not spare an adequate force to escort Ferdinand into Castile, who therefore resolved to proceed thither in disguise. With six attendants, who assumed the character of commercial travellers, he threaded his way through a country patrolled by the Castilian cavalry, and studded with castles belonging to the opposite faction; having, for better concealment, assumed the disguise of a servant, and performing at the inns all the menial offices attaching to that character. After various adventures he arrived in safety at Dueñas in Leon, October 9th, and a few days after had an interview with Isabella. That Princess was in the neighbouring city of Valladolid, whither she had been carried by the Archbishop of Toledo, in order to protect her from a plan formed by Villena to seize her at her residence at Madrigal. The marriage was performed on the 19th of October; and these joint heirs of one of the greatest monarchies of Europe, were so poor as to be obliged to borrow money in order to defray the expenses of its celebration.

Ferdinand was now in the eighteenth year of his age. His complexion was fair, his eye vivacious, his forehead lofty and ample; while his muscular and well-knit limbs were developed and invigorated by the sports and warlike exercises in which he delighted. His address was courteous, and his fluent words, uttered in a somewhat shrill and treble voice, might indicate to a shrewd observer a character afterwards noted for perfidy and dissimulation. Isabella was a year older than her husband. She too was fair; her auburn locks inclined to red, and her lustrous blue eyes expressed both feeling and intellect. In stature she exceeded the average of her sex. Her demeanour was dignified and reserved,

and her taste had led her to cultivate literature, of which we find no trace in Ferdinand.

The Prince who thus ultimately united the two chief monarchies of Spain had, originally and by birth, no prospect of so brilliant a fortune. He was born March 10th 1452, and was the offspring of John II. of Aragon by his second wife, Joanna Henriquez, daughter of the Admiral of Castile, and of the royal blood of that kingdom. But John, who was then viceroy of Aragon for his brother Alphonso, had three children by his former wife, Blanche, daughter of Charles III. of Navarre, and widow of Martin, King of Sicily; namely, Don Carlos, who, as heir apparent, bore the title of Prince of Viana, and two daughters, Blanche and Eleanor. Don Carlos is known by his virtues and his misfortunes. At the death of his mother Blanche, he should have succeeded to the throne of Navarre; but John II. was by no means disposed to relinquish the title which he had acquired by marriage, and Carlos consented to be his father's viceroy. But even this dignity he was not permitted to enjoy unmolested. John having sent his Queen Joanna into Navarre to share the government with Carlos, a civil war ensued; Carlos was supported by the faction called the Beaumonts, Joanna by that of the Agramonts. John hastened to the assistance of his consort, and defeated and captured his son near Aybar. After a captivity of some months the voice of public opinion rather than his own paternal feelings compelled John to reinstate Don Carlos in Navarre; but that Prince, to avoid encountering the factions which prevailed there, took refuge at the Court of his uncle Alphonso, King of Naples, and after the death of that monarch in 1458, retired into Sicily, where, in a secluded convent near Messina, he devoted himself to a life of study. But his father John, who by the death of Alphonso had now become King of Aragon, jealous of his son's popularity with the Sicilians, lured him back to Spain with the fairest promises. John soon threw off the mask. Carlos having listened to the overtures of Henry IV. of Castile for a marriage with his sister Isabella, John and his consort hastened to prevent an act which would have defeated their darling project in favour of their son Ferdinand. Carlos received an invitation to Lerida, and having unthinkingly accepted it, was arrested and confined in the mountain fortress of Morella, on the borders of Valencia. But the Catalans, by whom Carlos was as much loved, as John II. and his consort were hated and suspected, flew to arms; the insurrection spread to Aragon itself, and John found himself compelled to release his son, who repairing to Barcelona, was received with joyful and triumphant

acclamations by the people. The Catalans now insisted that John should recognise Don Carlos as his heir, and make him governor of Catalonia for life. But when fortune seemed at least weary of persecuting this excellent prince, he was carried off by a fever, September 23rd 1461, in the forty-first year of his age. Strong suspicions were entertained that his death was occasioned by a lingering poison administered to him by order of his stepmother, during his captivity.[12] Don Carlos was highly accomplished. He was an artist, a musician, and a poet; but philosophy and history were his favourite studies, and his progress in them is displayed by a translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, published at Saragossa in 1509, and by a chronicle of Navarre from the earliest period to his own time, which still exists in manuscript. In Catalonia he was regarded as a saint and martyr; miracles were performed at his tomb for centuries, and a touch of his amputated arm was deemed capable of healing diseases.

By the death of Don Carlos, the succession to the Crown of Navarre devolved to his sister Blanche, the divorced wife of Henry IV. of Castile; and that amiable princess now became an object of jealousy not only to her father but also to her younger sister, Eleanor, married to the Count of Foix, to whom John II. had promised the reversion of Navarre after his own death. Gaston de Foix, the offspring of this union, had married a sister of Louis XI.; and it had been provided in a treaty between that monarch and John II., that in order to secure the succession of the House of Foix to Navarre, Blanche should be delivered into the custody of her sister. John executed this stipulation without remorse. Blanche was conducted to the Castle of Orthès in Bearn (April 1462), where, after a confinement of nearly two years, she was poisoned by order of her sister Eleanor.

Immediately after the death of Carlos, John II. caused the Aragonese to take the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand, as heir apparent; and he was conducted to Barcelona by his mother in order to receive the same homage from the Catalans. But though that object was effected, the Catalans soon after displayed such symptoms of violence and insurrection, that Joanna found it expedient to fly with her son to Gerona, where they were besieged in the tower of a church, in which they had taken shelter. In order to rescue his Queen, John II. was obliged to have recourse to Louis XI., who by treaties effected in May 1462 engaged to come to his assistance with a considerable force; but required that the

[12] This view is unhesitatingly adopted by Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* ch. lxxxi., where the authorities on the subject are collected (t. x. p. 330, ed. 1815).

counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne should be pledged to him for the expenses of the war. The approach of the French released Joanna from her dangerous situation; but their invasion brought matters to a crisis in the province. The Catalans, renouncing their allegiance to King John and his son, declared their constitution to be a republic, of which the King was only the first magistrate, elected by the people, and liable to be deposed by them.

A civil war ensued which lasted some years. The Catalans elected for their King Don Pedro of Portugal, a descendant of the House of Barcelona; and on the death of that Prince, in June 1466, they offered the crown to René of Anjou, who by his mother, Yolande, was grandson of John I. of Aragon. René delegated the enterprise to his son John, titular Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, who, with the approbation of Louis XI., entered Catalonia with 8000 men (1467). A temporary loss of sight prevented the King of Aragon from taking an active part against his enemy, but his place was well supplied by his intrepid consort. John of Anjou, who had been proclaimed King at Barcelona, was carried off by a contagious disorder towards the end of 1470, and was interred in the sepulchre of the princes of Catalonia amid the regrets of the people. The Catalans still continued their resistance, and it was not till 1472 that John II. was able to enter Barcelona, which had been blockaded by sea and land.

It was during this civil war that Ferdinand effected his marriage with Isabella, as before related. After that event, Henry IV. and his consort, in order to exclude Isabella from the throne, solemnly swore to the legitimacy of their daughter Joanna, and secured the assistance of France in her favour. She was affianced, though only in her ninth year, to the Duke of Guienne, the discarded suitor of Isabella. Louis XI. readily entered into an arrangement which promised to rid him of his troublesome brother, and it was also approved of by many of the Spanish grandees, especially the Pachecos. The provinces of Biscay, Guipuscoa, and Andalusia, and in the last the noble House of Medina-Sidonia remained however faithful to the cause of Isabella. She and Ferdinand kept their little court at Dueñas; but so extreme was their poverty that they could hardly defray their ordinary domestic expenses.

Soon after the submission of Barcelona, Ferdinand was summoned from Dueñas to the assistance of his father. Roussillon and Cerdagne, indignant at the extortions of their new rulers, rose and massacred the greater part of the French garrisons in the principal towns (February 1473) and revolted to their ancient sovereign

John II.; Salces, Collioure and the castle of Perpignan alone remained in the hands of the French. John threw himself into the town of Perpignan, which was immediately invested by a large army under the Duke of Savoy; and though it was exposed at once to their fire and to that of the castle, John, now near eighty years old, was constantly observed in the most exposed and dangerous places, armed cap-à-pie and on horseback, encouraging his men by his example and exhortations. The siege had already lasted between two and three months, when Ferdinand suddenly appeared descending the mountains at the head of a considerable army, which had joined his standard on his way through Aragon. At this unexpected apparition the French fled precipitately, burning their tents and abandoning their sick and wounded. An affecting interview ensued between John and his son and deliverer, in the presence of both the armies, after which they entered the town in triumph. An arrangement was now made between the two crowns. Roussillon and Cerdagne were declared neutral, and placed under officers appointed by both sovereigns, till John should have paid the sum for which they had been pledged; in default of which within a year from September 17th 1473, the provinces were to be permanently ceded to France. John having failed to make the stipulated payment, the provinces were reduced by Louis XI. in 1475, and remained in possession of the French till the treaty of Barcelona in 1494.

Meanwhile the cause of Isabella was making progress every day in Castile. The propriety and sedateness of her behaviour, which formed so great a contrast to the indecorum of her brother's court, gained her many adherents, and even Henry IV. himself seemed to have pardoned his sister's marriage. In an interview at Segovia contrived by the governor of that city (December 1473), Henry led Isabella's palfrey through the streets, and welcomed Ferdinand with tokens of good will. That monarch died December 11th 1474, without naming his heir, and with him expired the male line of the House of Trastamare. He was the last sovereign who ruled Castile as a separate kingdom. His ill qualities as a ruler proceeded rather from weakness than wickedness; and he was perhaps on that very account all the more dangerous to his subjects.

The objections to the legitimacy of Henry's daughter Joanna were only presumptive[13]; Henry had always acknowledged her as his offspring; and according to a maxim of the Roman law, the

[13] For the grounds of these presumptions see Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 209, note (ed. 1842).

nuptials indicate the father. But Isabella's claim was founded on the stronger ground of the consent of the nation through the *Cortès*, who had done homage to her during the lifetime of her brother Henry, and now refused to swerve from their decision. Two days after Henry's death she had accordingly been proclaimed, jointly with her husband Ferdinand, at Segovia, where she was then residing; and had been enthroned with great state in the principal square of the city. The example of Segovia was followed by most of the principal towns; the chief grandees, with few exceptions, tendered the oath of allegiance, and the *Cortès* which assembled in the following February gave their sanction to all these proceedings.

But while the nation thus assented to the accession of Isabella, doubts were raised as to her title by her own husband and his family, who maintained that the crown of Castile, like that of Aragon, could not devolve to a female, and that Ferdinand himself was the nearest male representative of the house of Trastamare. The establishment of such a pretension would have been fatal to the independent authority of Isabella. After careful inquiry, however, it was proved that the succession in Castile and Leon was not limited to males, and in a settlement founded on the marriage contract, provision was made for Isabella's due share of authority: an arrangement with which Ferdinand was highly dissatisfied, and it required all the sweetness and moderation of Isabella's character to induce him to submit.

Joanna had still some powerful supporters, who applied for assistance to Alphonso V. of Portugal, her uncle, whose victories in Barbary had obtained him the name of the "African." Alphonso undertook this enterprise against the advice of his more prudent counsellors; and as the Duke of Guienne, to whom she had been promised, was now dead, it was arranged that Alphonso should marry his niece, then thirteen years of age. The French King was also enticed into the league, and invited to attack Biscay, by promises that the conquered territory should be ceded to him. In May 1475, Alphonso invaded Castile with an army of 20,000 men, and directing his march towards Placentia, was there affianced to Joanna. They were then proclaimed sovereigns of Castile, and an envoy was despatched to Rome to procure a dispensation for their marriage.

Into the details of the war which ensued, it is not necessary to enter. Suffice it to say, that the exertions of Ferdinand and Isabella were favoured by the dilatoriness of Alphonso, who was completely defeated by Ferdinand at Toro, in March 1476. The Castilian malcontents now made their submissions; and on the

approach of Ferdinand with his victorious army the French also retired from Guipuscoa. Alphonso afterwards endeavoured to procure fresh assistance from Louis XI.; but that wily monarch, after detaining him a whole twelvemonth at his Court, ended by making an arrangement with Ferdinand and Isabella. To console himself for his credulity, Alphonso undertook a pilgrimage to Palestine; but on his return, revived his enterprise against Castile. Donna Beatrix of Portugal, however, the sister-in-law of Alphonso, and aunt of Isabella, succeeded in mediating a peace; and by a treaty ratified by the court of Lisbon September 24th 1479, Alphonso renounced his pretensions to the hand of Joanna, and to the Castilian throne. It was also agreed that Alonso, or Alphonso, Prince of Portugal, should marry the young Infanta of Castile.[14] Thus was terminated the war of the Castilian succession. Joanna, disgusted with the world, and especially by the cruel irony of offering her the hand of the infant son of Ferdinand and Isabella, born in 1478, retired to the convent of St. Clara, at Coimbra. King Alphonso was preparing to imitate her example, at Veratojo, when he died rather suddenly at Cintra, August 28th 1481.

John II. of Aragon expired at Barcelona, January 20th 1479, at a very advanced age: a monarch alike distinguished in the cabinet and the field. Ferdinand now succeeded to Aragon and its dependencies; and thus the crowns of that country and of Castile became subsequently united. Navarre devolved to John's guilty daughter, Eleanor, Countess of Foix; but she only lived three weeks to enjoy her crown.

This period was marked by the establishment of the *Santa Hermandad*, or Holy Brotherhood, and also of the Inquisition in Castile. The *Hermandad* was a body of about 2000 police, armed and mounted, for the purpose not only of putting down the robberies and violence which everywhere abounded, but also of forming a check upon the power of the nobility. The faith of the Jews supplied the pretext for establishing the Inquisition, but it was their wealth that afforded the motive.[15] The prospect of a rich harvest of confiscations caused Ferdinand to lend a willing ear to the bigoted suggestions of the Dominicans for the erection of a severer tribunal, which the natural benignity of Isabella's character led her to oppose; and it was only after the continued importunities of the clergy, backed by the persuasions and arguments of her husband,

[14] This marriage was consummated in 1490; but Alonso was killed a few months after by a fall from his horse.

[15] The ancient Dominican Inquisition which had existed in Spain since 1233, as well as in Italy and other countries, was a mere ecclesiastical court; and heretics had hitherto been more mildly dealt with by the Spaniards than by any other people. M'Crie, *Ref. in Spain*, p. 82 sq.

that she at length consented to procure the authority of Rome for the erection of the Holy Office in Castile. The co-operation of Pope Sixtus IV. was readily obtained. By a bull, dated November 1st 1478, the Spanish sovereigns were authorised to appoint inquisitors in the matter of heresy; and in September 1480 the tribunal appears to have been erected. It began its horrible mission early in 1481, and before the close of that year, nearly 300 persons, many of them of estimable character and high station, had fallen victims in the *autos da fé*, or acts of faith, — such was the revolting name — of Seville alone. In these acts, which seemed to partake both of a sacrifice and an execution, the pale and spectral convict issued from his dungeon, clad in a coarse woollen garment or frock, called *san benito*, bearing on a yellow ground a scarlet cross, and embroidered with representations of flames and demons. The whole number of victims throughout the kingdom is reckoned at 2000 burnt alive in that year, and more than the same number in effigy; besides whom, 17,000 were said to be *reconciled;* that is, the capital punishment was commuted for fine, imprisonment, or some other smaller penalty. The most trivial presumption sufficed to convict a man of Judaism; as wearing better clothes on the Jewish Sabbath, having no fire in the house on Friday evening, eating with Jews, and other things of the like nature. The inquisitors soon extended their researches from Jews to Christians suspected of heresy. What constituted heresy was of course left to the judgment of the Dominicans, who were sometimes so ignorant as to condemn opinions derived from the fathers of the Church. The accuser was generally a debtor of the accused, who found, through the tribunal, a compendious way of paying his debts. The modern Inquisition was finally established in Spain by two bulls of Pope Sixtus IV. (August 2nd and October 17th 1483).[16] It was introduced into Aragon by Ferdinand in 1484, but it was not till the reign of Philip II. that it obtained there the same unlimited power as in Castile.

The Spanish Inquisition has been commonly regarded as an ecclesiastical usurpation, and has been so described even by Llorente; but in fact it was the very reverse. Although armed with spiritual weapons, it was nothing but a royal court, subject to the King's visitations, who appointed and dismissed the judges;

[16] The best account of the Inquisition is contained in Don Juan Antonio Llorente's, *Hist. Critique de l'Inquisition de l'Espagne*, 4 vols. 8vo. (French transl.) Llorente was himself secretary of the Holy Office in Madrid from 1790 to 1792; and after its abolition in 1808, he began to compile his work from the archives of the tribunal. Notwithstanding his former occupation he has executed his task impartially. Puigblanch's *Inquisition Unmasked* may also be consulted.

and when Ximenes demurred to accept on the court a layman nominated by the King, Ferdinand told him plainly that the whole jurisdiction of the tribunal was derived from the royal authority. The confiscated property of the condemned went into the King's treasury, and formed a regular source of his income. Besides robbing the rich, another object of the institution was to break the power of the great. No grandee however powerful could escape this tribunal. Even in the time of Ferdinand, its jurisdiction was sometimes extended beyond heretical cases; Charles V. subjected to it the bishops who had taken part in the insurrection of the communities; and Philip II. brought under its cognisance questions of commerce, art, and navigation. Thus it was declared heresy to sell arms or ammunition to the French! In short, the tribunal formed part of those ecclesiastical spoils by which the Spanish government became so powerful, such as the nomination to bishoprics, the administration of the grand-masterships of the religious orders, &c. Rome, which had no similar institution till half a century later, regarded the Spanish Inquisition with a jealous eye, and offered to it every possible opposition.[17]

Against another class of infidels, the Moors of Granada [18], Ferdinand began a nobler warfare. The Spaniards of the north had been for centuries pressing on the Moors. By the end of the eleventh century they had advanced under the banner of the Cid, from the Douro to the Tagus; and though for a century or two afterwards the Moors were supported by fresh immigrations of their Mahometan brethren, the decisive victory of Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, gave a permanent check to their ascendancy in Spain. Under James I. of Aragon, and St. Ferdinand of Castile, Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia were successively wrested from them, and by the middle of the thirteenth century their empire had been reduced to the province of Granada. That fertile country, however, abounding both in mineral and agricultural wealth, possessing excellent harbours, and enjoying an extensive commerce, embraced all the elements of a powerful kingdom, with a military force of 100,000 men. The Alhambra, whose ruins still attract and reward the curiosity of the traveller, overlooked and commanded the capital from the summit of one of its hills; and its light and fairy-like

[17] Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 242 f.

[18] For the Spanish-Arabian kingdom see Viardot, *Hist. des Arabes et des Maures d'Espagne*, and Count Albert de Circourt, *Hist. des Maures Mudéjares et des Morisques, ou des Arabes d'Espagne, sous la domination des Chrétiens* (3 vols. Paris, 1846). The two most important authorities for the war of Granada are the *Chronicles* of Fernando del Pulgar and Antonio de Lebrija. Washington Irving's *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* combines historical accuracy with poetical narration. See Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 98 sq.

architecture, which displayed a great advance in art since the building of the celebrated mosque of Segovia, was said to be capable of sheltering 40,000 persons. The Moors of Granada, by contact with the Spaniards, had lost much of the oriental cast of manners. An unreserved intercourse seems to have obtained between the two nations in the intervals of their almost constant wars; and the Moorish cavalier was as famed as the Christian for honour, courtesy, and valour. Granada was defended by numberless fortresses. Its military force chiefly consisted of light cavalry, whose mode of warfare was of an irregular, guerilla nature; and the Moorish cross-bowmen were famed for their skill. The use of gunpowder was early known among the Moors—some have attributed to them the application of it to warlike purposes—as well as the manufacture of paper, and many discoveries in medicine and chemistry.

The war which terminated in the conquest of Granada by the Spaniards, was provoked by the fiery hatred which the Caliph, Muley Abul Hacen, bore to the Christians. Towards the end of 1481, Muley surprised the town of Zahara, on the frontiers of Andalusia, and carried off the inhabitants into slavery. This feat the Spaniards soon after retaliated, by surprising in like manner the mountain fortress and town of Alhama, within eight leagues of Granada. The safety of the Moorish capital demanded the recovery of this place, and in March 1482, the Caliph appeared before it with a considerable army, but was compelled to raise the siege on the approach of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia. It was, however, again invested by the Moors, and finally relieved by Ferdinand in person (May 14th 1482).

Meanwhile Isabella had prepared a fleet and army; but the dissensions of the Moors promised the Christians more success than the progress of their own arms. The Sultana Zoraya, jealous of the favour displayed by the now aged Caliph towards his offspring by a young Greek slave, excited a rebellion against him: Abul Hacen fled to Malaga, and Zoraya's son, Abu Abdallah, or, as he is called by the Spaniards, Boabdil, was proclaimed in his stead. In the spring of 1482, Boabdil was captured during an incursion which he had made towards Cordova; but the Spaniards soon afterwards released him, with a view to keep alive the quarrel between him and his father, who still held a part of Granada. The war dragged on several years without any important event. Queen Isabella often appeared among her troops on horseback, and clad in complete armour. In the Spanish service, besides a body of Swiss, was a band of 300 English archers, commanded by Scales, Lord Rivers, of the blood-royal of England. The Moors, disgusted

with a treaty which Boabdil had made with the Spaniards, substituted for him his uncle Abdallah "El Zagal," or the "Valiant;" and Abul Hacen dying shortly after, the Moorish kingdom was distracted with the contending factions of the uncle and nephew. Meanwhile the tide of Christian conquest flowed steadily onwards, in spite of the military talent of El Zagal, and the many castle-crowned steeps which had to be reduced by arms. In 1487 Malaga surrendered, after a three months' siege by sea and land, and Ferdinand and Isabella made their triumphal entry, August 18th. The whole of the inhabitants were reduced to slavery, and the depopulated city replenished with Christians, attracted thither by grants of houses and lands. El Zagal soon after surrendered that part of Granada which he held, and received in return the district of Andaraz, with the title of king; but subsequently repenting of his deed, passed over into Africa, where he ended his days in indigence.

In April 1491, Ferdinand sat down with a large army before the capital of Granada, then deemed the largest fortified city in the world. The war was conducted on both sides quite in the spirit of chivalry; personal combats frequently took place, and King Abdallah was generous enough to recompense with his own sword and a magnificent present a Christian knight who had given conspicuous proofs of valour. At length the Moors, alarmed at the Spaniards having converted their camp into a town of stone houses, which still bears the name of St^{a} Fè, surrendered, November 25th 1491. By the capitulation conducted by Gonsalvo of Cordova, the Moors were left in the enjoyment of their religion, laws, and property, and vessels were to be provided for such of them as preferred passing over into Africa. But the news of the capitulation was received with displeasure by the people; symptoms of insurrection began to appear; and it was found advisable to anticipate the day fixed for the surrender by effecting it on the 2nd January 1592. On that day Abdallah, issuing forth from his capital with a splendid retinue, presented Ferdinand with the keys of the Alhambra; and Granada was then entered by the Spanish troops, headed by the Grand-Cardinal Mendoza. Meanwhile the abdicated King proceeded on his route towards the Alpuxarras, where a petty sovereignty had been assigned him, and from a rocky eminence, still called *El ultimo Sospiro del Moro*, or "the last sigh of the Moor," bade a long farewell to the scene of his former power and grandeur. This unfortunate monarch shortly after passed over to Africa, and was slain fighting for a prince who was his kinsman.

Thus fell the Moslem empire in Spain, after it had existed nearly

seven centuries and a half. The tidings of the capture of Granada were received throughout Europe, and especially at Rome, with joy and gratulation, for the event was regarded as in some degree compensating for the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks. King Ferdinand "whose manner was," says Bacon[19], "never to lose any virtue for the showing," in his letters to different European courts, recounted at large "with a kind of holy ostentation," all the particulars of his conquest. He had displayed his usual religious punctilio on the occasion, and refrained from entering the city till he had seen the cross erected on its highest tower, and the place thereby made Christian. By the conquest of Granada the whole of Spain, with the exception of Navarre, was consolidated into one great kingdom, and was thus prepared to take a leading part in those political affairs which were soon to engage the attention of Europe; while the long wars by which the conquest had been achieved, had served as a training school for that redoubtable soldiery and those famous captains who for a considerable period rendered Spain one of the first military powers in the world.

The Spanish sovereigns, while still before Granada, blotted this fair chapter in their history by issuing a cruel edict against the Jews. The Inquisition, in spite of its activity, had failed to effect all that had been expected from it; the great mass of the Jews still remained unconverted; and the clergy now revived against them all the odious accusations of sectarian bigotry, which were greedily swallowed by the multitude. The Jews offered to buy immunity with 30,000 ducats; and the Spanish sovereigns were listening to the offers of one of their body when Torquemada, the chief inquisitor, burst into the room, and brandishing aloft a crucifix, flung it upon the table, bidding his sovereigns to sell their master like Judas Iscariot. This insolent act excited nothing but superstitious awe in the bigoted minds of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, regardless of the impolicy as well as of the injustice of the measure, issued an order for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, March 30th 1492. Nearly the whole race departed rather than sacrifice their religion to their worldly interests.

It was not till near the end of May 1492, that Ferdinand and Isabella quitted Granada. After a sojourn in Aragon they proceeded into Catalonia, where Ferdinand had a narrow escape from assassination by a lunatic in his own palace at Barcelona. In the spring of 1493, while the Spanish sovereigns were still residing in that city, Columbus arrived there after his return from the discovery of America, and was received by Ferdinand and Isabella

[19] *Hist. of Henry VII.* (in Kennet, vol. i. p. 603).

with honours which that ceremonious Court had never before condescended to bestow on a subject of his rank. Columbus narrated his adventures before the sovereigns; and the success of his voyage was attested not only by various products of those newly discovered countries, as gold dust, tropical plants, birds, and animals, but also by some of the native islanders whom he had brought with him. Thus within a short period Spain was suddenly raised to a very high degree of power, not only by the amalgamation of its principal kingdoms, but also by the acquisition of a rich and almost boundless empire on the other side of the Atlantic. A few more years and these vast dominions were to be still further increased by the addition of the German Empire, whose history, with that of its connected kingdoms, we shall here briefly resume.

The elevation of the heterodox George Podiebrad to the Bohemian throne[20] gave great offence to Pope Pius II., who endeavoured to abolish the *Compactata*, or religious privileges of the Hussite party; but the Papal Legate, Fantino della Valle, having made an insolent harangue in the Diet, Podiebrad caused him to be imprisoned and kept on bread and water. Paul II., the successor of Pius, carried his anger still further. In June 1465 he issued a Bull, deposing the Bohemian sovereign as a heretic, and intrusted the Emperor with the execution of the sentence. As neither Frederick III. nor the German States seemed inclined to enter the lists against Podiebrad, the Pope next applied to Matthias Corvinus, who, dazzled with the prospect of the Bohemian crown, accepted the authority of the Apostolic Chair as a sufficient warrant for attacking his unoffending father-in-law. For some time hostilities were covertly conducted on both sides; but early in 1467, Matthias made large preparations for open war, giving out that they were intended against the Turk. As Frederick had assisted Matthias by allowing the Pope's missionaries to preach the Bohemian crusade in Germany and Austria, Podiebrad declared war against him and invaded Austria (January 1468); an act that occasioned an alliance between Frederick and Matthias; and as the latter was now unmolested by the Turks, with whom he was even suspected of having concluded a treaty, and as the Pope had supplied him with 50,000 ducats towards the expenses of the enterprise, he resolved to invade Bohemia. He obtained the co-operation of his subjects by a trick unworthy of a great prince. He caused two captured Turks, who had been carefully instructed in the part they were to play, to be introduced before the National Council, where, in the name of their master the Sultan, they sued

[20] See above, p. 89.

for a truce. Matthias acted his part in the scene to admiration. He declared that, as a Christian Prince, he could enter into no written treaty with infidels; but he bade the pseudo-ambassadors take back his verbal promise of peace; and he closed the sitting with an hypocritical speech, in which he declared that, however repugnant to his private feelings, his duty as a good Catholic superseded his obligations towards Podiebrad as a father-in-law, and justified the step he was about to take. The Council acquiesced in his views, and war was declared against Bohemia, April 8th 1468.[21] Podiebrad secured the neutrality, and at length the assistance, of Casimir of Poland, by promising the Bohemian succession to the Polish Prince Wladislaus; a choice agreeable to the Bohemians, as Wladislaus was descended from their favourite monarch, Charles IV., and spoke their language; nor was he esteemed so inimical to the Calixtine doctrines as Matthias and Ferdinand.

In 1468 Matthias entered Bohemia and invested Spielberg. Near that town an interview took place between him and Podiebrad, which ended in the latter challenging his son-in-law to single combat; but as Matthias insisted on fighting on horseback the duel went off. Spielberg held out till February 1469. After its fall, Matthias marched on Kuttenberg; but in the defiles near Semtisch, his army, consisting principally of cavalry, got entangled in some *abattis*, and being unable either to advance or retreat, he was compelled to propose a truce, which was concluded at Sternberg, April 7th. Matthias, however, almost immediately violated it. He resumed hostilities, overran Moravia and Silesia, and being elected King by a mock diet of the Catholic party at Olmütz, was crowned by the Papal Legate (May 3rd).

Meanwhile Frederick being released by this war from all apprehension on the side of Bohemia, that weak and superstitious monarch, who had neglected to provide Matthias with the succour he had promised, seized the opportunity to discharge a vow of a pilgrimage to Rome; and he arrived in that city about Christmas 1468, with an escort of five hundred horse. Here he gave convincing proofs of his devotion to the Holy See. He fell twice on his knees as he approached the Pope, enthroned in the cathedral, and a third time when near enough to kiss Paul's hands and feet; he occupied a throne which had been prepared for him, but which was so low that his head just reached to the Pope's feet; in the habit of a deacon, he exercised the imperial privilege of intoning the gospel; and when Paul mounted his hackney, he hastened to

[21] Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reichs*, B. iii. S. 285 f.

hold the stirrup of the holy Father. All these petty humiliations have been carefully recorded in the annals of the Roman Church by sacerdotal pride.[22] Frederick obtained on this occasion the Pope's permission to erect the bishoprics of Vienna and Neustadt, and to bestow at his own pleasure the 300 prebends which he founded.[23]

The election of Matthias just recorded, drew Podiebrad and Casimir closer together. It was agreed that Podiebrad should give his daughter, Ludmilla, to Casimir's son, Wladislaus, and cause him to be chosen King of Bohemia; in return for which Casimir was to support Podiebrad with his arms, and to employ for him his influence with the Pope. On the other hand Matthias sought the aid of Frederick III.; and in February 1470, he paid the Emperor, who had now returned from Italy, a visit at Vienna. Here the magnificence of the Hungarian King formed a strange contrast with the Emperor's narrow way of living; and Frederick was also outshone by the voluntary homage which Matthias, as the foremost champion of Christendom, received from various Italian States. The Florentines sent him a present of lions, the Ligurians of arms, the Venetians of silk stuffs, the Neapolitans of horses, the Pope subsidies from the Sacred College.[24] The demands of Matthias seemed to rise with his good fortune. He required that Frederick should give him his daughter Cunigund in marriage, that he should renounce the Hungarian title and succession, and should return the 60,000 ducats he had received for the crown of St. Stephen: but the Emperor's anger was roused by these demands; an altercation ensued, in which he reproached Matthias with his low birth; and the latter soon after stole away without taking leave.

The Bohemian war dragged on without much vigour, and on March 22nd 1471 George Podiebrad died. In the following May the Bohemians confirmed the election of Wladislaus, who with a small army penetrated to Prague, where he received the crown, August 22nd. In September, Casimir, second son of the Polish monarch, after publishing at Cracow a manifesto in which he claimed the crown of Hungary in virtue of his descent from Elizabeth, second daughter of the Emperor Albert and sister of King Ladislaus Posthumus, and denounced Matthias Corvinus as a tyrant and usurper, invaded Hungary with a considerable force; but instead of meeting with the assistance which he expected from

[22] See Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* ann. 1468, t. x. p. 464; *Diario* di Stefano Infessura, Card. Papiens., ap. Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* ch. lxxxi.

[23] Vienna had previously been in the diocese of Passau.

[24] Engel, B. iii. S. 305.

the malcontents, he found a large force arrayed against him, and was compelled to make a precipitate retreat. Meanwhile Frederick, though pretending to favour Matthias, secretly assisted his rival Wladislaus; but his weakness obliged him to have recourse to the basest duplicity. He had promised to hold a Diet at Augsburg in 1473 in which he would invest Matthias with the crown of Bohemia and recognise him as an Elector of the empire; yet, so far from fulfilling his engagement, the affairs of Bohemia were not even mentioned in that assembly, and in the following year he concluded a formal alliance with Casimir of Poland. The King of Hungary, however, was able to make head against all his opponents. His troops made devastating incursions both into Bohemia and Austria, and penetrated as far as Augsburg, where the Emperor was residing; while Matthias himself with his Black Legion advanced to Breslau, and established there a fortified camp on which Casimir and Wladislaus could make no impression. He also despatched his generals Zapolya and Kinis into Poland, who penetrated to the gates of Cracow, committing such devastations that Casimir sued for peace; and on December 8th 1474 a truce of three years and a half was accordingly concluded.[25]

In 1476, Matthias celebrated his marriage with Beatrix, daughter of King Ferdinand of Naples, to which we have already alluded. Meanwhile covert hostilities were still carried on between the Hungarian King and the Emperor, which in 1477 again broke out into open war. Frederick now invested Wladislaus with the Bohemian electorate; but his arms were no match for those of Matthias, who invaded Austria, laid siege to Vienna, and compelled Frederick to fly into Styria. Frederick, who was now anxiously engaged about the marriage of his son Maximilian with Mary of Burgundy, proposed a peace, and, by way of inducement, held out to Matthias the hope that he would assist his brother-in-law, one of the sons of Ferdinand of Naples, to wrest Milan from the Galeazzi. By the treaty of Korneuburg, concluded December 1st 1477, the Emperor, in spite of his former investiture of Wladislaus, engaged to invest Matthias with Bohemia; who, however, was to make good his own claim, and also to support the Emperor against any attacks which he might incur in consequence of his act. Frederick was also to pay 100,000 ducats for the expenses of the war; one half at Martinmas 1478, and the remainder in a twelvemonth.

Matthias now published the Emperor's investiture in his favour, and the revocation of that of Wladislaus; and he attempted to

[25] Engel, B. iii. S. 334 ff.

reduce Bohemia; but the inhabitants were unfavourable to his cause, and made a strenuous resistance. This circumstance, as well as a formidable inroad of the Turks (August 1478), turned his thoughts towards peace; especially as he was desirous of punishing the Emperor, who had neither kept his word with regard to Italian affairs nor made the stipulated payments. He therefore concluded what was called a "perpetual peace" with the Kings of Bohemia and Poland at Olmütz (July 1479), reserving to himself the eventual right of succession in Bohemia, while Wladislaus ceded to him the provinces of Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia. His hands being thus at liberty, the Hungarian King declared war against Frederick. It was protracted several years, and was often interrupted by truces, but was devoid of important events, till in June 1485, Vienna, from the effects of famine, was obliged to capitulate; and that capital was entered by Matthias and his Queen. Frederick fled to Lintz; but not feeling himself in safety there, began a wandering life in Germany, proceeding with a suite of eighty persons from convent to convent, and from one imperial city to another, living at their expense, and vainly entreating the aid of the States against Matthias. At length he obtained a small supply of troops, and prevailed on Duke Albert of Saxony, a general of renown, to take the command of them; but these succours arrived too late. Neustadt, the favourite residence of Frederick, had agreed to capitulate on the 16th August 1487, if not relieved before that day; and Duke Albert had not got further than Lintz on the 14th, where he found neither money nor provisions to enable him to proceed. Matthias now completed the reduction of Lower Austria; while Duke Albert marched with his army into Styria. He was followed by the Hungarians; but after a few unimportant skirmishes, negotiations were opened at Märgendorf, November 22nd, and a truce was concluded till a treaty of peace should be finally arranged.

During this war Matthias caused the power and dignity of the Hungarian Palatine, which seem hitherto to have been very undefined, to be settled and ascertained by a law passed by the Diet (1485). It was arranged that if the King died without issue, the Palatine should have the first vote in the election of his successor; in case the heir was a minor, the Palatine was to be his guardian; and during an interregnum, he was empowered to assemble the Diet: in short, by these and several other regulations, that magistrate was invested with an almost regal power. Matthias's alleged reason for this step, was his necessary absence from his kingdom on account of the affairs of Austria; though his real design was to

appoint a man to this great office, who after his decease should assist his natural son, John Corvinus, to obtain possession of the Hungarian throne. To promote the interests of that son had long been the object of all Matthias's efforts. Honours had been gradually heaped upon him; he had been created Count of Hunyad and Duke of Liptau; and it had even been contemplated to bestow Austria upon him. A marriage had also been negotiated for John with Bianca Maria Sforza, sister of Galeazzo Maria, Duke of Milan, to which Louis the Moor had given his consent, though on condition that John Corvinus should be immediately declared successor to the Hungarian throne: a condition, however, with which Matthias could not comply; for though he had lived ten years with his consort Beatrix without having issue, yet the birth of an heir was still not impossible. Beatrix was naturally opposed to all these plans in favour of John Corvinus; her feelings were shared by many of the nobles, and a secret opposition had gradually been formed against Matthias and his son, the former of whom had quitted Vienna in a very declining state of health.[26] Negotiations for a peace with Frederick were continued; and it was agreed that the terms should be definitively settled at a personal interview at Lintz, between Matthias and the Emperor's son Maximilian, King of the Romans, which was fixed for the 13th September 1489. The King of Hungary was too ill to keep this appointment; but he sent his minister, the Bishop of Grosswardein, to Lintz, to express his great esteem for Maximilian, in proof of which he forwarded a present of 400 casks of wine, 400 oxen, and 12,000 ducats. He offered to restore Austria for 70,000 ducats, and thus put an end to the war; but though Maximilian strongly urged his father to close with this proposal, Frederick, reckoning on the speedy death of the Hungarian King, of which he was assured by astrological predictions, declined to enter into any stipulations, as it had been agreed that, in case of Matthias's death, the conquered territories were to revert to him without payment. Early in 1490, Matthias, summoning all his strength, proceeded to Vienna, in order to be nearer to Lintz; where on Palm Sunday, April 4th, after an early visit to the church, he was struck with an apoplexy, which carried him off two days afterwards, in his forty-seventh year. Besides his distinguished abilities as a statesman and captain, Matthias Cor-

[26] Matthias was a martyr to the gout, and to alleviate its pains while travelling, he invented a carriage with springs, which was called *a coach* (Currus *Cochy* rex primus inventor fuit; Listh, ap. Kovachich, *Scrip. Min.* t. i. p. 333, in Engel, B. iii. S. 427).

vinus was a munificent patron of learning. He founded a university at Buda; invited to his Court the most learned Italians; employed many persons to collect and transcribe Greek manuscripts; and formed an extensive library, which, however, was for the most part destroyed after the capture of Buda by the Turks in 1527.

The competitors for the vacant Hungarian throne were the Emperor Frederick, his son Maximilian, Wladislaus of Bohemia, Albert, his brother, and John Corvinus. During the last illness of her husband, Beatrix had employed all her eloquence, her sighs, and tears, to obtain from him her own nomination as reigning Queen and heiress of the kingdom; but this Matthias refused, on the ground that the Hungarians would never submit to be governed by a woman. The power of nominating lay principally with Stephen Zapolya, who had been appointed Palatine by Matthias, and with Urban Dotzi, Bishop of Erlau, and John of Prossnitz, Bishop of Grosswardein. The last had under his command all the mercenary troops, and the Black Legion in Moravia. Matthias had made a great mistake in selecting Zapolya as Palatine and guardian of his son's interests, who, assisted by the two prelates just mentioned, managed that the choice of the Hungarians should fall on Wladislaus, King of Bohemia (July 14th 1490). Wladislaus was a weak prince, and the internal dissensions in Bohemia, as well as the almost constant wars in which he was engaged with Hungary, had obliged him to concede a large share of independence to the landed aristocracy of Bohemia, as well as to the municipal towns. It was the former circumstance that had recommended him to the Hungarian nobility; who, after his election, proceeded to tie up his hands by all kinds of capitulations, and to render him in fact completely powerless.

Maximilian now attempted the recovery of Austria from the Hungarians, a task rendered easy by the hatred with which they had inspired the inhabitants. The Viennese admitted him into their city, August 19th; and he immediately proceeded to attack the citadel, which was garrisoned by 400 Hungarians. The first assault was repulsed, and Maximilian himself wounded; but a few days after the Hungarians capitulated. Maximilian, after recovering several more of the Austrian towns, even broke into Hungary, and took Stuhlweissenburg, or Alba Regia (Nov. 19th)[27]; but he was hindered by his finances from pushing his successes much further. His troops would not quit Alba Regia till they had re-

[27] Maximilian's own *Tagebuch*, or Journal, published in Hormayr's *Archiv.* April 1810, is the best authority for these affairs.

ceived double pay for its capture; and though he advanced a few miles on the road to Buda, and caused it to be summoned, his messenger, the poet Ludwig Bruno, was haughtily repulsed. Maximilian therefore found it necessary to evacuate Hungary before the close of the year; and he returned into Germany with the hope of collecting a fresh army. But the Diet which met at Nuremberg in April 1491, would grant him nothing. The Hungarians soon after retook Alba Regia; and as Maximilian's attention was also attracted at this period by the affairs of Brittany [28], he made proposals for a peace. A congress was accordingly held at Presburg; and on Nov. 7th 1491, a treaty was concluded which proved of remarkable importance for the House of Austria. By this convention, Wladislaus and his male heirs were recognised as Kings of Hungary; but in default of the latter, the House of Habsburg was appointed to succeed, subject, however, to the approbation of the Hungarian Diet. All the Austrian hereditary possessions were restored to Frederick, who, on his side, evacuated his conquests in Hungary and Croatia. Wladislaus further engaged to pay 100,000 ducats for the expenses of the war; and in case of failure of heirs of his own, to assist the House of Habsburg in obtaining the crown of Bohemia.

Wladislaus's brother, John Albert, disgusted at being thus entirely excluded from all prospect of the Hungarian Crown, resorted to arms; but was soon reduced to obedience; and the death of their father, Casimir of Poland, June 7th 1492, afforded an opportunity of giving Albert some compensation. At the request of their widowed mother, Wladislaus renounced his claim to the Crown of Poland in favour of his brother, and assisted in procuring his election.

Frederick III. did not long outlive these events. After his return to Austria he abandoned the cares of government to Maximilian, and retired to Lintz, where he died, August 19th 1493, at the age of seventy-eight, and after a reign of fifty-three years. He had previously sustained with great fortitude two amputations of the leg for cancer; but an inordinate indulgence in melons brought on a dysentery, which proved fatal. Frederick was in person tall and handsome, and of a majestic presence. He was a man of small mind, and one of those characters whose good qualities are neutralised by bordering too closely on the neighbouring vices. His religion, degenerating into superstition and bigotry, made him the slave of the Pope; his prudence was nearly related to cunning, his foresight to suspicion, his firmness to obstinacy, his mildness to want of spirit. Under him the Imperial crown reached perhaps its

[28] See above, p. 169.

lowest point of degradation; yet, notwithstanding his impotence as a sovereign, he became by a series of fortunate chances, the founder of the greatness of his House; to which, though he himself scarcely enjoyed a moment of security, even in his own dominions, he seems to have looked forward with a sort of prophetical confidence.[29]

We cannot quit the history of the Empire under Frederick III. without adverting to the establishment of the Suabian League, effected towards the close of his reign. The object of this League was to put down private wars, and to support the *Landfriede*, or public peace. Some of these private wars were of the most absurd description. Thus the Lord of Prauenstein declared war against the city of Frankfort because the daughter of one of the citizens refused to dance with his uncle; the baker of the Count Palatine Louis defied the cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Rothwell; and a private individual named Henry Mayenberg even made a declaration of war against the Emperor himself: but when waged by powerful nobles or princes these wars occasioned great desolation and misery. The more immediate object of the Suabian League was to repress the violence of the Bavarian Duke Albert of Munich. The Dukes of Bavaria had allied themselves with King Matthias in opposition to Frederick, and endeavoured to separate themselves from the Empire; Duke Albert had married the Emperor's daughter Cunigund without his consent, and had obtained from her uncle Sigismund the reversion of the Tyrol as her dowry, which should have reverted to Maximilian. Albert had also seized Ratisbon, and was contemplating further acquisitions. To repress these violences, as well as to restrain all similar ones that might arise among themselves, by referring their differences to arbitration, the States of Suabia, at the instance of Frederick, organised in 1488 the League in question, which was soon afterwards joined by other principalities, as Würtemberg, Brandenburg, the Elector of Mentz, &c. The number of Imperial cities that abounded in the district of Suabia greatly facilitated the accomplishment of the scheme. In the spring of 1492, the troops of the League and of the Empire, commanded by Frederick of Brandenburg, assembled in the presence of Maximilian on the Lechfeld, an extensive plain between Augsburg and the Tyrol, watered by the river Lech. At this threatening demonstration, Albert, deserted by his relatives, and at war with his own knights, found it prudent to submit. He surrendered

[29] He adopted as the Austrian motto, the vowels, A E I O U, which, in Latin, stand for, "Austriæ est imperare orbi universo," and in German, "Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich unterthan." (All the world is subject to Austria.)

Ratisbon, and reconciling himself with Frederick, finally joined the League. This association remained in force till the year 1533, and is said to have destroyed one hundred and forty strongholds of the nobles and banditti.

As Maximilian had been elected King of the Romans some years previously, he succeeded at once to the Imperial throne on the death of his father Frederick. The defeat of a large body of Turks, who had penetrated as far as Laybach, by Maximilian in person, threw a lustre on the commencement of his reign. A few months after he married, as already related, the sister of the Duke of Milan; a match to which he seems to have been allured by the largeness of the dowry, and by the opportunity which it might afford him of acquiring an influence in Italian affairs.

Having thus given a general view of the principal European States, down to the period of the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII., we shall now proceed to narrate that expedition.

CHAPTER V.

THE weak mind of Charles VIII. of France was filled with visions of glory and conquest; he deemed himself a paladin, and christened his only son Rolando after the hero of Roncesvalles. Louis XI. had prudently declined to prosecute the claims to Naples bequeathed to him by Charles du Maine; in the mind of his son the conquest of that kingdom was to be only the stepping-stone to the empire of the East, and the expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople. Charles assumed the title of King of Jerusalem, and received without a smile the homage paid to him by his courtiers as Greek Emperor; which title, as we have said, he had purchased from Andrew Palæologus.[1] His impolitic enterprise against Naples was warmly opposed by his sister, the late Regent, and by all the old statesmen of the school of Louis XI.; but nothing could divert him from what he called his "*voyage d'Italie*," in contemplation of which he had made friends with his neighbours by three disadvantageous treaties[2]; and he was supported in his scheme by interested politicians, as Etienne de Vesc, formerly his *valet de chambre*, but now first president of the *Chambre des Comptes*, and by Briçonnet, Bishop of St. Malo, who expected to gain a cardinal's hat.

In the spring of 1494 Charles VIII. despatched ambassadors to some of the principal Italian States to solicit their assistance in recovering Naples. King Ferdinand had died January 25th, and the kingdom had devolved to his son Alphonso II., who was still more odious and unpopular than himself; for, with all his harshness and cruelty, Ferdinand possessed some good qualities. He loved and encouraged literature and art; he patronised Laurentius Valla, and Antonius Panormita, and his own letters and speeches, which have been published, display both eloquence and erudition. But Alphonso was nothing but a rough unlettered soldier. Charles VIII. found slight encouragement from the Italians, except Louis the

[1] See above, p. 77. The deed of transfer is given by M. de Fonceaux in the *Acad. des Inscr.* t. xvii. p. 539, and in Roscoe's *Leo X.* vol. v. p. 96.

[2] That of Etaples with Henry VII., of Senlis with Maximilian, and of Barcelona with Ferdinand and Isabella.

Moor, with whom he had a secret engagement, by which Louis undertook to provide him with troops and money, on condition of receiving the protection of the French and the Principality of Taranto, after the conquest of Naples should have been accomplished. The Venetians, alleging their danger from the Turks, declared that they should remain neutral. The Florentines, agreeably to their ancient traditions, would have sided with the French, but Peter de' Medici, who had entered into a treaty with Alphonso, while protesting his affection for France, gave the ambassadors an evasive answer. Pope Alexander VI., though, as we have said, at first inclined to France, had begun to perceive that the establishment of a great foreign power in Italy would defeat his plans for the aggrandisement of his nephews. Alphonso, too, after the death of his father, had courted the Pope's friendship, and an intimate alliance had sprung up between them, cemented by the marriage of their natural children, Sancia, daughter of Alphonso, and Alexander's son Geoffrey. Alexander had therefore exhorted Charles to submit his claims to the decision of the Holy See, and subsequently, as Lord Paramount of Naples, had invested Alphonso II. with that kingdom.[3]

The conduct of the French King displayed little of the vigour requisite for the great enterprise in which he had embarked. Although the French army had assembled at the foot of the Alps, he wasted his time at Lyon in tournaments, festivals, and amours, and when he was at length driven from that city by a pestilence he found that he had squandered all his money. The undertaking seemed on the point of being abandoned, when a loan of 50,000 ducats from a Milanese merchant enabled the army to resume its march. Charles crossed Mont Génèvre September 2nd 1494, and passing through Susa and Turin, was met at Asti by Louis Sforza with a brilliant retinue, including many ladies. Charles now renewed the follies of Lyon, and contracted a disorder by his debaucheries which detained him at Asti till the 6th of October. He was still so poor that he was compelled to borrow and pledge the jewels of the Duchess Dowager of Savoy and the Marchioness of Montferrat in order to proceed. Louis the Moor, who had accompanied the King as far as Piacenza, was recalled to Milan by the death of his nephew, the Duke Galeazzo Maria, who expired

[3] Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* begins with the invasion of Charles VIII. and runs to 1534: from which period it is continued by Botta to 1789. Other authorities for the period are the Latin history of Arnold le Feron (1494—1546), Guillaume de Villeneuve, *Hist. de la Guerre de Charles VIII. en Italie*, and André de la Vigne, whose *Journal de Charles VIII.* ends with the King's return to Lyon, 1495.

in the Castle of Pavia, October 22nd, at the age of twenty-five. The death of this young prince was universally ascribed to poison administered to him by order of his uncle, and the proceedings of Louis strongly confirm this suspicion. Galeazzo had left an infant son; but Louis, on the pretence that the times were too dangerous for a minority, caused himself to be elected Duke by a body of his partisans; and his title was afterwards confirmed by a diploma which he obtained from the Emperor. The widowed Duchess, Isabella, was confined with her children in the Castle of Pavia.

At Piacenza Charles held a council respecting the route to be adopted. The union of Tuscany with the Pope and the King of Naples seemed to impose an impenetrable barrier to the advance of the army; but it was known that there was a strong party in Florence opposed to the Medici; and though Charles had driven from France all the agents of that family, he had respected the privileges of the other Florentine houses of commerce. Pisa also expected her liberation at the hands of the French, and it was resolved to proceed through Florence and Rome. No sooner did the French enter Tuscany than the lurking discontent against Peter de' Medici exploded. Conscious of his danger he hastened to Sarsanella to deprecate the anger of the French King, and, without even consulting his fellow-citizens, agreed to give Charles immediate possession of all the Tuscan fortresses, including Leghorn and Pisa, on condition that they should be restored after the conquest of Naples. He also undertook to supply Charles with a loan of 200,000 florins, in consideration of which Florence was to be taken under the protection of France; and it was agreed that a treaty of peace, embracing these conditions, should be executed at Florence.

The facility with which Peter de' Medici made these large concessions excited the astonishment and ridicule even of the French themselves.[4] Very different were the feelings of the Florentines, who, however much they desired the French alliance, were indignant at the pusillanimous submission of Peter. On his return he found the gates of the Public Palace closed and guarded, the interview which he requested with the magistrates was refused, and symptoms of tumult appeared among the people. In vain did the young Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici proceed with his servants and retainers through some of the principal streets shouting *Palle! Palle!* the well-known rallying cry of his family—not a voice responded. At the Porta S. Gallo, Peter and his brother Julian also attempted to excite a movement in their favour by distri-

[4] Comines, liv. vii. ch. 7.

buting money among the populace, but they were answered only with menaces; and alarmed by the sound of the tocsin they fled to the Apennines, where they were soon joined by the Cardinal in the disguise of a Franciscan. The *Signoria* now declared the Medici traitors, confiscated their possessions, and offered a reward for their heads; at the same time Charles allowed the Pisans to expel the Florentine magistrates; and the Lion of Florence was precipitated into the Arno amid cries of *Viva Francia!*

This revolution had placed a remarkable man at the head of the Florentine republic—Jerome Francis Savonarola, born at Ferrara in 1452, of an illustrious Paduan family. Savonarola's genius inclined him to the monastic profession, and at the age of twenty-three he took the vows in a Dominican convent at Bologna. His learning procured him the office of a public teacher; but his fanaticism led him to indulge in fantastical prophecies, and to employ himself in interpreting the Apocalypse. In 1489 he proceeded to Florence, and began to advocate a reformation of the Church. His arguments, however, were not drawn, like those of Luther and Zwingli afterwards, from reason and authority, but from enthusiasm and prophecy, and he pretended to support them by working miracles. He also advocated civil liberty; and while as a religious reformer the wicked lives of the Popes supplied him abundantly with topics, so as a political one he denounced the tyrannical domination of the Medici. He regarded Lorenzo de' Medici as the destroyer of his country's freedom; he would neither visit him nor show him any marks of respect; and when Lorenzo, struck by the monk's reputation, sent for him on his deathbed, Savonarola refused him absolution because he would not promise to restore the popular government.

Such a character was most formidable to a ruler like Peter de' Medici. Savonarola seized the moment to overthrow him, and at the head of a Florentine embassy appeared before Charles VIII. at Lucca, where he addressed that monarch in the style of a prophet, and promised him victory in this world, paradise in the next, provided he protected Florence. Charles replied with vague protestations, and entering Florence November 17th, took up his residence in the palace of the Medici. But he mistook the deference and honour with which he was received for tame submission. The wealth of the city was tempting, and Charles imagined that it lay at his disposal: he intimated his intention of recalling Peter de' Medici, of appointing him his lieutenant, and of imposing a fine upon the citizens. But he had miscalculated his own strength and the disposition of the Florentines. The solid palaces of Florence,

with small windows at a great elevation from the ground and secured by massive bars of iron, have the air of prisons and the strength of fortresses, for which indeed they often served in the factious wars of the republic. These the wary Florentines had filled with armed men, and they had also given notice to the surrounding peasantry to hasten to the assistance of the town at the first sound of the tocsin. When the citizens energetically protested against the intentions of Charles, he exclaimed, "Then I shall order my trumpets to sound."—"Sound them!" replied Pietro Capponi; "they shall be answered by the tocsin!" and with these words he snatched from the King's secretary the royal ultimatum and tore it into shreds. Charles was thunderstruck. Fresh negotiations were entered into; the French King abandoned the Medici, and contented himself with a subsidy of 20,000 ducats and the military occupation of some of the principal Tuscan towns. During their stay at Florence, the French pillaged the palace of the Medici, in the Via Larga, when all its rich collections of art and literature were dispersed and lost.

Charles now resumed his march towards Rome, and Pope Alexander VI., alarmed at his approach, anxiously debated whether he should fly with his cardinals, or endure a siege, or submit to the French. At length he decided to resist, and allowed Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, to enter Rome with a division of the Neapolitan army; but symptoms of insurrection in the city and surrounding country obliged the Pope again to negotiate. Charles refused to treat till he had entered Rome, into which he was admitted December 31st; the Neapolitans defiling through the gate of St. Sebastian while the French were entering on the opposite side by the Porta del Popolo. Their van began to enter the gate at three in the afternoon, and it was nine before the rear had passed by torchlight. In front marched serried battalions of Swiss and German lansquenets, whose robust and warlike figures were displayed to advantage by their tight jackets and pantaloons of variegated and brilliant colours. Their arms were long pikes, enormous halberds, arquebuses, and two-handed swords. The first rank of each battalion wore helmets and cuirasses; and to every 1000 men was assigned a company of 100 fusiliers. Then came the French light infantry and cross-bowmen, mostly Gascons, and remarkable for agility rather than strength. These were followed by long columns of the *compagnies d'ordonnance*, about 1600 lances, or 9,600 horsemen. The King himself came next, surrounded by 100 gentlemen and 400 archers, in magnificent costumes, forming his household guard. He was clad in gilt armour adorned with jewels, and wore his crown.

An eye-witness describes him as the ugliest man he ever saw, but is loud in praising the appearance of his troops.[5] The rear was brought up by thirty-six brass guns, with a number of culverins and falconets. The lightness of this artillery, which was drawn by horses instead of teams of oxen as formerly, and the rapidity with which the guns were manœuvred, excited the surprise of the Italians. The infantry had also adopted many evolutions in manœuvring and fighting, which showed much improvement in the art of war. The whole French army, including camp followers, amounted to between 50,000 and 60,000 men.

Alexander VI. had shut himself up in the Castle of St. Angelo. His fears were not groundless, for he had many active enemies about the King, and especially Cardinal Julian della Rovere, who advised Charles to call a council, depose the Pope, and reform the Church. The Cardinal had in his possession proofs of certain negotiations into which Alexander had entered with Sultan Bajazet, who well knew that the views of the French King extended to Constantinople. Such was the friendship of the heads of Islam and of Christendom, that the Pope was said to make bishops and cardinals at the nomination of the Sultan. Their alliance was cemented by a singular circumstance.

After the death of Mahomet II. in 1481, his grand vizier, Mahomet Mischani, wishing to secure the succession for the Sultan's younger son Dschem, or Zizim, to the prejudice of Bajazet, the elder, for some time concealed the death of Mahomet till Zizim should arrive in Constantinople. But the secret got wind; the Janissaries with wild cries broke into the seraglio, demanding to see their master, and when they beheld the Sultan's corpse, cut down his faithless vizier. Parading the streets of Constantinople with Mischani's head on a lance, they shouted for "Sultan Bajazet and double pay!" and when the new Sultan at length arrived in the capital from his government of Amasia, he found himself obliged to comply with their demand.

Zizim, who was in Caramania at the time of his father's death, succeeded in seizing Prusa; but he was defeated by Bajazet in a decisive battle on the plains of Jenischer, and fled into Egypt, where he was honourably received by the Sultan; and after another unsuccessful attempt to wrest the sceptre from his brother, he found an asylum among the knights of Rhodes, with only thirty attendants. To secure so valuable a pledge, the knights, with the consent of Pope Sixtus IV., sent Zizim to France (1483), where he

[5] "La più bella gente non fu vista mai."—*Diario* di Sebastiano di Branco de Telini, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 260 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

was kept several years in different fortresses belonging to them in that kingdom. Bajazet cultivated a good understanding with the knights as the keepers of his brother, allowed them 45,000 ducats yearly for his maintenance, and made them the costly present of the right hand of St. John the Baptist, one of the most precious relics in St. John's church at Rhodes. At length in 1489, Pope Innocent VIII., by granting extraordinary privileges to the Order of St. John, and making their Grand-Master a cardinal, induced the latter to deliver up Zizim, who arrived at Rome under the escort of Guido de Blauchefort, prior of Auvergne. In the following year, Innocent, finding all his attempts to get up a crusade abortive, negotiated a treaty with Bajazet, from whom he received the arrears of Zizim's pension, together with some rich presents. He had previously refused the much higher offers of the Sultan of Egypt; which included 400,000 ducats for Zizim's ransom, the re-erection of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and in case of success against Bajazet, the restoration of all the Turkish possessions in Europe.

Under Pope Alexander VI., Zizim became the victim of the most detestable policy. In Alexander's negotiations with the Sultan, with a view to obtain the latter's assistance against the French invaders, it was represented to be Charles's object to get possession of Zizim's person, in order to make use of him in his designs upon the Turkish empire; and at the same time the payment of the yearly pension was strongly pressed. Bajazet promised the desired assistance, and in his letter to the Pope expressed without circumlocution the great pleasure it would afford him if his Holiness would as quickly as possible release his brother from all the troubles of this wicked and transitory world in any way that seemed to him most fitting and agreeable. When this service should have been performed and proved by the receipt of Zizim's body, then the Sultan was ready to pay 300,000 ducats wherewith to purchase any territories that Alexander might desire for his sons.[6] It is not clear how far Alexander was inclined to accede to Bajazet's offers; and the negotiations were still going on when Charles VIII. appeared in Italy.

It would not have been difficult to frame an accusation against Alexander; his crimes were only too many and notorious. Cardinal Sforza and several of his colleagues charged him truly with having

[6] The whole correspondence between Pope Alexander VI. and Sultan Bajazet will be found in the *Preuves et Observations* appended by Godefroy to his edition of Comines (Paris, fol. 1649, p. 525 sqq.). The particular letter alluded to, dated Sept. 15th 1494, will also be found in the *Lettere di Principi*, t. i. p. 4; and in Roscoe's *Leo X.* vol. v. p. 106 sq.

purchased the pontificate, forgetting, however, that they themselves had been the sellers! But among his numerous enemies he had at least one friend who enjoyed the ear of Charles —Briçonnet, Bishop of St. Malo, who had been gained with a cardinal's hat. He and a few other courtiers spoke in favour of Alexander; and Charles declined the magnificent part of reforming the Church. On January 11th 1495, a treaty was concluded between him and the Pope, by which Alexander agreed to leave Cività Vecchia, Terracina, and Spoleto in the hands of the French till the conquest of Naples should have been effected, and to deliver Zizim into Charles's hands for six months; for which the French King was to pay down 20,000 ducats, and to procure the security of Venetian and Florentine merchants for the restoration of Zizim at the expiration of the stipulated period; but Alexander would not promise Charles the investiture of Naples, except "with reservation of the rights of others." He consented, however, that his bastard son, the Cardinal of Valencia, should follow the French King to Naples, with the title of legate, but in reality as a hostage. This was the notorious Cæsar Borgia, who, according to the remark of Guicciardini, seemed to be born only that a man might be found wicked enough to execute the designs of his father.

Charles conducted himself while at Rome as supreme master, except that he submitted to perform in the church of St. Peter the degrading ceremonial invented by the pride of the Roman pontiffs. He quitted Rome January 28th 1494, carrying with him Cæsar Borgia and Zizim. But Cæsar escaped the following day, and Zizim did not long survive. He was already attacked with a lingering disorder, of which he expired, February 28th, at the age of thirty-five. It was very generally believed that a slow poison had been administered to him before he left Rome by order of Pope Alexander; who was willing either to earn the Sultan's blood-money, or at least to frustrate the plans of Charles, which the possession of Zizim's person would have helped to forward.[7] The unfortunate Zizim is described as having something noble and royal in his aspect; his mind had been cultivated by the study of Arabic literature; his address was polite and engaging, and he had borne his misfortunes at once with dignity and modesty.

At Velletri Charles was overtaken by Don Juan de Albion and Antonio de Fonseca, the ambassadors of Ferdinand and Isabella, who were instructed to declare that their sovereigns would not permit the Aragonese dominion in Naples to be overthrown. Alex-

[7] Guicciardini, lib. ii. (vol. i. p. 220, ed. Milan, 1803). The authorities for the charge against Alexander VI. are collected by Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xx. § 8.

ander VI., in order to obtain the interference of the Spanish sovereigns in this matter, had granted them several important privileges; among them the title of "Catholic" (1494), in consideration of their eminent virtues, and their zeal in defence of the true faith, as shown in the subjugation of the Moors, the purification of the Jewish heresy, and other acts. The Spanish ambassadors now exhorted Charles to submit his claims to the arbitration of the Pope; and affirmed that if he declined this method, the treaty of Barcelona recognised their master's right to interfere in defence of the Church. Ferdinand had, indeed, sent an ambassador to Charles at Vienne, before he crossed the Alps, to protest against any attempt upon Naples.[8] But the French had put quite a different interpretation on the treaty of Barcelona, and at Velletri Charles and his generals attacked the ambassadors in the most furious terms, reproaching them with the perfidy of their masters. Fonseca replied to these remarks by publicly tearing up the treaty; a *coup de théâtre* which seems to have been prepared some months beforehand.[9]

This protest of Spain did not arrest the advance of Charles. Two little towns in the Campagna which resisted were taken by assault, and the garrisons were barbarously put to the sword, a manner of making war which greatly alarmed the Italians, accustomed to their own almost bloodless combats.[10] A French corps had penetrated into the Abruzzi, and as they advanced the people everywhere rose in their favour, such had been the revolting despotism of Alphonso and his father. Although Alphonso, as we have seen, had displayed considerable military talent, he was struck with terror at the approach of the French. As soon as his son, the Duke of Calabria, returned from Rome, Alphonso abdicated in his favour, and the former, now aged twenty-five, ascended the Neapolitan throne with the title of Ferdinand II. The abdicated monarch, who is said to have been haunted with constant visions of the nobles he had put to death, retired with his treasure into Sicily, where he died a few months after in a convent at Mazara.

Ferdinand II., in order to prevent the French from entering the Terra di Lavoro, had posted himself with all his forces in the defiles of San Germano, near the river Garigliano; but on the

[8] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 253.

[9] P. Martyr, *Opus Epistt.* lib. vii. Ep. 144.

[10] Macchiavelli (*Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. v.) records two engagements, at Anghiara and Castracaro, which lasted several hours, and were attended with important consequences; yet in the first not a single man was slain, and in the second only one, who had fallen from his horse and was suffocated in the mud.

approach of the French the Neapolitan infantry disbanded themselves, and Ferdinand retired with his *gens d'armes* to Capua, with the view of disputing the passage of the Volturno. The rumour of a sedition, however, called him to Naples, and when he returned to Capua he found the gates closed against him, Gian Giacopo Trivulzio, one of his principal commanders, having treacherously entered into a capitulation with the French, and gone over to the service of Charles. Ferdinand now hastened back to Naples, but found it in all the tumult of insurrection; wherefore, leaving some troops to hold the castles, and burning or sinking all the vessels which he could not carry off, he retired to Ischia, and afterwards sailed to Sicily with about fifteen ships. On the following day, February 22nd 1495, Charles entered Naples amid the acclamations of the populace: a few days after the castles capitulated; and in a few weeks the whole of the kingdom had submitted, with the exception of five or six towns and a few fortresses.

All Europe was struck with amazement at this sudden and unexpected conquest. Pope Alexander VI. observed that the French "had overrun Italy with wooden spurs, and conquered it with chalk;" in allusion to a custom of the French officers of wearing wooden spurs when riding merely for pleasure, and to the practice of marking with chalk the quarters destined for the soldiery after a march. But the very facility of Charles's success was fatal to its permanence. The Italians became the objects of contempt to him and his young courtiers. Instead of securing the places that still held out, Charles plunged headlong into all the luxury and dissipation of Naples; nor could he be persuaded to pay any attention to business, except to divide the booty. He alienated the hearts even of those Neapolitan nobles who had favoured his cause by depriving them of their offices, which he bestowed on his own courtiers and favourites; and he offended Louis Sforza by refusing him the promised Principality of Taranto. Louis now began to repent of having called the French into Italy; he knew that they detested him for his conduct towards his nephew; he had neither foreseen nor desired their rapid success; and the neighbourhood of the Duke of Orleans, the sole legitimate descendant of the Visconti, who had been detained at Asti by illness, and who openly proclaimed Sforza a usurper, filled him with apprehension and alarm. With these feelings he turned himself towards those states that were also averse to see the French domination established in Italy, especially Venice, which became the centre of agitation against the French. Envoys of various powers assembled there, as if by common consent, whose conferences were conducted by night, and

with such secrecy, that Comines[11], the French ambassador, was astounded when he at length heard of them. The Italians naturally turned their eyes towards the Emperor and the Spanish King. Maximilian was still smarting under the insults and injuries he had received at the hands of Charles VIII., while Ferdinand of Spain was averse to see the bastard branch of the house of Aragon driven from Naples, and the French established in such near proximity to his own kingdom of Sicily. Under these circumstances a treaty of alliance was signed at Venice, March 31st 1495, by the Emperor Maximilian, the Spanish monarch, the Pope, the Venetian Republic, and the Duke of Milan. Although Bajazet II. was no party to the treaty, his ambassador had taken part in the negotiations, and he offered to assist the Venetians with all his force against the French. Florence refused to join the league. This treaty is remarkable as the first example in modern history of extensive combinations among European potentates. To all appearance the alliance was a merely defensive one; but the contracting parties had secretly agreed to assist Ferdinand II. against the French, and to make a diversion on the territory of France. The fruits of it soon began to show themselves. The Pope refused Charles VIII. the investiture of Naples; a Venetian fleet appeared on the coast of Apulia; and a Spanish army landed in Sicily. When Charles found that he could expect neither coronation nor investiture at the hands of the Pope, he resolved to dispense with both, and to supply their place by the ceremony of a solemn entry into Naples, which he accordingly performed, May 12th 1495, in the costume of Emperor of the East:—a scarlet mantle trimmed with ermine, a crown closed in front, a golden globe in his right hand, the sceptre in his left.

Although Charles had perhaps determined to abandon his new conquest before he heard of the league which had been formed against him, the intelligence of it certainly quickened his movements. The French character seems scarcely to have altered since those days. The Court of Charles diverted itself with little interludes, or *soties*, in which the parties to the coalition were turned into ridicule; but the laughter was mingled with alarm. Nothing could be more ill-advised than the course pursued by Charles in this conjuncture. He should either have evacuated Naples entirely, or resolved to hold it against all comers; instead of which, he divided his army, starting himself from Naples, May 20th, at the head of 1000 lances (or 6000 horse), and 5000 foot, leaving

[11] See his *Mémoires*, liv. vii. ch. xv.

the rest of his army under the command of Colonna and Savelli, two Roman nobles, who subsequently repaid his confidence and favour by deserting him. The arrangements made by Charles for the conduct of the government were equally imprudent. His cousin, Gilbert de Bourbon, Duke of Montpensier, who seldom quitted his bed till noon, was named viceroy; while Etienne de Vesc, whose sole merit consisted in having advised the expedition, and who had been made Duke of Nola and Governor of Gaeta, was entrusted with the finances. There was, however, neither money in the treasury, nor provisions or ammunition in the fortresses. The only good appointment was that of Everard Stuart, a Scot of noble birth, and in France Lord of Aubigny, who was made Constable of Naples and Governor of Calabria. D'Aubigny had led the French van, and proved himself a good soldier.

The French returned through the Roman States without molestation. The Pope had fled with his troops to Perugia, nor could Charles's protestations of friendship induce him to return. In Tuscany many changes had been effected since the French King passed through it. Savonarola, whose democratic principles recommended him to the Florentines, and whose chief supporters were Francesco Valori and Paolo Antonio Soderini, had, after the expulsion of the Medici, reorganised the republic, and converted it into a sort of theocracy, of which he himself was the high priest and minister; nay, he even gave out that he had spoken with the Deity, and that Christ himself had consented to become the head of the Florentine State. Such are the blasphemies on which an enthusiast may venture. But though Savonarola assumed a divine mission, his sermons, which have been printed, are so full of politics, that they resemble the harangues of the tribune, rather than the discourses of the pulpit. As he had prevented the Florentines from joining the league of Venice, he came out to meet Charles on his march, and, assuming his sacred, and as it were prophetical, character, he reproached the King both with his negligence in reforming the Church, and the breach of his engagements with Florence; at the same time foretelling that Charles would escape with honour all the perils of his march, but that he would nevertheless be punished for his neglect of duty, and warning him that if he did not alter his conduct, the hand of God would lie heavy upon him. The prophet, however, was not blind to the temporal interests of his country. He insisted that Charles should restore Pisa to the Florentines, which city had formed a coalition with Siena and Lucca. Charles faltered out an ambiguous answer, postponing his decision; but in point of fact he decided for the

Pisans, as he left a French garrison in that city, as well as in the other maritime places.

Charles resumed his march for Lombardy, June 23rd. That country had already become the theatre of war. Sforza had summoned Louis, Duke of Orleans, to evacuate Asti, and renounce his pretensions to Milan; but the troops sent to enforce this summons were repulsed by the Duke of Orleans, who, following up his success, surprised Novara (June 11th), which was delivered to him by a party inimical to Sforza. The latter would probably have been overthrown, had Louis marched straight to Milan; but he had not courage enough for so bold a step, and his delay enabled Louis the Moor to procure a number of lansquenets from Germany, besides other reinforcements. With part of these he blockaded the Duke of Orleans in Novara, and the rest were despatched to the neighbourhood of Parma, where the Venetian army was assembling, to arrest the progress of Charles. Their force was reckoned at 35,000 combatants, among whom were 2600 lances, and from 2000 to 3000 Stradiots [12]; a sort of light cavalry levied by the Venetians in Albania and Greece, whose irregular mode of fighting somewhat resembled that of the Arabs. The numerical superiority of the allies seems to have inspired them with a contempt for the French, whom they suffered to pass unmolested the defiles of the Apennines, between the Lunigiana and the Parmesan, through which the infantry were obliged to drag the guns during five days of assiduous and exhausting toil.

At length the French army stood on the plains of Lombardy (July 5th), at the village of Fornovo on the Taro. The sight of the numberless tents which covered the hills above that stream, struck Charles and his generals with alarm, and he endeavoured to negotiate with the two Venetian *Proveditori;* functionaries who generally accompanied the Venetian armies to act as a check upon the generals. He merely requested a free passage, and repudiated any intention of attacking the Duke of Milan or his allies; the Venetians, however, decided for a battle.

Charles when he entered Italy had been obliged to raise money by pawning ladies' jewels; but now on his return his army of 10,000 men was accompanied and impeded by a baggage train of 6000 beasts of burthen: a strong proof of the rich spoil they were carrying away. Besides this booty a great many works of art, as sculptures, bronze gates, architectural ornaments, &c., had been seized at Naples, and shipped for France, but were recaptured by

[12] From στρατιώτης, a soldier.

a Biscayan and Genoese fleet.[13] After the French had crossed the Taro, the enormous baggage train, which had been placed in the rear for safety, naturally attracted the attention of the allies, whose first attack was directed to that quarter; and the King himself, flying with his household troops to the defence of the baggage, precipitated himself into a danger from which he only escaped by the fleetness of his black horse, Savoie. But the hope of plunder proved a snare to the allies. The Stradiots, instead of charging the French *gens d'armes*, as they were ordered, made towards the baggage to partake the spoil, and were soon followed by other troops; meanwhile the main body of the French came up, and easily overthrew the disordered ranks of the allies (July 6th.)[14]

The battle of Fornovo, which lasted only an hour or two, cost the Italians between 3000 and 4000 men, whilst the loss of the French was only about 200, and the safety of their army was assured; which arrived before Asti without further molestation, July 15th. The Italians proceeded to join the Duke of Milan, who, as we have said, was blockading the Duke of Orleans in Novara. Sforza had procured a reinforcement of 10,000 or 12,000 lansquenets from Germany, for which, however, either he or the Venetians had to provide pay, for the Emperor Maximilian was too poor to furnish his contingent. Meanwhile the careless Charles was solacing himself in his camp at Asti with a new mistress, Anna de Soleri, regardless of the pressing solicitations for help which he received from the Duke of Orleans; and it was not till September 11th, that he moved forward to Vercelli on the road to Novara. Negotiations for a peace had however been entered into with Sforza and the Venetians, through the mediation of the Duchess of Savoy, and on the 10th of October a treaty was signed at Vercelli, by which it was agreed that Novara should be evacuated. Sforza engaged to acknowledge himself the vassal of the French King for Genoa, and to permit that city to fit out armaments for the service of France; he agreed to remain in the Venetian league only so long as nothing was meditated against France; to allow the French a passage through his territories, and even to accompany Charles to Naples, if he returned into Italy in person. Charles on his side promised not to support the pretensions of the Duke of Orleans to Milan; and Sforza agreed to pay 50,000 ducats to that Prince, and to cancel a debt of the King's of 80,000. The Venetians would not directly accede to this treaty; but they declared that they had no war with the King of France on

[13] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 274. Cf. Muratori, *Ann. d'Italia*, t. ix. p. 382 sq.

[14] For this epoch, and in general for the Italian wars, see Rosmini, *Vie de Trivulce*.

their own account, and that they had merely seconded the Duke of Milan as their ally. Charles also cultivated the good will of the Florentines by sacrificing the Pisans to them, though an amnesty was stipulated in their favour. The French King, without waiting for the execution of these arrangements, hastened back to France, leaving a corps at Asti under the command of Trivulzio; and reaching Lyon, November 9th, after fourteen months' absence, he again abandoned himself to pleasure, from which not even the death of his only son, Roland, could snatch him.

Charles had not quitted Naples a week when his competitor, Ferdinand II., landed at Reggio with an army composed of Spanish and Sicilian troops. We have already mentioned the protest of Ferdinand of Aragon against Charles's enterprise; and he had now sent a body of Spaniards to the aid of the Neapolitan monarch, under the command of Gonsalvo of Cordova; but that commander was completely defeated at Seminara by Stuart d'Aubigny with a small body of French and Swiss, and compelled to re-embark for Sicily. Thus Gonsalvo was unsuccessful in his first great battle; but it was the only one he ever lost. Ferdinand II., however, did not despair. His party in Naples was daily increasing, and speedily returning with a mere handful of soldiers, he ventured to land within a mile of that city. Montpensier, who went out to oppose him with nearly all his garrison, had scarcely left the town when his ears were saluted with the sound of the alarm bells from all the churches. At this signal for insurrection the viceroy hastened back; an obstinate combat ensued in the streets, in which the French were worsted and obliged to shut themselves up in the castles of St. Elmo, Castello Nuovo, and Castello d'Uovo, whilst Ferdinand entered the city amid the acclamations of the multitude. This happened on July 7th, a day after the battle of Fornovo. Nearly the whole of the southern coast now raised the banner of Ferdinand II.; and the Venetians assisted in recovering several towns on the Adriatic.

The French at Naples were soon starved into a surrender. Montpensier, in violation of a capitulation which he had entered upon, had previously quitted the castles with 2500 men, with whom he succeeded in embarking, and landed at Salerno. The French might still have supported themselves in Italy had they received any assistance from Charles VIII.; but for this, with the exception of a small body of infantry landed at Gaeta, they looked in vain. The sensual Charles, sunk in indolence and luxury which had produced a bad state of health, was completely governed by Cardinal Briçonnet, who had been bribed, it is supposed, by the Pope and the

Duke of Milan; and he threw so many obstacles into the way of a second Italian expedition, that Charles gave it up in disgust. Montpensier, assisted by some Roman and Neapolitan barons, continued the war, till he was shut up by Ferdinand and his allies at Atella in the Basilicata; when, being deserted by his Swiss and German mercenaries, he was forced to make a second capitulation (July 20th 1496), by which he surrendered most of the places held by the French, on condition of their being allowed to return to France with their personal effects. The French troops were cantoned at Baiæ and the neighbourhood to await transport, where an epidemic broke out which carried off great numbers of them, including Montpensier himself. It is said that Ferdinand II. had purposely selected these unhealthy quarters.[15] Soon after the fall of Atella, Gonsalvo of Cordova defeated d'Aubigny in Calabria, and compelled him also to retire to France.

The kingdom of Naples was thus again reduced under obedience to Ferdinand II., who, however, did not long live to enjoy his success. Having contracted an incestuous marriage with his aunt Joanna, who was of much the same age as himself, he retired for the honeymoon to the castle of La Somma, at the foot of Vesuvius, where he shortly after expired, Sept. 7th 1496, at the age of twenty-seven. He was succeeded without opposition by his uncle Don Frederick, a popular and able prince. Frederick soon compelled the French garrisons in Gaeta, Venosa, and Taranto, which had been excepted from Montpensier's capitulation, to evacuate those places, and to embark with the body of the French army. Thus before the close of 1496 all trace of Charles's rapid conquest had disappeared. Its effects, however, remained; especially it had inspired the more warlike, or less thinking, portion of the French people with a blind ardour for distant conquests; and the like passion had also been excited in the Germans and Spaniards who served in these wars. Italy, prostrated by its own quarrels, seemed to offer an easy prey to the foreigner; nor did this foretaste of danger suffice to reunite its peoples.

War had continued to rage in Tuscany, where Lucca, Siena, and Pisa still resisted the domination of the Florentines. The French generals had neglected to carry out the arrangement of Charles with the Florentines, and Leghorn alone had been restored to them. At Pisa, the French commandant, d'Entraigues, infatuated by love for a Pisan *belle*, had been persuaded by her to give up the citadel to the inhabitants instead of to the Florentines, whilst other French officers sold Sarzano and Pietra Santa to the Genoese and

[15] Muratori, *Annali*, t. ix. p. 386.

Luccese. Pisa, protected by Louis Sforza and the Venetians, retained its independence during fourteen years. The Duke of Milan persuaded the Emperor Maximilian to undertake the siege of Leghorn in person, at the head of the allied forces; but the enterprise proved a ridiculous failure. Savonarola, who was a warm adherent of the French alliance, sent some troops to Leghorn, which obliged Maximilian to raise the siege, and he quitted Italy, leaving the Italians with a very low opinion of his personal qualities, and a great contempt for his power.

At the beginning of 1497, Charles VIII. made some feeble attempts to revenge himself on Louis Sforza for the loss of Naples. Some 12,000 men, under Trivulzio and Cardinal Julian della Rovera, made an attack upon Genoa, which entirely failed; and a truce of six months was then agreed upon between France and the allies. A blow struck at Milan might probably have been successful; but the Duke of Orleans, now by the death of the Dauphin Roland, the heir presumptive of the French crown, had incurred the jealousy of Charles, who felt no inclination to support his claims to the Milanese. On the expiration of the truce in October, it was renewed only between France and Spain. Ferdinand the Catholic, who had no more regard for the bonds of relationship than for the faith of treaties, had already begun to harbour designs against the dominions of his Neapolitan cousin, which were to be carried out in conjunction with France.

During Charles VIII's brief stay at Naples, the Spanish monarchs had negotiated some marriages for their children, which were destined to have an important influence on the future fortunes of Europe. The expedition of Charles had had great effect in opening out more extended views, and a larger policy among princes. Hitherto the nuptials of the Spanish monarchs had been mostly confined to the peninsula; but an important marriage treaty was now negotiated with the House of Austria. It was arranged that Don John, Prince of Asturias[16], the heir apparent of Spain, should marry Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maxmilian, and that the latter's son, the Archduke Philip, heir of the Netherlands in right of his mother, should espouse Joanna, second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. In the following year (October 1496), a marriage, which had been arranged as early as 1489, was also contracted between Catalina, or Catherine, youngest daughter of Ferdinand

[16] The title of *Prince of the Asturias* was appropriated to the heir apparent of Castile, in professed imitation of that of *Prince of Wales*, and was bestowed on the Infant Don Henry, afterwards Henry III., on the occasion of his marriage with the daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in 1388. Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 317 sq., and 322, note.

and Isabella, and Arthur, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII. Towards the autumn of 1496, a large Spanish fleet conveyed Joanna to Flanders, and she was married to Philip at Lisle. In the ensuing winter, the same fleet carried Margaret to Spain, who was united to Don John at Burgos, April 3rd 1497; but the youthful bridegroom did not long survive. Soon after this marriage was celebrated that of Isabella, the eldest daughter of the Spanish sovereigns, with Emmanuel King of Portugal, who had succeeded to the Portuguese throne on the death of his father John II., in 1495. Isabella was the widow of Emmanuel's brother Alonso. Bred up in all the bigotry of the Spanish Court, Isabella stipulated, as the price of her hand, that Emmanuel should banish the Jews from his dominions; and that otherwise enlightened monarch, blinded by the passion which he had conceived for Isabella during her residence in Portugal, consented to a measure which, in his heart, he disapproved. On the death of Don John, the only male heir to Castile (October 4th 1497), the succession devolved to Isabella, who, however, also expired, in giving birth to a son, August 1498. This child died in his second year, and thus Joanna, Isabella's next sister, became the heir of the Spanish monarchies. But to return to the affairs of Italy.

Alexander VI., in whom Savonarola inspired a kind of terror, and who had long hesitated to attack the Florentine prophet, at length prohibited him from preaching; but Savonarola continued to thunder against the corruption of Rome, and to invoke the vengeance of heaven upon that city. His asceticism took every day a more rigid form, and at length began to produce dissensions in Florence. On Shrove Tuesday, 1497, he caused to be burnt in the public place, a pile of books, pictures, musical instruments, &c., obtained from their possessors, either voluntarily or by compulsion. No compunction was felt for the most precious manuscripts, nor for the chefs-d'œuvre of art; all were alike abandoned to the flames. In a city distinguished above all others for literature and science, many persons who were desirous of political reform and liberty were thrown into the opposite party by this fanaticism; for Florence was divided into three factions, characterised by the names of *Piagnoni*, or Weepers; *Arrabiati*, or Madmen; and *Bigi*, or Greys; the first of whom were the disciples of Savonarola; the second were the Epicureans, or Libertines; and the third were the partisans of the Medici. These dissensions inspired Alexander VI. with the hope of crushing Savonarola. It was from the midst of orgies, which might vie in filthiness with those of the worst and most shameless of the Roman Emperors, that the Pope

launched against his Florentine censor the most awful of his spiritual weapons. The vices and crimes of the papal family, were this year more than usually conspicuous. Julia Farnese, the Pope's mistress, called from her beauty Julia Bella [17], with whom he lived in open adultery, and who was accustomed to parade herself, with unblushing effrontery, in all the festivals of the Church, brought him a son in the month of April. Nor was the stain of blood wanting. In July, Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, the Pope's eldest and favourite son, having supped with his brother Cæsar, Cardinal of Valencia, at the house of their mother Vanozza, near the church of St. Peter ad Vincula, they rode home together on their mules, but parted company on the way. The Duke was never more seen alive; but his body, bearing nine wounds, was found next evening in the Tiber, into which it had been thrown near the hospital of St. Jerome, at a place where it was usual to discharge into the river all the filth of the city. Contemporary testimony points almost unanimously to his brother the Cardinal as the assassin.[18] It was in fact, as M. Michelet well expresses it, a change of reign—the accession of Cæsar Borgia. With a few inches of steel the Cardinal of Valencia had achieved much. He had made himself the eldest son, the heir; and had compelled his father to unfrock him, to make him a layman, in order that he might found the fortunes of the House [19], as we shall presently have to narrate. But the stroke fell upon Alexander like a thunderbolt. He confessed his sins in open Consistory, and announced his intention of amending his life. His repentance however, was, of short duration. In a few days he resumed his old habits, transferred to the assassin all the affection he had felt for the victim, and recompensed himself for his short abstinence by a new outbreak of debauchery and cruelty. It was about this time also that Alexander pronounced a divorce between his daughter Lucretia and her husband Francesco Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, from whose protection she had withdrawn herself.[20]

[17] She was a sister of Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Pope Paul III., and was married to one of the Orsini family. Alexander VI. caused Pinturicchio to paint a picture of her in the character of the Virgin, with himself in the act of adoration! See Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. i. p. 355.

[18] Mr. Roscoe, in his *Life of Leo X.* (vol. i. p. 227, ed. 1827), has endeavoured, but without success, to clear Cæsar Borgia of all blame in this transaction; the best recent historians, Sismondi, Ranke, Michelet, and others, still adhere to the ancient tradition, which has been confirmed since the time when Roscoe wrote, by another contemporary authority, the *Diario* of Sebastiano de Bianca de Telini, extracts of which have been published by Ranke (see *Popes of Rome*, Mrs. Austin's transl. vol. i. p. 50). Mr. Roscoe is perhaps more successful in his vindication of Lucretia Borgia, whose life, at all events after her marriage with Alphonso d'Este, seems to have been irreproachable.

[19] *Renaissance*, p. 100.

[20] Lucretia had been given, before she

With all his enthusiasm, Savonarola was not yet prepared for schism, and he obeyed the papal interdict by abstaining from preaching. During the carnival of 1498, however, he remounted the pulpit with fresh vigour; and, being now resolved to venture everything upon the struggle, he openly attacked the infallibility of the Pope, and wrote letters to the principal sovereigns of Europe, urging them to call a general council, and depose him. The letter addressed to the King of France was intercepted by Louis Sforza, and forwarded to the Pope. Alexander's rage found vent in fulminating a fresh bull against Florence, March 1498, and, as it was accompanied with threats of hostilities, the Florentine government forbade Savonarola to enter the pulpit. The supremacy of the Dominicans had long excited the jealousy and envy of the other mendicant orders; the declining fortunes of Savonarola seemed to offer an opportunity for revenge; and, as he had frequently asserted that he would attest the truth of his mission by a miracle, Francis of Apulia, a Minor Observantine, challenged him to raise the dead; at the same time offering to enter the flames with him, and thus submit the dispute to the judgment of God. From this trial Savonarola shrunk; yet he was not unwilling that the experiment should be tried in the person of another, and proposed for the ordeal the lay-brother Andrea Rondinelli. This passage in Savonarola's life seems to justify Voltaire's remark[21], that the prophet who cabals convicts himself of being a cheat. Francis having declined to enter the flames, except with Savonarola himself, one Domenico da Pescia was substituted as the antagonist of Rondinelli. An enormous pile of wood and other combustibles was collected in the great square of Florence, having in the centre a lane only two feet wide, through which, when the pile was ignited, the rival monks were to walk. On the 17th of April, the appointed day, the great square was filled with a motley and eager crowd. Weepers and Libertines, Dominicans and Franciscans jostled one another in anxious expectation, while the cooler and more indifferent spectators waited quietly, as for some scene in a play. But Savonarola had repented of tempting God. Hours were spent in disputing the conditions and method of the ordeal, till at length a heavy rain dispersed the assembled multitude—a fatal result for Savonarola! His miraculous powers had now been tested and found wanting. The people, seeing that they had been trifled with, were filled with indignation; an order was procured

was of marriageable age, to a Neapolitan gentleman; but Alexander, on his accession to the pontificate, pronounced a divorce in order to marry her to Sforza.

[21] *Essai sur les Mœurs.*

for Savonarola's arrest, and he was brought before a tribunal over which two papal commissaries presided. As the torture was applied or withdrawn, he several times asserted and retracted his pretensions to a prophetic mission; and, though he has since been claimed both by Roman Catholics and Reformers, he failed to display the spirit of an apostle or even of a martyr. He was condemned to the stake, and burnt with two of his disciples, May 23rd.

A few days after the execution of Savonarola, a letter arrived from the King of France to request his pardon. That King, however, was no longer Charles VIII., but Louis XII. A remarkable change had been observed in the conduct of Charles towards the close of his life, the result probably of the decline of his health. He was no longer the trifling dissipated creature of his earlier days; his conversation had become more serious, and he had renounced his disorderly life. His expedition to Italy had inspired him with a certain degree of taste, which he displayed at the Château d'Amboise, where he took up his residence early in 1498. Here he began to build on a large scale, and employed sculptors and painters, whom he had brought with him from Naples, in the labours of their respective professions—the first indication of the introduction of Italian art into France. He was meditating another expedition into Italy, and, being sensible of his former mistakes, he resolved to take measures for assuring a permanent conquest. On the 7th of April 1498, as he was proceeding from his chamber with Anne of Brittany, his consort, to see a game of tennis in the castle ditch, in passing through a dark gallery he struck his head against a door. Although a little stunned by the blow he passed on to view the sports, conversing cheerfully with those around him, when he was suddenly struck with apoplexy, and, being carried to an adjoining garret, expired in a few hours. He had not yet completed his twenty-eighth year.

With Charles VIII. was extinguished the direct line of the House of Valois. The Crown was now transferred to the collateral branch of Orleans, and Louis, Duke of Orleans, descended from the second son of King Charles V. and his consort Valentina Visconti, of the ducal House of Milan, succeeded Charles VIII. with the title of Louis XII. The new King, feeble both in body and mind, was one of those characters to which the absence of strong passions or opinions lends the appearance of good nature, and even of virtue. He was naturally formed to be governed, and with him ascended the throne a prelate who had long been his director, George d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen. D'Amboise was the second of that series of cardinal-ministers whose reign in France lasted a century

and a half. A man severed by his vocation from the world, without wife or children, and having no family to found, must, it was concluded, be necessarily devoid of avarice and ambition! Yet the clerical profession was precisely that which offered in those days the easiest avenue to wealth combined with the distant prospect of a diadem. The views both of Louis XII. and his minister were directed towards Italy. The King's heart was set on the recovery of the Duchy of Milan, and of the kingdom of Naples; the Archbishop wanted to be Pope, and his best chance of attaining that dignity lay in the success of his master's projects. The *El Dorado* of both lying beyond the Alps, they could afford to be moderate in France. The disinterested d'Amboise could never be persuaded to accept a second benefice, yet left at his death an enormous fortune, wrung for the most part from the Italians. In pursuance of his schemes, it was necessary that France should be contented and quiet; and the domestic government of Louis XII. was accordingly mild and equitable. One of his first cares was to banish all fear lest he should remember former injuries when a partisan-chief in the war of Brittany, and he hastened to announce as his maxim, "that it would ill become a King of France to avenge the quarrels of the Duke of Orleans." In accordance with it, among other instances, Louis de la Tremouille, the famous captain who had made Louis prisoner at St. Aubin, was confirmed in all his honours and pensions; and Madame Anne, of France, with her husband, Peter, Duke of Bourbon, were invited to Blois and loaded with favours. While the higher ranks were thus propitiated, the middle classes were conciliated by some useful reforms in the administration of justice, and by a government founded on order and economy. Nothing indeed can form a more striking contrast than the foreign and domestic policy of France under Louis XII.

One of the first affairs that engaged the attention of the new monarch brought him into connection with the Court of Rome, and decided the colour of his future Italian policy. By the marriage contract between Charles VIII. and Anne of Brittany, that duchy reverted to his widow upon his death, and was thus again severed from the Crown of France. It was indeed provided by that instrument that Anne should contract no second marriage except with Charles's successor, or the presumptive heir to the throne; but this clause seemed to be defeated by the circumstance that Louis XII. was already married, and was without issue. He determined however to remove this obstacle by procuring a divorce from his ugly and deformed wife Joanna, the daughter of Louis XI. We have before adverted to the mistake of those who hold that a mutual

passion had long existed between Louis and Anne; the Emperor Maximilian, to whom she had been affianced, alone possessed Anne's heart. She had even lived on ill terms with Louis during the life of Charles VIII., but her choice was now restricted to him, and whatever might be her affection for Brittany, the dignity of a Queen of France was not to be despised. She had displayed a somewhat theatrical grief [22] on the death of Charles VIII.; yet in little more than four months after that event she signed a promise of marriage with Louis XII., insisting, however, on much more favourable conditions as to her Duchy of Brittany than she had obtained under her former contract, and which infinitely multiplied the chances of Brittany being again separated from France. The espousals were to be celebrated as soon as a divorce could be obtained.

It thus happened that Louis stood in urgent need of the Pope's services, just at the time when the latter had withdrawn his son Cæsar, the Cardinal of Valencia, from the ecclesiastical profession, and had determined to make him a great temporal prince. With this view Alexander had already demanded for Cæsar the hand of a daughter of Frederick II. of Naples; and being nettled by a refusal he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the French party. The disgraceful alliance between Louis and the Borgias was thus cemented by their mutual wants, and Cæsar was despatched into France.

George d'Amboise and his master could not have been ignorant of the strange history of Cæsar Borgia—it was only too notorious. He was, however, well received at the French Court, where his handsome person, his sumptuous dress and his magnificent suite attracted general attention. He came provided with the necessary Bull for the divorce, and was determined to sell it at the highest possible rate. It was a sale in open market of one of the most solemn functions of the church. The Archbishop of Rouen was gained by a Cardinal's hat and the prospect of the papacy *in futuro*. A bargain was soon struck. Cæsar, who had his father under his thumb, could unmake and make as many Cardinals as should be necessary to secure d'Amboise's election after Alexander VI.'s death; in return for which he was to be assisted by the French arms in recovering the territories claimed by the Church and converting them into a principality or kingdom for himself. Louis also engaged to re-

[22] She introduced the custom of wearing black for mourning. The widowed queens had previously worn white, whence the name of *Reines blanches*. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 302. White was also the mourning of the Spaniards, and was used on the death of Don John in 1495; after which it was discontinued. Herrera ap. Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 7.

nounce all attempts upon Naples, except in favour of the House of Borgia; a circumstance from which it appears that the Pope had even then formed designs upon that kingdom.[23] It need hardly be said that the divorce was soon granted, though on pleas the most frivolous and unjust; Joanna defended herself but feebly, and retired into a convent at Bourges. Cæsar Borgia was made Duke of Valentinois in Dauphiné, received in money 30,000 gold ducats, with a pension of 20,000 livres, and the Order of St. Michael. Above all, he was appointed to a company of one hundred lances; and the French flag being thus put into his hands, he assumed the style of Cæsar Borgia "of France." The title was further confirmed by a matrimonial connection with the French royal family. On May 12th 1499, he espoused Carlotta, daughter of Alan d'Albret, a near relative of Louis XII., but the young bride remained in France.[24]

Before these negociations were completed, Cæsar Borgia exhibited a touch of his Italian arts. In the hope of extorting further concessions from Louis, he had delayed producing the Bull of dispensation for affinity; but the Bishop of Cette, one of the papal commissaries, having informed the King that it had been signed by the Pope and was in Cæsar's hands, Louis caused the ecclesiastical judges to pronounce his divorce. A few days after, the Bishop of Cette died poisoned! The King's marriage with Anne of Brittany was celebrated January 8th 1499.

Louis's designs on Italy were supported by the Venetians, whom Sforza had offended by thwarting their views on Pisa; and in February 1499 they contracted an alliance with France against the Duke of Milan; the French King agreeing to assign to them the Cremonese and the Ghiara d'Adda, or the district between the Adda, the Po, and the Oglio. The state of Europe seemed to favour the enterprise of Louis XII. In England, Henry VII., occupied in strengthening himself upon the throne, paid little attention to the affairs of the continent, and had confirmed the treaty of Etaples with Louis, July 14th 1498. Maximilian bore more ill-will to France, but had less power to show it. As Emperor, he was without revenue or soldiers, nay almost without jurisdiction; his hereditary states alone afforded him some resources. Towards the end of Charles VIII.'s reign he had been preparing an expedition against France, in order to force Charles to restore Burgundy, and some towns in Artois, which, by an article in the treaty of Senlis, were to revert to his son Philip as soon as the latter should

[23] See the *Relatione* of Polo Capello, ap. Ranke, *Popes of Rome*, vol. iii. App. p. 252 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

[24] *Relatione* of Polo Capello, loc. cit.

come of age and should do homage for them to the King of France. But although Philip had long since assumed the government of his provinces, and offered to perform the required homage, yet the French had on different pretexts deferred fulfilling the stipulations of the treaty. Soon after Louis XII.'s accession, Maximilian penetrated into Burgundy with a considerable army, which, however, he was soon obliged to dismiss for want of the necessary funds to maintain it. But the desire of Louis to enter upon his Italian campaign led him soon after to restore the towns in question to Philip, and to consent that his claims on Burgundy should be referred to arbitration. The empire, whose sovereign princes and free states cared more about Switzerland than the Emperor's claims in Italy, soon afterwards engaged in a bloody war with the Swiss, whom Maximilian was striving to reduce under the authority of the Imperial Chamber, and it was in vain that the Duke of Milan sought his assistance. Of all the European states, Spain alone had the power and the will for active interference in the affairs of Italy; and Louis had secured the neutrality of that kingdom by the treaty of Marcoussis, August 5th 1498, by which all the differences between the two countries had been arranged. Nay, Ferdinand the Catholic probably beheld with pleasure an expedition from which he might eventually hope for some benefit to himself. The only Italian ally of Louis Sforza was King Frederick of Naples, who could spare no troops for his assistance; the only foreign power whose aid he could invoke was the Turkish Sultan, and his application to Bajazet was supported by the Neapolitan King. The ravages, however, which the Turkish hordes consequently inflicted on the Venetian province of the Friuli, and even as far as the neighbourhood of Vicenza, did not arrest the progress of the French, and only served to cast odium upon the Duke of Milan as the ally of the Moslem infidels.

The preparations for the Italian expedition were completed about the end of July 1499.[25] Louis, who did not himself intend to pass the Alps, reviewed his army at Lyon, which consisted of about 23,000 men, with fifty-eight guns. The command was entrusted to three experienced captains, of whom two might be called foreigners; namely, Stuart d'Aubigny, and John James Trivulzio, by birth a Lombard; the third was Louis, Count of Ligni, the patron and master in the art of war of the illustrious Bayard. Louis Sforza's general, Galeazzo di San Severino, did not venture to oppose the French in the field, and shut himself up in

[25] For this period see Jean d'Auton, *Hist. de Louis XII.*, the *Mémoires* of La Tremouille, St. Gelais, le loyal Serviteur, &c.

Alessandria; whence, having probably been bribed, he stole away one night to Milan. As soon as his soldiers became aware of his flight, they evacuated Alessandria in confusion, and were pursued and dispersed by the French *gens d'armes*. On the other side, the Venetians had taken all the towns between the Adda and the Oglio without striking a blow. But, what was worse, symptoms of disaffection had begun to appear in Milan itself. The citizens had resolved not to endure a siege, and the Duke's purse-bearer, or treasurer, had been openly murdered in the streets while attempting to levy some money. Sforza, feeling that he was no longer safe in his capital, set off for the Tyrol to seek assistance from Maximilian.

Milan now declared for the French (September 14th); the other towns followed the example of the capital, and thus the conquest, or rather the annexation, of Lombardy, was achieved in less than a month. Astonished and delighted at this brilliant success, Louis crossed the Alps to enjoy his triumph, and entered Milan, October 6th, amid cries of *Viva Francia!* His first acts were popular. The citizens were gratified by the promise of a reduction in the taxes; but as this could not be effected to any great extent, Louis soon lost the brief popularity he had acquired. After a few weeks' sojourn, he returned to France, having appointed Trivulzio his lieutenant-general in the Milanese. Genoa, which after the submission of Milan had again placed itself under the French, was intrusted to the command of Philip of Clèves, Lord of Ravenstein, assisted by Batistino Fregoso, the head of the French party in that city.

The French soon became unpopular in Milan. Trivulzio exercised the government entrusted to him in the most tyrannical manner, while the French soldiers made themselves hated and suspected by their extortions, their *brusquerie*, and their amours. The party of the exiled Duke rapidly revived, and an extensive plot was laid to effect his restoration. Sforza had been received by Maximilian at Innsbrück with magnificent promises; but in fact the Emperor had no power to serve him, and was so poor that he even wanted to borrow what money the Duke had succeeded in retaining. Sforza, however, was of opinion that he had better employ it himself; and in spite of the treaty between the French and Swiss, he succeeded in engaging 8000 or 9000 of the latter in his service. At the news of his approach by the Lake of Como, a general insurrection broke out at Milan (January 25th 1500); Trivulzio and the Count de Ligni, leaving a garrison in the citadel of Milan, retired to Novara, and thence to Mortara; where

they shut themselves up to await reinforcements from France. The capture of Novara had been facilitated by the treachery of the Swiss garrison in the French service, who finding their countrymen better paid and fed by Sforza, passed over to his ranks. The great competition for the hiring of the Swiss, and the consequent influx of money among them, had introduced a lamentable change in their manners. They were become a nation of mercenary adventurers, ever ready to sell their blood for gold, which was spent in brutal debauchery; and treachery of course followed, of which we shall have to narrate numerous instances.

The Duke of Milan was naturally very anxious to detach the Venetians from France; but though he begged them to dictate the conditions of a peace, and though secretly they were not displeased at the reverses of the French, they were not yet prepared to violate their treaty with Louis. Both the French and the Milanese armies had been largely recruited when they met near Novara, April 5th 1500. The infantry on both sides was almost entirely composed of Swiss; those in the French army, however, had been furnished by the Diet, and marched under the banners of their cantons; while those in the ranks of the Duke had been hired individually, without the sanction of their government. The Diet had issued an order that the Swiss should not engage one another, a breach of which would have rendered those in the service of Sforza guilty of treason; and the latter, in consequence, when the French, after a short cannonade were about to charge, retired into Novara, and were followed by the rest of the army. In the ensuing night Sforza's Swiss began to parley with the French, and engaged to evacuate the country on receiving a safe-conduct. As a pretext for their desertion, they clamorously demanded their arrears from the Duke; and all they would allow the victim of their perfidy was, that he should conceal himself in their ranks when they evacuated the town. On the following morning, Sforza, now old and feeble, put on the frock of a cordelier, to pass himself off for chaplain of the corps, and might have escaped in this disguise, had not a Swiss soldier betrayed him for a reward of 200 crowns. He was seized and conducted to the castle of Novara. The Swiss in their retreat occupied Bellinzona, at which Louis XII. was forced to connive; and they thus secured possession of the canton of Tessino, afterwards confirmed to them by treaty, April 10th 1503, during Louis's reverses in Apulia and Calabria.

Consternation reigned at Milan. When Cardinal d'Amboise returned thither, accompanied by Trivulzio, a long procession of men and women, with bare heads, and clothed in white, repaired

to the townhall to deprecate his anger for their "accursed rebellion." D'Amboise, however, did not abuse his victory. Only four of the ringleaders were put to death at Milan, and the other rebellious cities were amerced in moderate sums for the costs of the war. Charles d'Amboise, a nephew of the Cardinal's, was substituted for Trivulzio, as Governor of Milan. But Louis XII. did not extend to his Italian rivals the same generosity which he had displayed towards his French opponents. Duke Sforza was carried into France, and Louis caused him to be confined in a dungeon under the great tower of Loches, where he is said to have been shut up in an iron cage eight feet long and six broad. It was only towards the close of his life, which was prolonged ten years, that the hardship of his captivity was mitigated, and the whole castle laid open as his residence.[26] Louis the Moor had been one of the ablest of the Italian sovereigns. His administration and system of police were excellent; Milan in his hands became the city which it is at present, and it was he who completed the admirable network of Milanese irrigation, by making the gigantic canal which connects its rivers. Leonardo da Vinci, the loftiest and most universal genius of the age, chose Sforza for his master, and quitted Florence to live at Milan. Besides Louis, four or five other members of the Sforza family, including his brother, the Cardinal Ascanio, had fallen into the hands of the French King; who caused Ascanio to be confined in the same tower at Bourges where he himself had been two years a prisoner, and doomed three sons of Galeazzo Sforza to languish in an obscure dungeon. The Duke's two sons, Maximilian and Francis, found refuge with the Emperor.

The war between Florence and Pisa still continued. In consequence of his alliance with the Florentines, Louis XII. sent in June 1500 a body of troops to aid them in reducing Pisa. The Pisans professed their willingness to submit to the French King, but declared their determination to resist the Florentines to the last gasp. It is said that they received an attack of the French with shouts of *Viva Francia!* which rendered it impossible to bring the French troops a second time to the assault; and it became necessary to raise the siege. The assistance of Louis was of more service to the Borgia family. Alexander VI. and his children hastened to avail themselves of the presence of the French in Italy, in order to push their schemes of ambition and aggrandisement. Lucretia Borgia, who, after her divorce from Sforza, had been married to Alphonso, Duke of Biseglia, a natural son of Alphonso II.

[26] According to another account he died of joy on the day that he was liberated from his cage. See Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxi. § 9; Martin, t. vii. p. 326.

of Naples, and had been declared perpetual governess of the Duchy of Spoleto, was now further invested with Sermoneta, wrested from the House of the Gaetani. At the urgent entreaty of Pope Alexander, Louis also lent a small force to Cæsar Borgia, Duke of Valentinois, to assist the papal troops in reducing the Lords of Romagna and the Marca; as Sforza of Pesaro, Malatesta of Rimini, the Riarii of Imola and Forlì, and others. Forlì was obstinately defended by Catharine Sforza, widow of Jerome Riario, but was at length taken by assault, and Catharine sent prisoner to the castle of St. Angelo, at Rome. By the spring of 1501, all the small principalities of that district had been reduced; Borgia entered Rome in triumph, under the mingled banners of France and the Pope, and twelve new cardinals were created in order that he might be declared Duke of Romagna and gonfalonier of the Church. Thus was the French flag prostituted in order to promote the designs of the Pope and his insatiable son. Louis even notified to all the Italian powers that he should regard any opposition to the conquests of Borgia as an injury done to himself; a policy disapproved by all the French council except d'Amboise, to whom Borgia held out the hope of the tiara.

During these proceedings, the Pope's family displayed all their characteristic crimes and vices. After the capture of Faenza, Astorre Manfredi, its youthful, handsome, and amiable lord, was murdered, after having been first subjected to the most brutal and disgusting treatment at the hands of Borgia. The Duke of Biseglia, Lucretia's third husband, was stabbed on the steps of St. Peter's church (June 1500) by a band of assassins hired by her brother, who were safely escorted out of the city, and all pursuit after them forbidden. The Duke, whose wound was not mortal, was conveyed to a chamber in the Pope's palace, where he was tended by his sister and by his wife Lucretia. The Pope placed a guard to defend his son-in-law against his son, a precaution which Borgia derided. "What is not done at noon," he said, "may be done at night." He was as good as his word. Before Biseglia had recovered from his wounds, Cæsar burst into his chamber, drove out his wife and sister, and caused him to be strangled.[27] Borgia's motives for this assassination have been variously ascribed to his criminal passion for his sister, and to his hatred of the House of Aragon. Some modern writers[28] have supposed that the crime was perpetrated in order to make room for Lucretia's fourth mar-

[27] Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 50; Cf. Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 101.

[28] Gibbon, *Ant. of Brunswick*, Misc. Works, vol. iii. p. 450 (ed. 1814). Cf. Schlosser, *Weltgeschichte*, B. xi. S. 161; Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 123.

riage with Alphonso d'Este, of Ferrara; a supposition little probable, and founded apparently on a mistake of dates, as this union did not take place till towards the end of 1501, instead of a few weeks after the murder.[29] It was accomplished by bringing the influence of France to bear on the House of Este; Alphonso was persuaded that it would secure him from the ambition and the arms of the Duke of Valentinois. Lucretia became the idol of the poets and literary men who swarmed in the court of Ferrara, and especially of Cardinal Bembo.

Cæsar Borgia, strong in the support of France, was now aiming to establish a kingdom in central Italy. His projects were aided by the Florentines, who, however, soon became themselves the objects of his attacks, and were compelled to purchase his good will by giving him the command of a division of their army, with a pension of 3600 ducats.

In the spring of 1501, the French army was ready to pursue its march to Naples. King Frederick, alarmed at the storm which was gathering round his head, had some months before renewed the propositions formerly made by his father Ferdinand to Charles VIII.; namely, to acknowledge himself a feudatory of France, to pay an annual tribute, and to pledge several maritime towns as security for the fulfilment of these conditions. Louis, however, would not hear of these liberal offers, although Ferdinand the Catholic undertook to guarantee the payment of the tribute proffered by Frederick, and strongly remonstrated against the contemplated expedition of the French King. Ferdinand finding that he could not divert Louis from his project, proposed to him to divide Naples between them, and a partition was arranged by a treaty concluded between the two monarchs at Granada, November 11th 1500.[30] Naples, the Terra di Lavoro, and the Abruzzi were assigned to Louis, with the title of King of Naples and Jerusalem; while Ferdinand was to have Calabria and Apulia with the title of Duke. The duplicity of Ferdinand towards his relative Frederick in this transaction is very remarkable. For months after the signing of the treaty he left the King of Naples in the expectation of receiving succours from him; and it was not till the eleventh hour (April 1501), that he announced to Frederick his inability to assist him in case of a French invasion.[31] The contemplated confiscation of his dominions was of course still kept in the background, and meanwhile the forces of Ferdinand, under Gonsalvo of

[29] See Muratori, *Ann.* vol. ix. anno 1500; vol. x. anno 1502. Cf. Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. i.

[30] Dumont, t. iii. pt. ii. p. 444.

[31] Prescott, *Feud. and Isabel.* vol. iii. n. 20. note.

Cordova, were admitted as friends into the Neapolitan fortresses, which they afterwards held as enemies. Frederick opened to them without suspicion his ports and towns, and thus became the instrument of his own ruin.

The unhappy Frederick had in vain looked around for assistance. He had paid the Emperor Maximilian 40,000 ducats to make a diversion in his favour by attacking Milan, but Maximilian was detached from the Neapolitan alliance by a counter bribe, and consented to prolong the truce with France. Frederick had then had recourse to Sultan Bajazet II., with as little effect; and this application only served to throw an odium on his cause. The recent capture of Modon by the Turks (August 1500), and the massacre of the bishop and Christian population, had excited a feeling of great indignation in Europe. Frederick's application to Bajazet was alleged against him in the treaty of Granada; and Ferdinand and Louis took credit to themselves for the desire of rescuing Europe from that peril by partitioning his dominions. Thus religion was as usual the pretext for spoliation and robbery. Nor did Ferdinand's hypocrisy stop there. He made the atrocities at Modon a pretence for getting up a crusade, which served to conceal his preparations for a very different purpose. The armament under the command of Gonsalvo of Cordova, the "Great Captain," as he was called after his Italian campaign[32], did indeed assist the Venetians to reduce St. George in Cephalonia; but it returned to the ports of Sicily early in 1501, where it was in readiness to execute the secret designs of the Spanish monarch. Gonsalvo, the faithful servant of a perfidious master, the ready tool of all his schemes, acted his part well in this surprise of friendship. Alexander VI. had been induced to proclaim the crusade with a view to fill his own coffers. He made a great commerce of his indulgences, which he now extended to the dead; for he was the first Pope who claimed the power of extricating souls from purgatory. To carry out the farce, Louis XII. signed a treaty of alliance against the Turks with Wladislaus King of Hungary and Bohemia, and with Albert King of Poland, brother of that monarch.

The French army, which did not exceed 13,000 men, began its march towards Naples about the end of May 1501, under the command of Stuart d'Aubigny, with Cæsar Borgia for his lieutenant. When it arrived before Rome, June 25th, the French

[32] The title of Great Captain was among the Spaniards nothing more than the usual appellation of the generalissimo; but it became a permanent surname of Gonsalvo's on account of his exploits.

and Spanish ambassadors acquainted the Pope with the treaty of Granada, and the contemplated partition of Naples, in which the suzerainty of this kingdom was guaranteed to the Holy See; a communication which Alexander received with more surprise than displeasure, and he proceeded at once to invest the Kings of France and Aragon with the provinces which they respectively claimed.[33] Attacked in front by the French, in the rear by Gonsalvo, Frederick did not venture to take the field. He cantoned his troops in Naples, Averso, and Capua, of which the last alone made any attempt at defence. It was surprised by the French while in the act of treating for a capitulation (July 24th), and was subjected to the most revolting cruelty; 7000 of the male inhabitants were massacred in the streets; the women were outraged; and forty of the handsomest reserved for Borgia's harem at Rome; where they were in readiness to amuse the Court at the extraordinary and disgusting fête given at the fourth marriage of Lucretia. Rather than expose his subjects to the horrors of a useless war, Frederick entered into negociations with d'Aubigny, with the view of surrendering himself to Louis XII., whom he naturally preferred to his traitorous relative, Ferdinand; and in October 1501, he sailed for France with a small squadron, which remained to him. In return for his abandonment of the provinces assigned to the French King, he was invested with the county of Maine, and a life pension of 30,000 ducats, on condition that he should not attempt to quit France; a guard was set over him to enforce the latter proviso, and this excellent prince died in captivity in 1504.

Meanwhile Gonsalvo of Cordova was proceeding with the reduction of Calabria and Apulia. At the commencement of the war Frederick had sent his son Don Ferrante to Taranto, of which place Don Giovanni di Ghevara, Count of Potenza, the young Prince's governor, was commandant. After a long siege, Taranto was reduced to capitulate by a stratagem of Gonsalvo's. A lake which lay at the back of the town, seeming to render it inaccessible, it had been left unfortified in that quarter, and Gonsalvo, by transporting twenty of his smaller ships over a tongue of land into the lake, had the place at his mercy. The conduct of Gonsalvo towards the young prince illustrates both the political morality of those times, and the convenient religion by which it was supported. The Great Captain had taken an oath upon the Holy Sacrament that the young Prince should be permitted to

[33] The bull of June 25 1501, dividing the kingdom of Naples between Louis and Ferdinand and Isabella is in the Supplt. to Dumont, *Corps Dipl.* t. ii. pt. i. p. 1.

retire whithersoever he pleased; but Don Ferrante had scarcely left Taranto when he was arrested and sent to Spain. Gonsalvo was released from his oath by a casuistical confessor, on the ground that, as he had sworn for Ferdinand, who was absent and ignorant of the matter, that monarch was not bound by it![34] Thus the devout superstition of the Spaniards could be rendered as flexible in cases of conscience as the atheism of the Italians. The Spaniards entered Taranto March 1st 1502; the other towns of southern Italy were soon reduced, and the Neapolitan branch of the House of Aragon fell for ever, after reigning sixty-five years.

In the autumn of 1501, Louis had entered into negociations with the Emperor, in order to obtain formal investiture of the Duchy of Milan. With this view, Louis's daughter Claude, then only two years of age, was affianced to Charles, grandson of Maximilian, the infant child of the Archduke Philip and Joanna of Aragon. A treaty was subsequently signed at Trent, October 13th 1501, by Maximilian and the Cardinal d'Amboise, to which the Spanish sovereigns and the Archduke Philip were also parties. By this instrument Louis engaged, in return for the investiture of Milan, to recognise the pretensions of the House of Austria to Hungary and Bohemia, and to second Maximilian in an expedition which he contemplated against the Turks. It was at this conference that those schemes against Venice began to be agitated, which ultimately produced the League of Cambray.

The treaty between Louis and Ferdinand for the partition of Naples was so loosely drawn, that it seemed purposely intended to produce the quarrels which occurred. The ancient division of Naples into four provinces, though superseded by a more modern one, had been followed in the treaty; disputes arose as to the possession of the Principato and Capitanata; Gonsalvo occupied the former with his troops; and some negociations which ensued on the subject having failed, Louis instructed the Duke of Nemours to drive them out. In the course of 1502 the Spaniards were deprived of everything, except Barletta and a few towns on the coast of Bari. It was in the combats round this place that Bayard, by his deeds of courage and generosity, won his reputation as the model of chivalry, and became the idol of the French soldiery.

While France was thus winning Naples with her arms, she was preparing to lose it by her negociations. Towards the end of 1501, the Austrian Archduke Philip and his consort Joanna passing

[34] *Vita di Gonsalvo*, p. 90 (ed. Firenze, 1552).

through France on their way to Spain, in order to receive the homage of the Spanish States as their future sovereigns, were magnificently entertained by Louis XII., and experienced such a reception from that monarch, as quite won Philip's heart, and made him forget all the former injuries inflicted by the French Court upon his father. Philip and Joanna reached Toledo in the spring of 1502, where they received (May 22nd) the homage of the Cortes of Castile; and a few months afterwards Ferdinand also persuaded the punctilious states of Aragon to take the oath of fealty to Joanna, which they had previously refused to his eldest daughter Isabella. But the ceremonious formality of the Spanish Court was irksome to Philip; and as he felt little or no affection for his consort, who was both plain in person and weak in mind, he set off in December for the Netherlands, leaving Joanna behind, who was too far advanced in pregnancy to accompany him. On March 10th 1503, she gave birth to her second son, Ferdinand. Joanna, who repaid Philip's coolness with a doting and jealous affection, was inconsolable at his departure, and fell into a deep dejection, from which nothing could rouse her.

As Philip was to return through France, Ferdinand commissioned him to open a negociation with Louis; by which it was agreed that both that monarch and Ferdinand should renounce their shares of the Neapolitan dominions in favour of the recently affianced infants Charles of Austria and Claude of France. Till the marriage should be accomplished, Louis XII. was to hold in pledge the Terra di Lavoro and the Abruzzi; Ferdinand, Apulia, and the Calabrias; and the contested provinces were to be jointly administered by the Archduke Philip, as procurator for his son, and by a French commissary (April 1503.)

This treaty was evidently in favour of Ferdinand, or rather perhaps of the Archduke Philip, who seems to have exceeded his instructions. Cardinal d'Amboise was entrapped into it by an artifice too gross for any eyes except those blinded by ambition. Ferdinand and Maximilian engaged to assist D'Amboise in attaining the tiara, and they agreed with Louis that a general council should be summoned for the purpose of deposing Pope Alexander VI. But the King of Aragon, at least, so far from having any intentions to assist the French minister to the papal throne, did not even mean to observe the treaty of Lyon. He had warned Gonsalvo not to attend to any instructions from the Archduke Philip, unless they were confirmed by himself, and he continued to send that general reinforcement after reinforcement; while, Louis XII., relying on the treaty, had ordered the Duke of Nemours to cease

hostilities.[35] Gonsalvo suddenly resumed the offensive with extraordinary vigour and rapidity, and within a week, two decisive battles were fought. On the 21st April 1503, the Spanish general Andrades defeated Stuart d'Aubigny at Seminara in Calabria, and compelled him to retire into the fortress of Angitola, where he soon afterwards surrendered. On the 28th of April, the Great Captain himself defeated the Duke of Nemours at Cerignola, near Barletta, when the French army was dispersed and almost destroyed, and the viceroy was killed in the engagement. The remnant of the French retired on the Garigliano and to Gaeta; most of the Neapolitan towns, including the capital, opened their gates to the conqueror; Gonsalvo entered Naples May 14th 1503; and the French garrisons in the castles of that city were soon afterwards reduced, chiefly by the famous engineer, Pedro Navarro. By the end of July the French had completely evacuated the Neapolitan territory, which thus fell into the possession of Ferdinand.

Nothing could exceed the grief and anger of Louis at this intelligence. Philip partook his resentment, and intimated to Ferdinand that he would not quit the French Court till the treaty of Lyon had been ratified; but the Catholic King, regardless of the reproaches addressed to him, pretended that Philip had exceeded his powers and refused to sign. Louis immediately dismissed the Spanish envoys, and resolved not only to attempt the recovery of Naples but also to attack the Spanish frontier. The Sire d'Albret and the Marshal de Gié, were directed to cross the Bidassoa and advance towards Fuentarabia with 400 lances and 5000 Swiss and Gascon foot; while the Marshal de Rieux attacked Rousillon with 800 lances and 8000 infantry. Another army under Louis de la Tremouille, the best general of France, was despatched across the Alps, and was to be reinforced in Italy by large bodies of Swiss and Lombards, and by troops contributed by the Tuscan republics and the little princes of central Italy.

Among these princes Cæsar Borgia could no longer be counted upon, who had repaid the benefits of Louis by conspiring against him with the Spaniards. Borgia had usurped the Duchy of Urbino, the Lordship of Perugia, and several other places, the possession of most of which he obtained by means of the basest treachery, or by those arts of address and persuasion, in which this consummate villain is said to have been a master. He obtained Urbino by requesting

[35] These transactions are very differently related by the French and by the Spanish historians, whose statements are irreconcileable. But, on the whole, there can be little doubt of the ill faith of Ferdinand, which is proved by his conduct, and is admitted by Prescott in the later stages of the business (vol. iii. p. 87).

the Duke, as a friend, to lend him his artillery, with which he entered the town as a conqueror. Macchiavelli regards the amalgamation of so many small states as a political benefit, which should not only induce us to overlook the crimes of Borgia in effecting it, but even to accord him our admiration; yet Pope Alexander in vain endeavoured to persuade the College of Cardinals to unite these conquests into a kingdom of Romagna in favour of his son. Borgia, however, as will appear in the sequel, was unwittingly labouring not for himself but for the Holy See.

Louis XII. had resolved to break with Borgia; yet it was necessary to prevent Alexander VI. from throwing himself into the arms of Spain, and the French Court was negociating with that Pontiff when news was unexpectedly brought of his death. Alexander seems to have fallen a victim to his own infernal machinations. He regarded the College of Cardinals as a means for raising the enormous sums required to maintain the luxury of the pontifical court, the armies of the Duke of Valentinois, the profligate extravagance of Lucretia Borgia, and the establishments of his other children and nephews. With this view he pursued the following plan: he first of all sold the dignity of cardinal at prices varying from 10,000 to 30,000 florins; he entrusted these venal princes of the church with employments that enriched them, and then caused them to be poisoned, in order to seize their estates and resell their benefices and dignities. Altogether he created forty-three cardinals, scarce one of which appointments was gratuitous. But he was at length caught in his own trap. He had invited Cardinal Adrian of Corneto to a little banquet at his vineyard, the Belvidere, near the Vatican, and an attendant was instructed to serve the guest with poisoned wine. The man, however, mistook the bottles; the fatal draught was administered to Alexander himself and his son, as well as to their intended victim, and all three were seized with a violent illness which in a week put an end to the Pope's life at the age of seventy-two [36] (August 18th 1503). Borgia and Adrian ultimately recovered.... Thus perished by his own

[36] According to other accounts Alexander VI. was carried off by a fever. The authorities and opinions for and against the poisoning are collected and discussed by Daru (*Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxi. § 18), and, on the whole, appear to preponderate for it. See in particular a letter of Peter Martyr, dated, 4 id. Nov. 1503. (*Epist.* 264.) The story is rather differently related in one of the documents in Sanuto, where the poison is represented to have been conveyed in some confectionery. See *Successo della morte di Papa Alexandro VI.*, in Ranke's *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 264 (Mrs. Austin's transl.). The notorious character of Alexander and his son, and the frequency of the crime of poisoning at that time in Italy, while they render the charge probable, may, however, also have suggested it. At all events, it is pretty generally agreed that Cæsar Borgia's illness was caused in the way related.

arts one of the greatest monsters who ever sullied the pontifical throne.

Alexander VI. first established the ecclesiastical censorship of books, which has contributed to support the abuses of the papacy against the attacks of reason and true religion. It was in his pontificate that the mole of Hadrian, or Castle of St. Angelo, was fortified by the architects Giuliano and Antonio da S. Gallo in the manner in which it still exists.

The moment was now arrived when Cardinal d'Amboise hoped to realise all those dreams of ambition which had led him to connive at and encourage the crimes of Cæsar Borgia. He hastened to Rome, and the march of the French army was arrested at Nepi, in order to support his election by its presence. But D'Amboise had a formidable though unknown competitor in Cardinal Julian della Rovere, who had hitherto appeared the warm ally of France. He was also deceived by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, whom he had delivered from prison and loaded with benefits, and who had sworn to use his influence in favour of his benefactor. But Ascanio retained at heart a deep hatred for the overthrowers of his family, and he used the confidence of D'Amboise only to betray him. He borrowed of D'Amboise 100,000 ducats, under pretence of buying "the voice of the Holy Ghost," while he was secretly arranging his defeat with Cardinal Julian. The latter, after saluting D'Amboise as future Pontiff, represented, that in order to the validity of his election, and to prevent future schism, the French troops ought to be withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Rome, and that such a proof of moderation would only secure him more votes. D'Amboise assented, against the advice of Borgia; the conclave, which had been delayed on various pretexts, was then assembled, and was easily convinced by Cardinals Julian and Ascanio, that the election of a French or Spanish Pope would involve Rome in a war. D'Amboise, perceiving that he should not be able to carry his election, transferred his votes to Francesco Piccolomini, Cardinal of Siena, a nephew of Pius II., who was elected September 21st, and took the title of Pius III.

The virtues of that Pontiff rendered him worthy of the tiara, which, however, he owed to his infirmities. At the time of his election he was labouring under a mortal disease, which carried him off in less than a month. During his short pontificate, he had meditated assembling a general council for the reform of ecclesiastical discipline; and some Roman Catholic writers are sanguine enough to suppose that such a step might have averted the Reformation.[37]

[37] Muratori, *Annali*, t. x. p. 16.

D'Amboise soon perceived unequivocal symptoms of another defeat. The Romans to a man were against him, and he found it prudent to retire in favour of Cardinal Julian della Rovere, who had long pretended an attachment to the cause of France. It is said that Julian gained Cæsar Borgia, who still commanded the votes of the Spanish cardinals, by assuring him that he was the son not of Alexander but of himself. Borgia had no filial weakness, and the known character of his mother Vanozza, might lend an air of probability to a story which it was not his interest to reject. It was a grand thing to be the son of two successive Popes! However this may be, the Conclave speedily decided. Cardinal Julian was elected on the first scrutiny, October 31st, and D'Amboise had the mortification of kissing the toe of his former *protégé* and rival, now Pope Julius II. Like his predecessor, Julius had sworn to restore the ancient lustre of ecclesiastical discipline, to call a general council, and not to make war without the consent of two thirds of the Sacred College. We shall see in the sequel how he kept his word.

CHAPTER VI.

AFTER the election of Pius III., Cæsar Borgia had returned to Rome to congratulate that Pontiff on his accession; but no sooner did he appear there, than he was set upon by the Orsini and their adherents, as well as by other enemies; and Pope Pius offered him the castle of St. Angelo as a refuge from their violence. After the death of his father, Cæsar's power waned fast; and the effects of the poison, from which he was still suffering, prevented him from taking any active steps to retain it. One thing alone, as he told Macchiavelli, had escaped his care and foresight; he had provided for every possible contingency in the event of his father's death, except his own sickness at that critical juncture. A great part of his mercenaries now dispersed themselves; the Venetians attacked some of his towns, others they bought from the ancient masters of them, whose return they had assisted. Some of Borgia's captains, however, remained faithful to him, and he still held Bertinoro, Forlì, Imola, and a few other places. This profligate and cruel man seems, like Louis Sforza, not to have been a bad ruler. It is said that the cities reduced under his sway did not regret their ancient lords; at all events he had conferred on them a benefit by slaying their former tyrants.[1]

Julius II. on his accession to the papacy immediately resolved to avail himself of Borgia's helpless condition to extend the temporal dominion of the Holy See. The classical name of that Pontiff seemed to announce the warlike tenour of his reign; which, however, if hardly more Christian, was at all events less scandalous than that of his predecessor. Had Julius, indeed, been a secular prince, his ideas and projects would have done him honour. They embraced two grand objects; the extension of the Roman territory by the recovery of Romagna, and the expulsion of all foreigners

[1] Macchiavelli tells us that Romagna had been so badly governed by its former masters, that it was full of robberies, feuds, and all kinds of disorders. Borgia first placed over it a certain Messer Ramiro d'Orco, a man of savage temper and prompt action, who soon reduced it to tranquillity. But his severity generated such odium, that Borgia, to avert it from himself, one morning caused his minister to be cut in two and exposed on the public square of Cesena, with a piece of wood and a bloody knife by his side, which tamed and stupefied the people. ("La ferocità del quale spettacolo, fece quelli popoli rimanere sodisfatti e stupidi."—*Il Principe*, cap. vii.) Such were the governments of Italy in those times.

from the soil of Italy. Both were pursued in a truly patriotic spirit. It was not nepotism that urged Julius to undertake his conquests. Although he did not altogether neglect his family, his leading wish was to render the Roman States powerful and respected; that is, in a temporal view; for on the interests of Christianity, or the dangers that threatened the Church, he bestowed not a thought.

Borgia had helped Julius to the tiara; but no sooner had the latter got possession of it than he proceeded, partly by threats, partly by caresses, to strip Cæsar of all the possessions he retained. He was thrown into that very tower at Rome, which from the numerous victims he had himself confined in it, had obtained the name of the "Torre Borgia." As some of his captains, however, refused to give up the fortresses demanded of them so long as their master was in confinement, Julius at length released him, and he succeeded in escaping to Naples. The sequel of his fate may here be briefly told. He was well received at Naples by Gonsalvo of Cordova, who had given him a safe conduct, and pretended to forward his plans; but shortly after, by order of the Spanish Court, he was shipped off to Spain, and kept prisoner nearly three years in the citadel of Medina del Campo. This is the second of those perfidies, committed for the service of a perfidious master, which Gonsalvo is said to have repented on his death-bed; the other being the betraying of the young Duke of Calabria, before related. Borgia, having contrived to effect his escape, proceeded to the Court of his brother-in-law the King of Navarre, and in the civil wars of that country found a tragical and somewhat romantic death. He was met in a defile near Viana by a band of insurgents, and his gilt armour indicating a person of distinction, he was surrounded by a band of assailants, and fell fighting valiantly for his life.

Cæsar Borgia was endowed with great strength of body as well as personal beauty. At a bull-fight he killed six wild bulls, severing the head of one at the first blow. He was not altogether destitute of good qualities. He possessed liberality, courage, and a certain magnanimity of disposition, but he was abandoned to the most depraved lusts, and of a ferocity so sanguinary that his own father as well as all Rome stood in fear of him. He slew Peroto, one of his father's favourites, while taking refuge under the papal mantle, so that the blood spirted into Alexander's face. Yet his father's fear was mingled with love.[2] Borgia owed his advancement to being the

[2] "Il papa ama et ha gran paura del fiol ducha."—*Relazione* of Polo Capello, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 253.

son of a Pope who placed the Roman treasury at his disposal, and to his having found so great a dupe as Cardinal d'Amboise and so stupid a King as Louis XII.

Although Julius II. overloaded Cardinal d'Amboise with attentions, that ecclesiastic returned to France dejected and discouraged. The delay of six weeks which his ambitious projects had caused to the French army proved fatal to the campaign. Malaria made great havoc in their ranks, and La Tremouille himself was compelled by illness to resign the command to the Marquis of Mantua, whose talents as a general did not inspire the army with much confidence. Julius II. remained a quiet spectator of the war of Naples. The French still held some places in that kingdom, which their army had entered about the beginning of October 1503. They succeeded in relieving the garrison of Gaeta, which was besieged by Gonsalvo, and they afterwards forced the passage of the Garigliano, November 9th: but here their progress was arrested. Every opportunity was lost through the indecision of the Marquis of Mantua, who, weary with the reproaches of his officers, at length resigned the command in favour of the Marquis of Saluzzo: a general, however, of no better repute than himself. The seasons themselves were hostile to the French; heavy rains set in with a constancy quite unusual in that climate; and the French soldiers perished by hundreds in the mud and swamps of the Garigliano. The Spanish army encamped near Sessa, was better supplied and better disciplined; and at length, after two months of inaction, Gonsalvo, having received some reinforcements, assumed the offensive, and in his turn crossed the river. The French, whose quarters were widely dispersed, were not prepared for this attack, and attempted to fall back upon Gaeta; but their retreat soon became a disorderly flight; many threw down their arms without striking a blow; and hence the affair has sometimes been called the rout of the Garigliano (December 29th). Peter de' Medici, who was following the French army, perished in this retreat, having embarked on a vessel in the river which sank from being overloaded. Very few of the French army found their way back to France. Gaeta surrendered at the first summons, January 1st 1504. This was the most important of all Gonsalvo's victories, as it completed the conquest of Naples.

The two attacks on Spain had also miscarried. Nothing was accomplished on the side of Fontarabia. In Rousillon, the French penetrated to Salsas and undertook the siege of that place, but on the approach of Ferdinand with a large army were compelled to retire into Narbonne. A truce of five months was concluded,

November 15th, which was subsequently converted into a peace of three years. Singularly enough, Frederick, the abdicated King of Naples, was employed to mediate this peace between two monarchs who had combined to strip him of his dominions.

The conquest of Ferdinand was, on the whole, a fortunate event for the Neapolitans, who had been sadly misgoverned, both under the House of Anjou, and their first Aragonese sovereigns; though his reforms did not come up to the expectations entertained. The Catholic King, during his visit to Naples in 1507, conceded many privileges to the people, and the Neapolitans testified their sense of the benefits conferred on them by observing, during more than two centuries, the anniversary of his death as a day of mourning. His viceroys subsequently introduced some useful reforms into the law, and resuscitated the venerable university of the capital, which was fast falling into decay.[3]

The power and the policy of Venice had, at this period, excited great jealousy in the breasts of several European sovereigns. The continental dominions of the republic had been formed at the expense of her neighbours, and she alone seemed to thrive amidst the decline of the rest of Italy. Pope Julius II. was the principal agent in effecting an alliance against the Venetians, in revenge for their constant opposition to all his plans of territorial aggrandisement. It was ratified by the triple treaty of Blois, September 22nd 1504, by which a perpetual alliance was formed between Louis XII., Maximilian I., and his son the Archduke Philip; and at the same time, the Emperor and the French King joined Pope Julius in an alliance which laid the foundation of the League of Cambray.

The Republic, that was the object of so much jealousy, had just brought to a close a ruinous war with the Turks. Sultan Bajazet II., the son and successor of Mahomet II., was addicted to literature and the study of the sacred books of his religion, and had little energy of character, though he sometimes strove to conceal that defect by exaggerated bursts of passion. After his accession, the Turkish scimitar was everywhere sheathed, except on the side of Hungary and Croatia. We shall not, however, detail the numerous expeditions of the Turks in that quarter, which present a uniform and disgusting scene of devastation, and shall content ourselves with stating that, in 1497, in revenge for an aggression made on them by the King of Poland, they for the first time succeeded in penetrating into that kingdom. During the first seventeen years

[3] On this subject see Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1, 2, 5; Signorelli, *Coltura nelle Sicilie*, t. iv. p. 84.

of Bajazet's reign, the peace between the Venetians and the Porte, though occasionally menaced, remained on the whole, undisturbed. The Venetians complained of the Turkish incursions, and the definitive occupation of Montenegro, while the Porte, on its side, was jealous because the Republic had reduced the Duke of Naxos to dependence, and obtained possession of Cyprus (1489). At last, in 1498, the Turks, after making great naval preparations, suddenly arrested all the Venetian residents at Constantinople, and in the following year seized Lepanto, which surrendered without striking a blow (August 1499). Soon after, a body of 10,000 Turks crossed the Isonzo, carrying fire and desolation almost to the lagoons of Venice. In August 1500, Modon was taken by assault, and those cruelties committed to which we have before alluded. Navarino and Koron surrendered soon after, but towards the close of the year the Venetians were more successful. They captured Ægina, devastated and partly occupied Mytilene, Tenedos, and Samothrace, and with the help of a Spanish squadron, and 7000 troops, under Gonsalvo de Cordova, reduced the island of Cephalonia. For this service the grateful Venetians rewarded Gonsalvo with a present of 500 tuns of Cretan wine, 60,000 pounds of cheese, 266 pounds of wrought silver, and the honorary freedom of their Republic.

In 1501 the Venetian fleet was joined by a French, a Papal, and a Spanish squadron, but, through a want of cordiality among the commanders, little was effected. The Turks, however, had not made a better figure; and the Porte, whose attention was at that time distracted by the affairs of Persia, was evidently inclined for peace. The disordered state of the Venetian finances, and the decay of their commerce through the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese, also disposed them to negociation; although the sale of indulgences, granted to them by the Pope for this war, is said to have brought more than seven hundred pounds of gold into their exchequer.[4] The war nevertheless continued through 1502, and the Venetians were tolerably successful, having captured many Turkish ships, and, with the assistance of the French, taken the island of St^a. Maura. But at length a treaty was signed, Dec. 14th, by which Venice was allowed to hold Cephalonia, but restored St^a. Maura, and permitted the Porte to retain its conquests, including the three important fortresses of Modon, Koron, and Navarino.

The election of Julius II. had placed upon the Papal throne a Pontiff very inimical to the interests of Venice. One of his first

[4] Bembo ap. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 540.

steps was, as we have seen, the triple alliance of Blois. These treaties, which were prejudicial to the true interests of France, are supposed to have been the work of Louis XII.'s consort, Anne of Brittany, who is said to have retained a secret affection for the Emperor Maximilian, of whose hand she had been deprived. Maximilian and the Pope were the chief gainers by the alliance. It enabled Maximilian to put an end to the war of the Bavarian succession, as well as to obtain for his son, the Archduke Philip, Guelderland and Zutphen, by the withdrawal of French assistance from his opponents. He defended Albert of Lower Bavaria, the rightful heir of Charles of Baiern-Landshut, against the attempts of Robert, son of the Elector Palatine, who had married a daughter of Charles; and with the help of the Suabian League, Maximilian defeated Robert's forces in a battle in which he displayed great personal valour. In like manner, in 1505, the French King, in consideration of being invested by the Emperor with the Duchy of Milan, withdrew his protection from Charles, Duke of Guelderland, and the Archduke Philip took possession of Guelderland and Zutphen. The Pope also acquired indirectly some advantages from the treaties of Blois. Maximilian, who had not entered earnestly into the league against the Venetians, having given them secret information of it, they immediately entered into negociations with Julius II., and that Pontiff took what they offered, awaiting his opportunity to get more. By an arrangement effected in 1505, the Holy See obtained the restoration of Porto Cesenatico, Savignano, Tossignano, Santo Arcangelo, and six other places, while Venice was allowed to retain Rimini and Faenza.

Soon after the execution of the treaties of Blois, Queen Isabella of Castile expired (Nov. 26th 1504), at the age of fifty-three and in the thirtieth year of her reign. She had long been in a declining state of health, and her death is said to have been hastened by the concern which she felt for the lamentable condition of her daughter Joanna, whose dejection, after the departure of her husband Philip from Spain in 1503, began to assume all the appearance of insanity. Early in 1504, Joanna had rejoined Philip in the Netherlands, where her jealousy, for which, indeed, she had but too much cause, gave rise to the most scandalous and disgraceful scenes. These and other symptoms of her daughter's malady led Isabella to provide against its effects by a testament executed a month or two before her death, by which she settled the succession of Castile on Joanna as "Queen Proprietor," and on her husband Philip; and in the event of the absence or incapacity of Joanna, she appointed her own husband, King Ferdinand,

to be Regent of Castile, until her grandson Charles should attain his majority. She also made a large provision for Ferdinand from the revenues of the Indies and other sources.[5]

The remains of Isabella were carried to the Alhambra, which had been converted into a Franciscan monastery; but after the death of Ferdinand, she was laid by his side in a mausoleum in the cathedral of Granada. This excellent and amiable Queen seems to have had at heart only the good of her people and the welfare of her family. The sole blemish in her character was that her deep religious feeling, which bordered on superstition, led her to submit her conscience too implicitly to the guidance of her priests and confessors, and thus sometimes betrayed her into acts of bigotry and intolerance. She was otherwise a woman of the best sense and most acute discernment, and is still regarded by the Spaniards as the greatest of their monarchs. The Castilians had in general lived contented under her government, which had been conducted many years by two successive Archbishops of Toledo; Don Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza, who, by a then not uncommon union of offices, was also High Admiral of Castile, and after Mendoza's death in 1495, by the celebrated Ximenes. Mendoza, from his influence and reputation, had been called the third King of Spain; yet his fame has been surpassed by that of his successor. Ximenes de Cisneros, born in 1436, was a Franciscan monk of the sect called *Observantines*, who adhered to the strictest rules of their founder, while the larger portion of the Order, styled *Conventuals*, allowed themselves considerable licence. Ximenes from his youth had accustomed himself to the most rigorous mortifications, and at one period became a sort of anchorite, subsisting only on herbs and water. He had long been known for his ascetic life, the severity of his principles, and the energy of his character, when in 1492, at the recommendation of Mendoza, he was appointed Queen Isabella's confessor. He soon acquired an extraordinary influence over his royal mistress, who readily listened to the advice of the dying Mendoza, that Ximenes should be appointed his successor; and the humble monk was immediately raised to the dignities of Archbishop of Toledo and High Chancellor of Castile. Under his administration persecution and the terrors of the Inquisition became part and parcel of the government. His severity produced an insurrection of the Moors in the Alpuxarras, which

[5] The genuineness of this testament, which has been questioned by Robertson and other historians, is established by Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.* vol. iii. p. 168 and 199. It does not provide against a second marriage on the part of Ferdinand, nor does such a contingency appear to have been obviated, by exacting from him an oath, as some writers have asserted, or in any other manner.

lasted from 1500 to 1502, and ended in their violent conversion to Christianity. They now obtained the name of *Moriscoes*. At the same time Ximenes repressed the insolence of the Spanish grandees; and this part of his administration was grateful alike to the Crown and to the people.

Ximenes was appointed one of the executors of Isabella's will, together with King Ferdinand and four other persons. On the day that his consort expired, Ferdinand, laying down the Crown of Castile, assumed the title of Administrator or Governor, and caused the accession of Philip and Joanna to be proclaimed in the great square of Toledo. The Cortes of Castile, which assembled at Toro, January 11th 1505, regarding the incapacity of Joanna as established, tendered their homage to King Ferdinand, as Governor in her name; and an account of these proceedings was sent to Philip and Joanna in Flanders. There was, however, a strong party led by the Marquis of Villena and the Duke of Najara, who wished to see the Archduke Philip Regent of Castile. They promised themselves more licence under the sway of that easy-tempered Prince than under the strict and jealous rule of Ferdinand; and through the channel of Don Juan Manuel, Ferdinand's ambassador at the Court of Maximilian, and one of Philip's warmest partisans, they opened a correspondence with the Archduke. Encouraged by this support, Philip wrote to his father-in-law, desiring him to lay down the government and retire into Aragon. To this uncourteous demand Ferdinand replied with moderation, urging Philip to come to Spain with his wife, but at the same time admonishing him of his incompetence to govern a people like the Spaniards. Ferdinand felt his weakness, and his situation was indeed embarrassing. It was thought probable that Louis XII. would support Philip, whose party had acquired great strength; and it was even suspected that Gonsalvo, the Viceroy of Naples, had been tampered with, and was prepared to place that kingdom in the hands of the Archduke. Under these circumstances Ferdinand resolved to court the friendship of Louis, and Juan de Enguera, a Catalan monk, was despatched into France to negociate an alliance with that monarch.

Louis XII. was then in a disposition highly favourable to the views of Ferdinand. Towards the end of April 1505, he had been seized with so dangerous an illness, that, in expectation of his death, extreme unction was administered to him. In what he imagined to be his last hours, he was struck with remorse at having abandoned the interests of France at the instigation of his consort; by a secret will he revoked all his engagements with the House of

Austria, and directed that his daughter Claude, when of marriageable age, should be given to his cousin and heir, Francis of Angoulême. Although Louis soon afterwards recovered, he still continued in his altered sentiments, and Anne of Brittany was obliged to confirm the new arrangement which he had made.

Louis, therefore, when Ferdinand's ambassador arrived, was disposed to listen to any proposals that were unfavourable to the House of Austria. After apologising for the injuries which he had done to France, Ferdinand requested the hand of Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis, and daughter of John de Foix, Viscount of Narbonne; and he accompanied this proposal with the offer of a new arrangement respecting Naples. This kingdom was to be the dowry of Germaine, and to descend to her children by Ferdinand; but in default of issue, the moiety was to return to Louis and his successors. Ferdinand undertook to grant an amnesty to all the partisans of France in Naples, and to restore their possessions; and he also engaged to pay a million gold ducats, within ten years, for Louis' expenses and losses in the war. These were the principal conditions of a treaty signed at Blois, October 12th 1505; by which the two monarchs also promised each other mutual aid and succour, or according to the words of the instrument, they were to be "as two souls in one body." The King of England[6], Henry VII., became security for the due execution of the treaty; the first advantageous one that Louis XII. had ever made. At the time of the marriage Ferdinand was fifty-three years of age, while Germaine was only eighteen, and of remarkable beauty. She was nearly related to him, being the grand-daughter of the guilty Leonora, Queen of Navarre, the half-sister of Ferdinand.[7] This marriage excited the indignation of the Castilians, who regarded it as an insult to the memory of Isabella. Philip could hardly believe the news of this unexpected alliance till he was refused permission to pass through France on his way to Spain, unless he previously reconciled himself with his father-in-law. He now resolved to combat Ferdinand with his own weapons. In order to put that wily monarch off his

[6] According to Bernard André, the annalist of his reign, Henry had brought about this peace and alliance ("in viam pacis et concordiæ non sine magna difficultate, illos reduxit"). See *Hist. Regis Henrici VII.* p. 88., edited by Mr. Gairdner for the Rolls Commission.

[7] According to Robertson (*Charles V.* vol. ji. p. 12) and Coxe (*House of Austria*, ch. xxiii.), Ferdinand, with a view to deprive the House of Austria of the Spanish succession, had previously offered his hand to Joanna, surnamed La Beltraneja, daughter of Henry IV. of Castile, who was then residing in a convent in Portugal, by whom the offer was refused. Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, t. xv. ch. 30) makes Ferdinand afterwards propose for a daughter of King Emanuel of Portugal, that is, for his own grand-daughter! Prescott has shown (*Ferd. and Isab.* vol. iii. p. 204, note) that there is no ground for either of these stories.

guard, Philip entered into a treaty with him, which he only meant to observe till he should be able to land in Spain; and by the arrangement called the Concord of Salamanca, effected November 24th 1505, it was agreed that Ferdinand should be associated with Philip in the government of Castile, and should enjoy one half of the public revenue.

Philip and his wife Joanna set sail for Spain, Jan. 8th 1506, with a considerable Dutch and Flemish fleet. They had not been long at sea when their ships were dispersed by a violent tempest, and that in which Philip and Joanna had embarked was driven into the port of Weymouth in Dorsetshire. Henry VII. profited by the opportunity thus thrown in his way in a manner worthy of his ungenerous temper. Philip was invited to Windsor, where, though treated with great apparent honour and distinction, he was in reality detained a prisoner, till he had complied with certain demands of the English monarch. He was compelled to deliver up the Earl of Suffolk[8], who had taken refuge in the Netherlands; and though Philip, as a salvo for his honour, stipulated for the life of the unfortunate nobleman, yet Henry, as is well known, though he literally observed this condition, violated it in effect by recommending his successor, on his death-bed, to bring Suffolk to the block. Henry also obliged Philip to execute a treaty of commerce between England and the Netherlands, so much to the disadvantage of the latter country, that the Flemings gave it the name of the *malus intercursus*, to distinguish it from the liberal treaty, called *magnus intercursus*, which they had obtained from the same monarch in 1496.[9] He likewise extorted a promise from Philip that he would give the Archduke Charles in marriage to his daughter Mary; and that Philip would, moreover, procure the hand of his sister Margaret, with a large dowry, for the King's second son Prince Henry. Yet Henry, who by the death of his brother Arthur, had now become heir-apparent of the English Crown, was already contracted to Philip's sister-in-law, Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand. The marriage before-mentioned, as agreed upon between Prince Arthur and Catherine, had been celebrated in Nov. 1501; but the young Prince died in the following April;

[8] It should be observed, however, that a contemporary account of Philip's reception, drawn up probably by a herald, says that the Archduke offered to give up Ed. de la Pole unsolicited. "And that morning, unaxed, the King of Castile proferred the King to yield Ed. Rebell, &c." See a *Narrative of the reception of Philip, King of Castile, in England in 1506*, p. 302, edited by Mr. Gairdner, under the Rolls Commission. The commonly received account rests on the authority of Polydore Vergil.

[9] The substance of both these treaties will be found in Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 8 and 28.

and Henry, unwilling to relinquish the bride's dowry, of which only half had been paid, detained Catherine in England, and caused her to be contracted to his second son Henry. A papal dispensation, afterwards of such momentous consequence to the Roman See, was obtained, for this Prince's marriage with his brother's widow, which was to have taken place in 1505, when Prince Henry would have completed his fifteenth year; but in order to obtain a hold upon Ferdinand, the English monarch put off the marriage, and caused his son to make a public declaration, that he did not and would not consider himself bound by any engagement made during his minority. At the same time, Henry privately assured Ferdinand that this declaration only regarded other engagements; and that it was still his wish that his son should marry Catherine, though he was at liberty meanwhile to espouse any other Princess.

After a detention of three months, Philip and his wife set sail from England, and arrived at Corunna, April 28th 1506. The marriage of Ferdinand and Germaine had been celebrated a little while before at Dueñas. On Philip's landing, Ferdinand advanced as far as Leon to meet him, but Philip cautiously avoided an interview till his adherents should have assembled, who included most of the Castilian grandees and their followers. Philip had brought with him 3000 German infantry; and finding, when joined by his party in Castile, that his army amounted to 9000 men, he flung off the mask, repudiated the Concord of Salamanca, and declared that he would never consent to any infringement of his own and his wife's claim to the throne of Castile. Ferdinand, whose cause was very unpopular, was at this time wandering about from place to place, and some of his own cities shut their gates against him. At length Don Juan Manuel, who directed all Philip's counsels, consented that an interview should take place between this Prince and his father-in-law on a plain at Puebla de Senebria, on the confines of Leon and Galicia, at which, however, Joanna was not permitted to be present, though her father earnestly desired to see her. Philip appeared on the field surrounded by his army in battle array, while Ferdinand could muster only some 200 followers. Nothing, however, could be arranged, either at this meeting or a subsequent one which took place at a hermitage in the neighbourhood; and Ferdinand having conceived strong suspicions of the fidelity of his Viceroy Gonsalvo, determined to proceed to Naples. With this view he consented to all Philip's demands, and by an agreement made June 27th, resigned the sovereignty of Castile to him and Joanna, reserving the revenue

granted to him by the will of Isabella, and the Grand-masterships of the military orders of St. James of Compostello, Alcantara, and Calatrava. Whilst, however, he publicly announced his resignation, he with his usual duplicity privately protested against it, on the ground of compulsion, and announced his intention of rescuing his daughter as soon as possible from what he called her captivity, and asserting his own claims to the regency.

Philip and Joanna, together with their youthful son Charles, received the oaths of allegiance from the Castilian States at Valladolid, July 12th 1506. The Archduke assumed the title of Philip I., seized the entire administration, and attempted wholly to set aside Joanna, and to confine her on the plea of her insanity; but the States would not consent to this proceeding. Philip enjoyed only for a very brief period his newly-acquired power. He was carried off suddenly at Burgos (September 25th), at the early age of twenty-eight, by a fever, occasioned by drinking cold water after heating himself in a game of tennis. Besides his two sons, Charles, now in his seventh year, and Ferdinand, who was scarcely four, Philip left three infant daughters; and Joanna was again pregnant at the time of his death. He deserved his surname of Philip the Handsome. His complexion was fair, his features regular, his person well formed and of the middle height. His careless easy temper, combined, however, with a certain magnanimity and ambition, and his frank and open bearing, seemed calculated to win popularity; but being unskilled in business, and trusting too much to his favourites, and particularly to his Flemish courtiers, he contrived in the few months during which he held the supreme power in Castile, completely to alienate the hearts of his new subjects. Disregarding the counsels of Ximenes, he adopted the most extravagant scale of expenditure, and by the whole tenor of his conduct excited such disgust, that symptoms of insurrection began to appear before his death. That event created great confusion. Both the Flemish and Spanish followers of Philip were struck with alarm, and began to consider of offering the regency to the Emperor Maximilian, or to the King of Portugal; while Ximenes and the adherents of Ferdinand looked forward to the re-establishment of the regency. At the instance of Ximenes a provisional council of seven, of which he himself was the head, was appointed to conduct the government.

After her husband's death, Joanna had sunk into a state of apathetic insensibility. She shed no tears, but she sat in a dark room, motionless as a statue, refusing to attend to any business or sign any papers, and finding only in music some alleviation of her

grief. Few words could be extracted from her, yet what she did say betrayed no symptoms of insanity, and formed a striking contrast to her extraordinary behaviour. She spent hours in contemplating the dead body of her husband, which she accompanied with a long train of ecclesiastics, when removed to Granada for interment. The funeral procession moved forward only by night; during the day the body was deposited in some church or monastery, were funeral services were performed, to which no female was admitted; for the Queen appeared still to retain that jealousy of her husband which she had felt during his life.

Immediately on Philip's death messengers were despatched to Ferdinand, who had sailed for Italy with his consort only three weeks before. He had previously weakened Gonsalvo by withdrawing half his army, and had also recalled the Viceroy himself; alluring him with the promise of the Grand-mastership of St. Iago. Gonsalvo, however, procrastinated his return, although there seem to have been no just grounds for Ferdinand's suspicions; and with the consciousness of innocence he proceeded to Genoa to meet his sovereign.[10] Hence he accompanied Ferdinand to Naples. Although they were met at Porto Fino by the messengers announcing Philip's death, Ferdinand persisted in his intention of proceeding to Naples, but promised to return to Spain as soon as he had arranged the affairs of the former kingdom; for, assured of his ascendency over the mind of Joanna, he felt that the evils of anarchy would soon make his absence from Castile regretted even by his opponents. He met with a cordial reception from the Neapolitans. In the parliament which he assembled, he said nothing of the claims of his consort, as settled by the treaty of Lyon, but caused the oath of allegiance to be taken only to Joanna and her posterity.

In June 1507, Ferdinand set sail on his return to Spain, and was followed in a day or two by Gonsalvo. Ferdinand, during his stay at Naples, manifested an entire confidence in the Great Captain, who, besides being left in possession of all his other estates and dignities, was created Duke of Sessa, and seemed completely to direct the counsels of his master. It was not till after the Great Captain's arrival in Spain that Ferdinand showed any symptoms of discontent with him; and in the patent for his Sicilian dukedom and other honours, the King had expressed the feeling that he should never be able adequately to reward his eminent services. The equitable administration of Gonsalvo, as

[10] Jovius, however, in his Life of Gonsalvo, says, that the first interview took place on the north-west coast of Naples.

well as his winning and popular manners, had made him a universal favourite with the Neapolitans, notwithstanding the reckless extravagance with which he had squandered their revenues. Ferdinand's nephew, the Count of Ribagorza, was appointed to succeed him as Viceroy of Naples, but with powers very much curtailed.

The Spanish fleet on its return touched at Savona, where an interview had been arranged between Ferdinand and Louis XII. Some events in France had confirmed the latter monarch in his anti-Austrian policy, and consequently disposed him to draw still closer the bonds of his alliance with Ferdinand. His most prudent counsellors, in order to prevent him from retracing his steps and yielding to the entreaties of his consort Anne with regard to the Austrian marriage, had advised him to summon the States-General of France, and to sound the inclinations of the nation, which they well knew were in favour of the match with Francis of Angoulême. The States were accordingly assembled, May 1506, at Plessis-lez-Tours; and at a solemn audience in the grand apartment of the castle, Thomas Bricot, Canon of Nôtre Dame and deputy for Paris, speaking in the name of the States, after enumerating all that Louis had done for France, bestowed on him the title of "Father of his People;" and concluded his harangue, himself and all the assembly kneeling, by requesting the King to give his daughter to Francis. During this touching scene, Louis himself and all the audience were moved to tears; yet in the very midst of it, he was contemplating an act of the grossest dissimulation. With the view apparently of making his compliance appear to be a spontaneous concession to the wishes of the assembly, Louis said that he would consult his family and council, respecting the marriage, which he declared that he had never heard suggested, although he had himself determined on it more than a twelvemonth before! A few days after (May 23rd) Francis and Claude were actually affianced.

The death of Philip of Austria delivered Louis XII. from some embarrassments, though many yet remained behind. The attitude of Maximilian became every day more hostile; and the German Diet assembled at Constance, alarmed by the large preparations making in France for an expedition into Italy, seemed at first disposed to second the Emperor's warlike inclinations. The French armament was directed against Genoa. That city having risen in insurrection and driven out Ravenstein, the French governor (October 25th 1506), Louis determined to quash this rebellion by a vigorous stroke; and, crossing the Alps in April 1507, with a numerous army, he soon reduced the Genoese to obedience, and

constructed a new fort, called *La Briglia*, or The Bridle, to overawe the city. Louis then made a sort of triumphal progress through Lombardy, and afterwards repaired to Savona, for the interview with Ferdinand, already mentioned. At this meeting, which was celebrated with superb fêtes, the two monarchs displayed the most entire confidence in each other. The greatest generals of the age, who had recently been opposed to one another in the field, as the Marquis of Mantua, D'Aubigny, Gonsalvo, and others, were here assembled together in harmony; but none of them attracted so much attention as the Great Captain, who, at the request of Louis, was admitted to sup at the table of the sovereigns, an honour which served only to increase the jealousy of Ferdinand.

Ferdinand landed in Valencia, July 20th 1507. At Tortoles he was met by Ximenes and Joanna, with whose altered and haggard figure he was much struck. She submitted herself implicitly to her father's will, and soon afterwards took up her residence at Tordesillas, which she never quitted during the remaining forty-seven years of her life: and though her name appeared in instruments of government, along with that of her son, Charles V., she could never be induced to attend to business or sign any papers. From the time of his return, Ferdinand exercised all the royal authority. By the clemency and affability which he assumed, he won back the hearts of many of the malcontents; but he at the same time took care to assure his authority by keeping on foot a considerable military force, and surrounding his person with a body-guard. Ximenes retained the supreme direction of affairs, who soon after the King's return received a cardinal's hat from Pope Julius II., and the post of Inquisitor-general of Castile.

Gonsalvo of Cordova, who landed in Spain soon after the King, was received by the people with such unbounded applause, that his journey resembled a triumphal procession. The royal heart, however, was ungrateful as well as subtle, and the Great Captain, who had achieved for Ferdinand the conquest of a kingdom, was left to languish unrewarded. It soon became apparent that the King had forgotten his promises; and when reminded of the Grand-mastership of St. Iago, the subject was evaded, and at length dismissed. Ferdinand, who had united in his own person the masterships of the three orders, was unwilling to relinquish a post, which, by the distribution of commanderies, enabled him to work on the fears and hopes of the nobles. Gonsalvo was indeed presented with the royal town of Loja, near Granada; which, however, was no more than a sort of honourable banishment. Ferdinand offered to perpetuate the grant of Loja to his heirs if he would relinquish his

claim to the Grand-mastership, of which the King, when at Naples, had given him a written promise; but Gonsalvo replied that he would not forego the right of complaining of the injustice done him for the finest city in the King's dominions. He consequently passed the remainder of his life in seclusion.

After the death of Philip, Maximilian set up pretensions to the regency both of Castile and the Netherlands, as natural guardian of his youthful grandson Charles. In the former of these claims he had little or no chance of success, and after some vain attempts to raise a party in Castile, and some empty menaces of invasion, he quietly abandoned all his designs in that quarter. Charles was at this time residing in the Netherlands; for Maximilian had rejected Ferdinand's demand to send that young prince into Spain in order that he might become habituated to the language and manners of his future subjects. The states of the Seventeen Provinces also, at first refused Maximilian's claims to be the guardian of his grandson, and to conduct the government of the country; and they appointed a council of regency under the auspices of Louis XII. as Lord Paramount of Flanders. After a short period, however, being disturbed by internal commotions, and by the incursions of the Duke of Guelderland, who had broken loose during Philip's absence, the Netherlanders, at the instance of the Lords of Croï and Chimay, to whom Philip had intrusted his son Charles, voluntarily submitted to the regency of Maximilian. The Emperor being at that time engaged in the affairs of Italy, appointed his daughter Margaret to be governor of the Netherlands, who, after having been married to Don John Prince of the Asturias, and afterwards to Duke Philibert of Savoy, was now again a widow. One of the first acts of Margaret was to bring about the celebrated League of Cambray; and as her father played a leading part in that unjust and impolitic transaction, it will be necessary here to take a brief review of the circumstances which occasioned that policy, and of the causes which prevented Maximilian from carrying it out successfully.

Although Maximilian was a much more active and enterprising sovereign than his father Frederick, yet he had if possible still less real power. By his marriage with the daughter of Charles the Bold, he had indeed added much to the future grandeur of the House of Austria; but the same circumstance served rather to diminish than increase his authority as Emperor. The Netherlands, as well as the Austrian dominions of the House of Habsburg, were subject to frequent commotions and revolts; and as the German princes were called upon to assist the reigning house in quarrels which did not concern them, they considered themselves all the more entitled to assert their own views with regard to Germany.

One of the most important concessions obtained from Maximilian was a reform of the supreme tribunal of the empire, according to a promise extorted from him by the States assembled at Nuremberg in 1489, when he was in want of their assistance against Hungary. This promise Maximilian had faithfully performed at the Diet of Worms in 1495, the first held after his accession. Under Frederick, the members of the tribunal in question were named by the Emperor, and followed him wherever he went. But in 1495 its composition was entirely altered. The Emperor now nominated only the president, or *Kammer-richter*, and the assessors were appointed by the States. Thus the tribunal, from a mere *Kaiserliches-Gericht*, or court of the Emperor, became a *Reichs-Kammer-Gericht*, or court of the German Empire. It no longer followed the Emperor, but sat on appointed days at a fixed place, and was at last settled at Spires. Another most important alteration was that the president was allowed to pronounce the ban of the empire in the Emperor's name. The same Diet of Worms also established a perpetual public peace, or *Landfriede*. The previous ones had only been for terms of years. But though *Faustrecht*, or the right of private war, was forbidden under heavy penalties, the prohibition did not prove effectual, and at an advanced period of the sixteenth century we still find the Sickingens, the Huttens, and the Götz von Berlichingens retaining their Bedouin habits.

The Diet of Augsburg in 1500 made perhaps a still more important alteration in the constitution of the empire by insisting on the establishment of a permanent council for the administration of political affairs. This council was in fact nothing more than a permanent committee of the States, in which the three colleges of electors, princes and towns were represented; and the only privilege reserved to the Emperor was that of presiding in person, or naming the president. In order to regulate the representation of the princes, Germany was now divided into six circles, which were at first called provinces of the German nation; viz., Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony.[11] Each of these circles sent a count and a bishop to the council; to which were added two deputies from Austria and the Netherlands. Two deputies were also named alternately by the chief cities.

[11] The empire was finally divided into ten circles at the diet of Cologne in 1512, when Saxony and Brandenburg were added as a seventh circle; the four Rhenish electorates, Mentz, Trèves, Cologne, and the Palatinate, as an eighth (the Lower Rhine); Austria as a ninth; and Burgundy as a tenth. But this division did not obtain any actual importance till the Diet of Worms in 1521.

Each of the Electors was represented, and one of them was always present in person.

The state of Maximilian's foreign relations had compelled him to make these concessions, which were virtually an abdication of the imperial power in favour of the States, or rather of the College of Electors, whose power would be predominant in the council; and the matter was regarded in this light by Contarini, the Venetian ambassador to the King of the Romans at that period.[12] The whole administration of affairs, foreign and domestic, was in fact vested in the council, who assumed the title of the *Reichs-regiment* (or Council of Regency). They negociated of their own mere authority with Louis XII.; and as they seemed willing to invest him with Milan, Maximilian anticipated them by himself bestowing it upon Louis as already related. As it was soon found, however, that neither the members of this council, nor the assessors of the *Kammer-Gericht* or Imperial Tribunal, could obtain payment of their salaries, nor carry through any of their measures, they consequently dissolved themselves, and returned to their homes; and Maximilian recovered for a while all his former power, and was again regarded as the fountain of justice.

In consequence of this state of things, the Electors held a solemn meeting at Gelnhausen in June 1502, and pledged themselves to stand by one another for the maintenance of the rights of the empire. Maximilian, however, was supported by a party among the princes and bishops; and he had also wonderfully recovered his authority by his conduct in the war of the Bavarian succession, to which we have already adverted. At length, at the Diet of Constance in 1507, a sort of compromise was made between the imperial and electoral authority, and the chief institutions of the empire were settled on a permanent basis. The *Kammer-Gericht*, or Imperial Chamber, was again established according to the model laid down by the Diet of Worms, though with a few modifications. The *Reichs-regiment*, or Council of Regency, appears however to have remained in abeyance during the reign of Maximilian, but was re-established by the first diet held by Charles V. at Worms in 1521, though with some few alterations in favour of the Emperor's authority; but its power was again broken in the diet of 1524, by a combination between the Emperor and the towns.

Another important point established by the Diet of Constance was the system of taxation. There were two methods of assess-

[12] Canuto, Arch. zu Wien, B. iv., ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 44.

ment in Germany, the Roll, or Register (*Matrikel*), and the Common Penny (*der gemeine Pfennig.*) The first of these was levied on the separate states or territories of Germany, according to a certain roll or list; the second, which was a mixture of a poll-tax and a property tax, was collected by parishes, without any regard to the division of principalities. The Diet of Constance, by finally establishing the *Matrikel*, recognised a very important principle; since that system contemplated the contributors as the subjects of the different states or principalities into which Germany was divided, while the Common Penny considered them as the subjects of a common empire. By this decision, therefore, the independence of the different states was recognised; while, on the other hand, the Imperial Chamber established the principle of the unity of the empire.

These two institutions, the *Matrikel* and the Imperial Chamber, lasted three centuries. The fame of having founded them has been attributed to Maximilian: but in fact he did all in his power to oppose them—they were forced upon him by the Electors and States, and chiefly by the exertions of Berthold, Count Henneberg, Elector of Mentz. They were warmly opposed by certain parties in the empire, and especially by the equestrian and ecclesiastical orders. The knights, attached to the old feudal system, objected to paying a money tax; they protested that as free Franks they were ready to shed their blood for the Emperor, but that a tax was an innovation, and an encroachment on their liberty: while the abbots demurred to acknowledge the authority of a tribunal so completely temporal as the Imperial Chamber. Maximilian at this Diet virtually recognised the independence of the Swiss, by declaring them free from the jurisdiction of all the Imperial tribunals, as well as from the *Matrikel*, or territorial tax. He had then need of Swiss troops, but those which he raised among them received a stipend.[13]

We have before adverted to the hostile demonstrations of this Diet of Constance against Louis XII., when that monarch was preparing his expedition against Genoa. Pope Julius II., who was also alarmed by the same preparations, and who was exceedingly jealous of the influence which the French were acquiring in Italy, importuned Maximilian to cross the Alps with an army; and his appeals were seconded by the Venetians, who offered a free passage for the German troops through their territories. Maximilian had been already meditating an expedition into Italy. He wished to establish the rights of the Empire in the Italian

[13] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 176.

provinces, to assist Pisa[14] against the Florentines, and also to march to Rome, in order to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pope. He therefore listened to these applications; and in an animated address to the Diet, he exhorted them to resist the ambitious and encroaching spirit of the French monarch, who, he said, had already alienated some of the German fiefs in Italy, and whose design he represented it to be even to avert from him the Imperial crown itself. These topics, enforced with that eloquence and those powers of persuasion which Maximilian possessed in a high degree, made a great impression on the assembly. With an extraordinary burst of patriotism the Diet voted an army of 90,000 men, to be further increased by 12,000 Swiss; and measures were taken for raising this large force with an alacrity quite unusual. Alarmed by these mighty preparations, Louis, after terminating his Genoese expedition, quietly disbanded his army, and applied himself through his agents to tranquillise the minds of the Germans. This policy was quite successful, and had a result very mortifying to Maximilian. The Diet demanded that the Italian expedition should be conducted in their name, that they should appoint the generals, and that the conquests should belong to the whole Germanic body: which conditions being rejected by Maximilian, they reduced the forces voted to 12,000 men. Maximilian in vain endeavoured to persuade the Venetians to throw off their fidelity to the French King and join with him in a partition of the Milanese. They united with Chaumont, the French governor of the Milanese, to oppose the passage of Maximilian, notified to him that he should be received with all honour in their territories if he came with an unarmed retinue on his way to Rome, but that they could not permit the passage of an army; while Pope Julius II. also announced through his legate that he had reconciled himself with Louis, and dissuaded Maximilian from his contemplated journey. But he was not to be diverted from his project. He now resolved to turn his arms against the Venetians, at whose conduct he was highly incensed; and in January 1508 he commenced an expedition into Italy with what troops he could collect. One division of his army was directed against Roveredo; another against the Friuli; he himself advanced with a third to Trent, where he assumed the title of "Emperor Elect." Having erected an imperial tribunal, he despatched a herald to Venice with an absurd message, summoning before him the Doge Leonard Loredano and the whole senate; and on their refusal to appear, he published against them the ban

[14] The succour of Pisa had been so often promised and delayed, that the *Soccorso di Pisa* had passed into a proverb (Murat. *Ann.* t. x. p. 33).

of the Empire. At first Maximilian's arms were attended with success, and several places were taken; but he soon began to feel that want of means which commonly rendered all his enterprises abortive and ridiculous; and he was obliged to return into Germany, in order if possible to obtain fresh troops and more money. Meanwhile the Venetians, aided by the French, not only recovered the lost places, but even captured several Austrian towns; and Trent itself would have fallen into their hands had not Trivulzio, the French general, from a feeling of jealousy withdrawn from them his support. Maximilian, finding no hopes of succour, was compelled in May to abandon his ill-judged enterprise; and the Venetians, disgusted by the desertion of the French, entered into a separate armistice with him for a term of three years. As a kind of salve for his honour, Maximilian published a bull of Pope Julius II., by which the title of "Emperor Elect" was confirmed to him and his successors.

This miscarriage, after such magnificent pretensions, and especially the insolent and even childish manner in which the Venetians celebrated their success, inflicted a deep wound on the Emperor's vanity. Alviano, the Venetian general, was gratified with a sort of Roman triumph for his victories over the Austrian general, Sixt von Trautson, in the Friuli: and he made a solemn entry into Venice, with a long train of German prisoners. At the same time, what was perhaps still more provoking, Maximilian and the German empire were abused and ridiculed throughout the Venetian dominions in caricatures, farces, and satirical songs.

We have before seen that Venice had been for some years the object of the ill-will and jealousy of several European powers, and Maximilian now resolved to call all these latent passions into action, and to make them the instruments of his revenge. Both Louis XII. and the Pope had recently received from the Venetians what they considered fresh causes of offence. Louis was aggrieved by their concluding the armistice with the Emperor without his consent; while the Pope was angry with them because they had refused to install one of his nephews in the vacant bishopric of Vicenza, and had named to it a noble countryman of their own, in conformity with their maxim, that no benefice in their territories should be bestowed on a foreigner, or indeed on anybody without their consent. Julius was also offended by the shelter which they afforded to John Bentivoglio, whom he had recently driven out of Bologna. In the first few years of his pontificate, Julius had acted with a moderation which surprised those who knew his restless mind and his former conduct, which more resembled that

of a *condottiere* than a priest. During these years he had occupied himself in amassing money, and had shown a parsimony not before observed in his character; but towards the end of August 1506, after declaring several times in the Consistory that it was necessary to purge the Church of tyrants, he sallied forth from Rome at the head of twenty-four cardinals and 400 *gens-d'armes*. John Paul Baglione, of Perugia, and John Bentivoglio, of Bologna, who like the Medici at Florence, had become the chief men, or lords, of those cities, were the objects of his attacks; and with the assistance or connivance of the French, the Florentines, and other states, he soon expelled them from Perugia and Bologna, and annexed these cities to the dominion of the Church. Julius remained in Bologna till February 1507, when he returned to Rome, and employed himself in his favourite project of fomenting a league against Venice.

Self-interest was the chief motive which swayed both Louis and the Pope in their hostility to Venice, as it was the sole one which influenced Ferdinand the Catholic. All these powers, on the ground of inalienable and imprescriptible right, laid claim to some of the Venetian possessions, which the republic held under the faith of treaties. Thus Louis XII., as Duke of Milan, claimed Brescia and Bergamo, which had been made over to the Venetians by the Sforzas, as well as Cremona and the Ghiara d'Adda, which he had himself given them as the price of their assistance. The Pope claimed Rimini, Faenza, and other places, as ancient possessions of the Holy See, under the grants of the exarchate by Pepin and Charlemagne. Ferdinand, who in a great measure owed his Neapolitan throne to the assistance of the Venetians, wished to recover the maritime towns of Trani, Brindisi, Gallipoli, Pulignano, and Otranto, which his predecessor, Don Frederick, had pledged to the republic, as security for its expenses.

The machinations against Venice were secretly conducted, under pretence of an arrangement between Maximilian and Louis XII. on the subject of the Duke of Guelderland. Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands, had persuaded her father that it would be for the interest of his grandson Charles to conciliate the French, who were supporting the Duke of Guelderland in his hostilities; and Maximilian, who had now another reason for desiring the friendship of Louis, consented to enter into negociations. An interview was accordingly arranged, at Cambray, between Margaret, who combined with female dexterity the judgment and decision of a man, and the Cardinal d'Amboise. Margaret, though without any formal powers, acted for Ferdinand the Catholic as well as for her

father Maximilian; while D'Amboise in like manner represented the Pope as well as his own sovereign Louis; and though a papal nuncio and an ambassador of the Catholic King were present at Cambray, neither of them took any part in the conferences. The affair of the Duke of Guelderland gave rise to some warm discussion; but it was at length arranged that Duke Charles should provisionally hold Guelderland and the county of Zutphen, surrendering only a few places. The question of the future homage of the Archduke Charles to the King of France was also settled; and Maximilian, in consideration of 100,000 gold crowns, ratified the rupture of the marriage treaty between his grandson and the Princess Claude, and renewed the investiture of Milan to Louis and his heirs. The negotiators were sooner agreed on the subject of Venice, and the treaty which formed the celebrated LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY was signed in the cathedral of that city, December 10th 1508. The principal stipulations were that of the places to be wrested from the Venetians, Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, and Forlì should be assigned to the Pope; Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, to the German Empire; Roveredo, Trevigi, and the Friuli, to the House of Austria; the five maritime towns of Naples to Ferdinand the Catholic; and to Louis XII. all the places that had at any time belonged to the Duchy of Milan. The Pope was to excommunicate the Venetians, and to absolve their subjects from their oath of allegiance: a proceeding which would enable him to invoke, in support of the papal sentence, the arms of Maximilian, as advocate or protector of the Church, and on that ground to release him from the armistice to which he had so recently sworn. The King of France was to commence the war by the 1st of April following, and the other allies were to appear in the field at the expiration of forty days. Other powers who had any claims, real or imaginary, upon Venice, were to be invited to join the League within a given period: as the King of Hungary, for the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia and Slavonia; the Duke of Savoy, as heir of the family of Lusignan, for Cyprus, which the Venetians had occupied by virtue of the will of their fellow-citizen, Catherine Cornaro, widow of James II., the last King of Cyprus; the Duke of Ferrara, for the Polesine of Rovigo; and other princes for various claims.

The League of Cambray is remarkable as being the first great combination, since the time of the crusades, of several leading European powers for a common object. A modern historian has observed [15], that it laid the foundation of public law in Europe, by raising either in itself or its consequences three questions, on

[15] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* ch. cv.

one of which that law must be founded; namely, the question of imprescriptible right, alleged by Louis XII. and the Emperor Maximilian; the right of treaties, as pleaded by the Venetians; and, finally, when Pope Julius turned round upon his allies, and attempted to drive them out of Italy as "barbarians," the question of the public good, the only sure ground on which any system can be erected.

The League was long kept secret from the Venetians, who were naturally slow to believe an alliance among sovereigns who were jealous of one another, and had so many grounds of mutual distrust and enmity. Louis XII. even protested to their ambassadors that nothing had been done at Cambray disadvantageous to the republic, and that he would never commit any act that might be injurious to such ancient allies! But the bond which embraced such discordant interests was knit together by a common cupidity and envy; motives that are betrayed in the preamble of the treaty itself, which also contains an example of the gross hypocrisy so often seen in the diplomacy of those times. This preamble states that the Emperor and the King of France, having, at the solicitation of Pope Julius II., allied themselves, *in order to make war on the Turks*, had first resolved to put an end to the rapine, losses, and injuries caused by the Venetians, not only to the Holy Apostolic Chair, but also to the Holy Roman Empire, the House of Austria, the Duke of Milan, the King of Naples, and many other princes; and to extinguish, as a common devouring fire, the insatiable cupidity and thirst of domination of the Venetians.[16] Thus the allied sovereigns, who had of course no serious intention of entering into a crusade against the Turks, pretended to begin a war against them, by destroying a state which had proved the securest barrier against Moslem encroachments, and which by its maritime power was still best able to arrest their further progress.

The sovereigns of France and Spain secured the adhesion of the Florentines to the League of Cambray, by a transaction, which, as a modern historian observes[17], cannot be paralleled for mercenary baseness in the whole history of the merchant princes of Venice. At the time of the conference at Savona, Ferdinand and Louis, in consideration of a large payment, agreed to betray Pisa, which had long been making a noble struggle for its independence, to the

[16] Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* an. 1509, t. xi. p. 527. That envy of the wealth and power of Venice is the true key to this conspiracy against her, plainly appears from the speeches of Hélian, the French minister at the diet of Augsburg in 1510, in Du Bos, *Ligue de Cambray*, t. i. 141 sq. (ed. 1710.)

[17] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. iii. p. 314.

Florentines, by putting in a garrison which the Pisans would receive without suspicion, but which, after a given time, should open the gates to the enemy. Meanwhile, the French King assisted Pisa, in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Florentines before the expected sum had been received; and the Florentines were at length induced to sign a convention (March 13th 1509), by which they agreed to pay Louis 100,000 ducats, and Ferdinand 50,000, in consideration of those monarchs withdrawing their protection from Pisa. Ferdinand, who was to be kept in ignorance that his brother monarch had received more than himself, subsequently transferred his share to Maximilian; in consideration of which, and of the further aid of 300 lances, Maximilian, ever mean and necessitous, agreed to relinquish his pretensions to the regency of Castile.[18] Pisa was at this time reduced to the extremity of famine. The Florentines entered it June 8th 1509, and behaved with great liberality in relieving the distress of the inhabitants.

[18] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. iii. 349.

CHAPTER VII.

When the Venetians were at length tardily convinced of the reality of the League of Cambray, they endeavoured to detach some of the members from it; but in this they were unsuccessful, as well as in their attempts to obtain assistance from England and the Ottoman Porte. Their own resources, however, enabled them to assemble a considerable army on the banks of the Oglio, consisting of about 30,000 foot and 12,000 horse, under two Orsini; the veteran Count Pitigliano, with Alviano, a bastard of the same house, as second in command; with whom were joined Andrew Gritti and George Cornaro, as *proveditori*. In the spring Louis had despatched a herald to declare war against the Venetians, and about the same time, Julius launched against them a bull of excommunication, filled with the bitterest reproaches; to which the Venetians replied by a manifesto equally abusive, and, as usual, they appealed from the Pope to the expected General Council. In April Louis passed the Alps at the head of an army somewhat inferior in force to that of the Venetians. He had crossed the Adda, and was marching along its banks, when, at a bend of the river, the hostile armies suddenly found themselves in presence. A battle ensued, May 14th 1509, which has been called by the French the Battle of Agnadello, and by the Italians, the Battle of Vaila, or of the Ghiara d'Adda. On this day the French van was led by Chaumont d'Amboise and Marshal Jacob Trivulzio; Louis himself commanded the main body, while La Palisse and the Duke of Longueville brought up the rear-guard. The Venetian army was also on the march, and Pitigliano, whom the senate had ordered to avoid a battle, had passed with the van to the spot where the encounter took place. Alviano, with his division, had therefore to sustain the whole shock of battle; and, though he made a brave resistance, his troops were cut down or dispersed, and he himself made prisoner. This victory enabled Louis to take possession of the whole of the Ghiara d'Adda. Crema was sold to him by the treacherous Venetian governor, Concino Benzone; Cremona, Bergamo, and Brescia also opened their gates. Peschiara, one of the few places that resisted, was taken by assault; when Louis, with an inhumanity which does not seem to belong to his

character, caused its brave defender, Andrew de Riva, and his son, to be hanged from the battlements, and the garrison to be put to the sword.

Louis had now achieved the conquest of all the territory assigned to him by the Treaty of Cambray—namely, as far as the Mincio[1]; he therefore halted his victorious army, and left the emperor to achieve his part by reducing the places east of that boundary. He delivered to Maximilian's ambassador the keys of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, which the inhabitants had sent to him in token of their submission; and after making a triumphant entry into Milan, he dismissed a great part of his army, and returned into France. Meanwhile, the papal army, under the command of Francis Maria della Rovere, a nephew of the Pope's, had entered Romagna, all the towns of which, except Ravenna, were soon reduced. Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, and the Marquis of Mantua, who had also joined the League, had succeeded in capturing several places. Although Ferdinand of Spain had ratified the Treaty of Cambray, he had no intention of carrying it out, beyond the recovery of his Neapolitan towns. Before the commencement of hostilities he had assured the Venetians that he had only entered into that part of the Treaty which related to the Turks; that he was ignorant of Louis's motives in attacking them, and that he would use for them his good offices with that monarch. He took, at first, no part in the war in Upper Italy, but he sent a body of Spaniards to lay siege to Trani. It was late before the Emperor Maximilian appeared in the field. While the King of France was gathering his forces, he had assembled a diet at Worms, to whom he submitted the plan of the League, and demanded their support. This, however, was not only refused by the diet, but they even accompanied their refusal with reproaches and complaints. Maximilian retorted with truth and vigour, though without effect, in a celebrated apology; and he found himself compelled to resort to his hereditary dominions in order to levy an army. It was not till three weeks after the battle of Agnadello that he appeared at Trent, with one thousand horse, and eight companies of infantry, for he had been delayed in raising even this small force, till he had received some money which he had borrowed from the King of England[2], and from his other allies;

[1] Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxii. § 12, and Coxe, *House of Austria*, ch. xxiv., represent Louis as advancing to the neighbourhood of Venice, and insulting the queen of the Adriatic with a distant cannonade; but there does not appear to be any adequate authority for this statement. See Muratori, *Annali*, t. x. p. 41; Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. xiii. p. 467; Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 376.

[2] Henry VII. was a warm supporter of Maximilian. In 1502 he had lent him 10,000*l.* for the war against the Turks—a large sum for those times. Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 9.

and he was further detained in Trent till he should receive some auxiliaries raised by his daughter Margaret.

After the defeat of Agnadello, the situation of Venice seemed desperate. A great part of the remnant of her army under Pitigliano had dispersed; the rest, almost in a state of revolt, had retired to Mestre, on the Lagoon. It was under these circumstances that the Venetians issued the celebrated decree, by which they released all their Italian subjects from their allegiance; and thus, by an act by some attributed to fear and despair, by others to a refined and subtle policy, stripped themselves of what their enemies were seeking, and reduced their empire to the islands which had been its cradle. They also abandoned to Ferdinand the seaport towns which they held in Apulia, and sent ambassadors to make the most humble submissions to the Pope and to the Emperor. Julius at first received the ambassadors with haughtiness, and prescribed some very insulting conditions; though, at the same time, he held out the hope that he would not be inexorable. Antonio Giustiniani, the ambassador despatched by the proud aristocracy of Venice to Maximilian, is represented by some authors as making on his knees a most humiliating address to the Emperor [3]; and he is said to have carried with him a *carte blanche*, on which Maximilian might write his own conditions. It is, at all events, certain that Venice made very humble submissions, and even offered to pay the Emperor and his successors a yearly tribute of 500 pounds of gold; but Maximilian, whose chivalrous and romantic temper had been charmed by the magnanimity of Louis, in abstaining from all encroachment on his possessions, had resolved to adhere to the French alliance; and he had even burnt his *Red Book*, in which were recorded all the injuries that he had ever received from France. He was not yet, however, in a position even to occupy the towns that had voluntarily surrendered, except with very inadequate forces; for Padua itself, though, from its vicinity to Venice, the most exposed to danger, he could spare only about 800 German troops. The lower classes in that city were favourably disposed towards the Venetians, who, encouraged by the absence of the French army, and by the apparent weakness of the Emperor, permitted Andrew Gritti to retake Padua, which he captured by surprise, July 17th, 1509; upon which, all the surrounding territory declared in favour of the Venetians. This was the first symptom

[3] His speech is given by Guicciardini, lib. viii. (tom. iv. p. 193 sqq., ed. Milan, 1803), and the Latin original, from which he professed to translate it, has since been published by Goldasti, in the *Polit. Imperial.* But by Venetian authors it has been pronounced a literary imposture.

that Venice was beginning to revive, and it was followed by a few more successes. The peasants of North Italy, ruined and incensed by the ravages of the French and Germans, supplied numerous willing recruits to her army, whose ranks were also swelled by the garrisons recalled from the towns in Romagna and Apulia, which had been abandoned to the Pope and the King of Aragon, as well as by the enlistment of fresh Albanians and Dalmatians; and Pitigliano thus again found himself at the head of a very considerable force. On the other hand, Maximilian's troops were also at last beginning to assemble on the frontier. The loss of Padua made him reflect with shame on his inactivity, and he resolved to wipe out the disgrace by recovering that city. His generals, Rodolph of Anhalt, the Duke of Brunswick, and Christopher Frangipani, a Hungarian, marched into the Friuli and Istria, where they took several places. In the war in these districts the Germans are said to have committed the most horrible cruelties, and to have hunted out with dogs the women and children who had hidden themselves in the cornfields. Maximilian, after ravaging the country round Padua, established his head-quarters before the gate of Portello, September 15th 1509. The Venetians, sensible of the importance of Padua, had thrown their whole army into that place. At the instance of the Doge, Leonard Loredano, two of his sons, followed by 100 foot soldiers, raised at their own expense, joined the garrison and this animating example was followed by 166 nobles, each with a train proportioned to his means; though, by the customs of Venice, those of gentle blood served only in the fleet. Thither, also, resorted all the peasants of the surrounding district, with their herds and flocks; and that vast but deserted city received, without inconvenience, within its walls, a multitude amounting to five times its usual population.

Maximilian's army consisted of some 40,000 men, with 200 guns—a larger force than had for centuries been employed in any siege. All the parties to the League of Cambray were represented there by at least a small body of troops, which consisted of Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and French; but of the last there were only 500 lances, under La Palisse, and 200 gentlemen volunteers. During this siege, Maximilian gave signal proofs of bravery, activity, and intelligence; he was constantly present at the post of danger, and displayed all those military qualities which made him beloved by his soldiery. Practicable breaches were soon made in the walls, and two assaults were delivered, but repulsed. In the last, the Imperialists had succeeded in establishing themselves on the bastion; but at this moment the Venetians blew up the works, which they

had undermined; a great part of the victors were hurled into the air, and the remainder, in this moment of consternation, were charged by the Venetians, and driven from every post.

Staggered by this obstinate defence, and foreseeing that he should soon be without the means to pay or feed his army, Maximilian now proposed to La Palisse that before the breach could be repaired by the garrison, the French *gendarmerie* should dismount, and, with the German lansquenets, try the fortune of another assault. But the Chevalier Bayard declared that, however poor he might be, he was still a gentleman, and would not degrade himself by fighting on foot with lansquenets; and this feeling was shared by La Palisse and the rest of the French knights. They offered, however, if the German nobles would dismount, to show them the way to the breach; but this was declined, on the ground of its being derogatory to gentlemen to fight except on horseback. Maximilian, whose patience was soon exhausted, now hastily quitted the camp, and instructed his lieutenants to raise the siege (Oct. 3rd); and a few days after he dismissed the greater part of his army. The Venetians now speedily recovered Vicenza, Bassano, Feltre, Cividale, Monselice, the Polesine of Rovigo, and other places; and they attempted to punish the Duke of Ferrara for the part he had taken against them; but the fleet which they fitted out on the Po for that purpose, was almost destroyed by Alphonso's artillery.

Early in 1510, the Venetians effected a reconciliation with Pope Julius II., whose jealousy of Louis had been recently increased by a quarrel respecting the investiture of a new bishop of Avignon. Julius had also conceived a supreme contempt for the Emperor, from his poverty and ill-concerted enterprises; and he was alarmed by Maximilian's offer to place Verona in the hands of Louis, for a loan of 50,000 ducats. The Pope had never desired the success of the League of Cambray, except so far as his own interests were concerned; and as the Venetians had ordered the governor of Ravenna to admit the papal troops, and had instructed their Doge to address a humble letter to Julius, he began to listen to their protestations of repentance. He admitted their envoys to an audience (Feb. 24th), and in spite of the remonstrances of the French and imperial ambassadors, removed the interdict which he had fulminated against Venice. The ecclesiastical punishments imposed by the worldly pontiff were but light. The only penitence enjoined was that the Venetian deputies should pay a visit to the seven magnificent *Basilicæ* of Rome; and the strokes of the rod, usually inflicted by the Pope and cardinals on the excommunicated, during the reading of the *Miserere*, were in this instance

omitted from the ceremony of absolution. On the other hand, the Venetians were required no longer to dispose of ecclesiastical benefices, except such as were subject to lay patronage; to refer all cases relating to ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Rome; to forbear from exacting any contributions from the property of the Church; and to renounce all pretension to the territory of the Holy See. But the two articles most reluctantly conceded by that haughty republic were, the renunciation of their right to have a *vidôme* at Ferrara, and the allowing to the Pope's subjects the free navigation of the Adriatic.

All the objects of the Pope in organising the League of Cambray were now accomplished: the Venetians had been humbled, the towns claimed by the Holy See wrested from them, and Julius was at liberty to apply himself to the second and more arduous project, formed by his enterprising mind—that of driving all foreigners from Italy. Of these foreigners the King of France was the most powerful and the most dreaded, and it was against him that the Pope's machinations were first directed. Without reflecting on the dangers which might arise from the Spanish dominion in Naples, and that it was for the interest of Central Italy to balance one foreign domination against the other, he formed the plan of making one the instrument for the other's expulsion. He therefore endeavoured to bring about a peace between the Emperor and the Venetians[4], and to detach the Duke of Ferrara from the League; and in order to embarrass Louis in his foreign relations, he attempted to incite England, as well as the Swiss, against him. But of these four projects only the last succeeded. Neither Maximilian nor Alphonso d'Este was prepared to renounce the alliance of Louis; and even the youthful Henry VIII., who had succeeded to the throne of England, on the death of his father, April 21st 1509, at first resisted all the blandishments of Julius. The vanity of Henry, who pretended to be at once a theologian and a warrior, was, indeed, flattered when Pope Julius seemed to constitute him the arbiter of the disputes arising out of the League of Cambray. The Pope and his clergy succeeded in making him believe that peace had been granted to the Venetians chiefly through his intercession; and at Easter, 1510, Julius sent him the golden rose, which the Holy See annually presents to the sovereign on whose assistance she most relies. But Henry adhered to the counsels of his dying father. In March 1510 he had confirmed the treaty of Naples with Louis XII.; he had previously renewed the alliance with the

[4] Muratori, *Ann.* t. x. p. 50.

Emperor; and in May he concluded a defensive treaty with Ferdinand of Aragon.

Julius was successful only in his negociations with the Swiss, with whom Louis had imprudently quarrelled. The Swiss had sent the French king an insolent message, ascribing all his late victories to their assistance, and demanding an increase of the yearly payment; and he had returned a haughty answer to these, as he termed them, "wretched mountaineers." This disposed the Swiss to listen to the Pope's agent, Matthew Schinner, Bishop of Sion, or Sitten, in the Valais, a man of low origin, but considerable learning, who was a determined enemy of the French, and had long directed his sermons with considerable success against the practice of foreign enlistment. Julius, when he heard of the French king's quarrel with the Swiss, summoned Schinner to Rome, who, dazzled with the prospect of a cardinal's hat, which was actually conferred upon him in the following year, seemed to forget all his former scruples on the subject of mercenary service. Provided with a considerable sum of money, as well as large bundles of indulgences, the Bishop of Sion, after his return, easily persuaded his countrymen to enter into an alliance with the Pope for a term of five years. They engaged not to form any connection that might be prejudicial to Rome, to oppose all the Pope's enemies, and to supply him with 6000 or more chosen troops whenever they might be wanted; and Julius promised in return an equivalent payment and his spiritual protection. This was a great victory. The Swiss, formerly the instruments of transmontane violence, were now converted into soldiers of the Holy See, and champions of Italian independence.

The death of the Cardinal d'Amboise, who expired May 25th 1510, was another event favourable to the Pope. D'Amboise was the first of those cardinals who, uniting with that dignity the office of prime minister, have played so great a part in the history of the French monarchy; for though Cardinals Balue and Briçonnet had been members of the council, they did not enjoy the high post and influence of D'Amboise; and as he united with that post the power of papal legate, which the court of Rome was afraid to withdraw from him, he exercised an almost absolute authority over the church in France and Northern Italy. "God be praised," exclaimed Julius, when he heard of his former rival's death, "at length I am the only Pope!" Though D'Amboise had been the principal agent in the ill-considered policy of France with regard to Italy, his death did not appease the Pope's jealousy of the French court, while it deprived Louis of a minister whose

zeal and energy could not be replaced. Julius now redoubled his intrigues against Louis, and in particular he sought to form a closer connection with Ferdinand of Aragon. In order to bind that monarch to his interests, the Pope at length granted him the long-withheld investiture of Naples (July 3rd 1510), besides releasing him from that part of his marriage contract with Germaine de Foix, by which half Naples was to revert to the French crown, in case his consort should die without issue. The Pontiff soon after remitted the feudal services due for Naples for the annual tribute of a white palfrey, and the aid of 300 lances, in case the States of the Church should be invaded. By these means he assured the neutrality of Ferdinand, if not his immediate co-operation.

The intractability of the Duke of Ferrara, before adverted to, was the immediate cause, or at all events the pretext, for an open breach between the Pope and the King of France. Alphonso was the only feudatory of the Church whom Julius had spared; he had interfered for him with the Venetians, had prevented them from attacking him during the winter, and had procured for him the restoration of the town of Comacchio. On all these grounds, Julius considered himself entitled to the gratitude of the Duke; and his anger therefore was extreme when he found that Alphonso was implicitly guided by the counsels of Louis. As this conduct, however, could not be made any just cause of quarrel, Julius sought to create one. He forbade the Duke to manufacture salt at Comacchio, to the detriment of the pontifical salt works at Cervia; he demanded the surrender of those castles in Romagna which Lucretia Borgia had brought to Alphonso as part of her dowry, and which he contended were the property of the Holy See; and he also required that the impost paid by Ferrara should be increased from 100 florins to 4000 annually. These unjust demands were resisted by Alphonso. Louis XII., who wished to preserve his influence in Ferrara, without breaking altogether with the haughty and violent pontiff, had some months been attempting to effect a reconciliation between Julius and Alphonso, when suddenly the Pope dismissed the ambassadors of Louis, as well as those of the Duke, and called upon Alphonso to renounce his adherence to France (July 1510).

At this time the allied French and Imperial army had penetrated as far as Monselice; for while the Pope was hatching these intrigues, Louis and the Emperor were carrying on the war in Northern Italy, though without much vigour. Yet the diet summoned by Maximilian to meet at Augsburg in the spring had proved more

than usually compliant. The Pope's nuncios who appeared at that assembly made great efforts to reconcile Maximilian with the Venetians, and endeavoured to inspire the States with a mistrust of the unnatural alliance between the Emperor and France; but their representations were so successfully combated by Hélian, Louis' envoy, that the nuncios were even dismissed from Augsburg, and a considerable supply voted to Maximilian. At this diet were renewed the *Gravamina*[5], or complaints of the German nation against the Papal See, which since the Council of Constance had been so often brought forward. The Emperor's inimical relation to the Pope at this period inclined him to listen to these representations; and he appears even to have sent to France for a copy of the Pragmatic Sanction, with a view to draw up some similar regulations for the protection of Germany against papal oppression—a step, however, which led to no practical result. Maximilian's temper, at once hasty and procrastinating, and his love of show and magnificence, led him to fritter away the funds at his disposal for the conduct of the war. His want of means to maintain Verona in an efficient state of defence had led him to pledge that city to the French for 60,000 ducats; yet the chronicles represent him as spending at this very time enormous sums at Augsburg in hunting parties, balls, banquets, and masquerades; and he is said to have appeared at a tourney with the Elector Frederic of Saxony, in a suit of armour worth 200,000 florins. In the month of April, however, he despatched 1000 horse and 8000 foot[6], under the command of the Prince of Anhalt, to Verona, where they were soon joined by Chaumont d'Amboise, Viceroy of Milan, and John James Trivulzio, with 1500 lances, 3000 light cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and a large train of artillery. The Duke of Ferrara also came to the aid of the allies with a considerable force. Offensive operations were now resumed against Venice, under the Prince of Anhalt, as Commander-in-chief. The death of the Count of Pitigliano, in the preceding February, had deprived the Republic of an experienced and skilful commander, and his place had been supplied by John Paul Baglione of Perugia. The Venetian army, which consisted of only 800 men-at-arms, 4000 light horse and Stradiots, and 8000 foot, not being strong enough to oppose the advance of the allied French and imperial army, retired to a strong position between the rivers Brenta, Brentella, and Bacchiglione. Vicenza was thus exposed to the fury of the

[5] These *Gravamina Nationis Germanicæ* will be found in Freher, *Germ. Rer. SS.* t. ii. No. 40.

[6] Muratori, *Ann.* t. x. p. 51.

allies, the German portion of whom were enraged by its revolt in the preceding autumn; and when the citizens sent to deprecate the wrath of the Prince of Anhalt, he at once told them that he meant to make them a memorable example of the punishment due to rebellion. The citizens balked the fury and cupidity of the Germans by transporting their women and children, as well as the most valuable part of their property, to Padua, whither also they retired themselves on the approach of the enemy; but a portion of them, together with the peasantry of the surrounding country, were not so fortunate. These unhappy people, to the number of 6000, had taken refuge in a vast cavern in the mountains of Vicenza, called the Grotto of Masano, or Longara; and L'Hérisson, a captain of French adventurers, finding it impossible to force a passage through the narrow, dark, and tortuous entrance of the cave, filled the opening with faggots, which he set on fire, and thus smothered all who were within! One young man alone escaped, who, by being placed near a crevice in the rock, had obtained a scanty supply of air!

From Vicenza the allies proceeded to take Porto Legnano, a place deemed almost impregnable, whence, after almost cutting to pieces the Turco-Venetian cavalry, they laid siege, as before said, to Monselice. That place yielded to the Imperial arms, after an obstinate resistance; but this was the term of the success of the allies, for the plots of Julius were now ready to explode. While they were engaged in this siege, the Pope declared war against the Duke of Ferrara, a papal army under Julius's nephew, the Duke of Urbino, invaded Alphonso's territories, and took Massa de' Lombardi, Bagnacavallo, Lugo, and other places, including Modena, which the Duke of Ferrara held as a fief of the empire. The Pope excommunicated Alphonso, August 9th, denouncing him in the most dreadful terms as a son of perdition, releasing his subjects from their allegiance, and his soldiers from their oath of fidelity; at the same time a papal fleet and army attacked Genoa, while a large body of Swiss in the Pope's pay threatened Milan, and compelled Chaumont to hasten to its defence.

Deprived of the support of Chaumont and Alphonso, the German army was no longer able to make head against the Venetians. Maximilian had neither appeared in person, nor had he remitted the necessary funds for the pay of the troops, whose ranks were consequently thinned by desertion, while they compensated themselves for their arrears and short commons by plundering. Verona was pillaged thrice in one week. The Germans now began to retreat, followed closely by the Venetians, who recovered, one after

another, Vicenza, Asolo, Marostica, the Polesine of Rovigo, and other places; but failed in an attempt upon Verona.

The designs of Julius against the French, though well conceived, were not attended with success. The attempt to excite a rebellion against them in Genoa, and to assist it with the papal and Venetian arms, proved a failure. A papal army, under Mark Antony Colonna, crossed the Magra, occupied Spezia, and advanced towards Genoa, and at the same time a Venetian squadron, after taking Sestri and Chiavaro, appeared off the port. But the call to liberty met with no response from the Genoese, and both fleet and army were obliged to retire. The invasion of the Milanese by the Swiss was equally unsuccessful. A large body of them, indeed, entered that duchy early in September, by Bellinzona; but unprovided with cavalry, artillery, or pontoons for passing the numerous rivers, and being harassed by the *gens-d'armes* and light infantry of Chaumont, they suddenly returned into their own country, without having taken one place, or fought a single battle.

Louis XII. was much embarrassed by the attitude assumed by the Pope towards the Duke of Ferrara, whom Louis was bound by treaty to protect; yet being naturally scrupulous in matters of religion, he hesitated to levy open war on Christ's vicar upon earth. These scruples were increased by his consort, Anne of Brittany, whose superstitious terror deprecated, with tears and entreaties, all hostilities against the holy father; and D'Amboise was no longer there to fortify the King with his energy and decision.[7] Louis recollected, however, his late minister's project of an ecclesiastical council, and he resolved to relieve himself of his perplexity by assembling the French clergy, and submitting the case to their decision. A national council was accordingly assembled at Tours early in September (1510), the majority of whom declared the King justified in making war upon the Pope in defence of himself and his allies, and pronounced, beforehand, all papal censures that might be fulminated in consequence to be null and void. The council further decided that the Pope should be required to put an end to the hostilities which he had commenced, and to call a general council in conformity with the decrees of the Council of Basle; and in case he should refuse to summon such a council, the Emperor and other Christian princes were to be requested to take the work in hand. Thus the Gallicanism which D'Amboise had fostered in the French church was still alive. Matthew Lang, bishop of Gurk, Maximilian's

[7] The Letters of Macchiavelli, now Florentine ambassador at the court of France, throw considerable light on this period of French history. See *Terza Legazione*, &c.

secretary, who arrived at Tours towards the close of the council, approved of all their resolutions, and promised to send a deputation of German bishops to Lyon, in which city the council was to reassemble by adjournment, March 1st 1511. Lang, however, was not in earnest about a reformation of the Church; all he wanted was the assistance of the French to recover certain portions of Northern Italy; and with this view, a fresh treaty was concluded at Blois, between Maximilian and Louis, November 17th 1510, by which the Emperor engaged to enter Italy in the ensuing spring, with an army of 3000 horse and 10,000 foot, while Louis was to assist him with a subsidy of 100,000 ducats, and a force of 1200 lances and 8000 infantry.

The failure of the attempts upon Genoa, and of the Swiss invasion, had only served to inflame the ardour of Julius II.; and being still further irritated by the Council of Tours, he haughtily rejected all the propositions of France for a separate peace, although Louis, still moved apparently by a superstitious compunction, plainly intimated that he would be willing to abandon the Duke of Ferrara. Julius was resolved, with the assistance of the Venetians to reduce the Duke of Ferrara under direct obedience to the Church; and, with this view, having despatched his army to the banks of the Po, he himself entered Bologna with his court, towards the end of September. Here he fell dangerously ill, and while he lay upon a sick bed, he very narrowly escaped being carried off by the French. Chaumont, at the instigation of the Bentivoglios, who represented to him the weakness of the papal force at Bologna, advanced by a rapid march to within a few miles of that city (Oct. 12), and there was nothing apparently to prevent him from entering it on the morrow. In this desperate conjuncture, Julius alone preserved his presence of mind. His cardinals and court were in an agony of terror, the people of Bologna declined to take up arms in the Pope's defence, and even the Imperial, Spanish, and English ambassadors pressed him to enter into negociations with Chaumont. Julius outwardly complied, and selected as his negociator Gian Francesco Pico, Count of Mirandola. But the Pope only intended to amuse Chaumont. He knew that the Venetian army was advancing towards Bologna, and that he might hourly expect 300 men-at-arms, whom Ferdinand was bound to furnish as feudatory of Naples. To quicken the Venetians, he despatched a message to their camp at Stellata, that if he did not receive reinforcements before the following evening, he should make peace with the French. This had the desired effect. By the evening of October 13th, 600 light horse, and a corps of Turkish

cavalry, in the service of Venice, had entered Bologna, while a body of Stradiots and the expected Spanish contingents were just at hand. Thus was presented the singular spectacle of a Pope defended by a body of Infidels from the arms of the most Christian King! Julius now changed his tone; Chaumont, finding himself the weaker party, slowly withdrew his army; while the vexation of Julius, that his generals had not pursued and destroyed it, occasioned such a paroxysm of his disorder that his life was despaired of.

Julius had not yet recovered, when, amidst the snows and ice of a rigorous winter, he resolved on besieging Mirandola in person. This fortress and Concordia formed the principality of the family of the Pichi. Count Luigi Pico of Mirandola had married a daughter of Marshal Trivulzio, who being left a widow, had placed her residence in the hands of the French; whilst the Count Gian Francesco, who also claimed the inheritance, was entirely devoted to the Pope. The progress of his army was too slow for the impatient Julius. Concordia was not taken till the middle of December; his troops were four days before Mirandola without firing a shot. The fiery Pope accused his generals, including his own nephew, the Duke of Urbino, either of incapacity or perfidy, and, accompanied by three cardinals, he caused himself to be carried in a litter to the camp of the besieging army; where he took up his residence in the cottage of a peasant, within range of the enemy's artillery, and employed himself in directing the works, placing his guns in battery, and hastening their fire. Armed with cuirass and helmet, he constantly showed himself on horseback to his troops, animating them with the hopes of plunder, and sharing all the counsels, fatigues, and dangers of the siege.[8] In one of the excursions which he was accustomed to make in the neighbourhood, he was near falling into the hands of Bayard, who had laid an ambuscade for him; and he with difficulty escaped into the castle of San Felice by jumping out of his litter, and helping to raise the drawbridge with his own hand. At length, a practicable breach having been made in the walls of Mirandola, which a hard frost enabled the besiegers to approach by crossing the moat on the ice, the garrison were forced to capitulate, Jan. 20th 1511. There had been some difficulty to dissuade the Pope from sacking the place, which, too impatient to wait till the gates were opened, he entered by a ladder at the breach. After the capture of Mirandola, Julius and the Venetians again directed their whole attention towards Ferrara, and they attempted to take

[8] Guicciardini, lib. ix. (t. v. p. 108 sq., ed. Milan, 1803).

the castle of La Bastia, on the Lower Po, in order to deprive the city of its supply of provisions; but their army was surprised by Duke Alphonso, according to a plan suggested to him by Bayard, and they suffered such severe loss that they were compelled to abandon the siege of Ferrara.

The death of Chaumont d'Amboise, the French commander (Feb. 11th 1511), who was succeeded by Marshal Trivulzio, allowed a short interval of repose, which was employed in negociations. Resentment against the Venetians had induced Maximilian to adhere to the French alliance with a constancy quite foreign to his character, and he warmly adopted all Louis's projects against the Pope, and for a reform of the Church in head and members. In a circular addressed to the German States he had denounced, in language which might almost have become a future disciple of Luther, the troubles and disorders occasioned by the papal government; he complained of the enormous sums continually extorted by the See of Rome from Germany, which, instead of being employed in the service of God, were perverted to the purposes of luxury and ambition; and he concluded by declaring his intention to call a general council, as the only permanent and effectual remedy for these abuses [9]: but a synod of German bishops, whom he assembled at Augsburg, proved less compliant than the French prelates, and they firmly resisted the proposal for a general council, as calculated to produce a schism in the Church. This opposition induced the Emperor to listen to the King of Aragon, who persuaded him to secure the conquests he had already made in Italy, and perhaps also his further claims, by a treaty of peace. Maximilian accordingly commissioned his secretary, the Bishop of Gurk, to open a congress at Mantua, to which the Pope, the Kings of France and Aragon, and the Venetians were invited to send ambassadors. The Emperor could not have entrusted his affairs to worse hands than those of his secretary, whose pride and arrogance totally disqualified him for a diplomatist. It was with difficulty that the Spanish ambassador could persuade him to pay a visit to Julius, who was now at Ravenna; a mark of deference and respect which the Pontiff might naturally expect from a bishop sent to negociate with him. Julius himself, however, bent on gaining the imperial plenipotentiary, stood not on etiquette, but met the bishop half-way, at Bologna. It was plain from the first that Julius entered into these negociations with no sincere desire of a peace with France, but merely with a view to detach Maximilian from his alliance with that country. Before he left Ferrara he created eight cardinals,

[9] See Schmidt, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vii. C. 34.

including Matthew Schinner, telling the Sacred College that he reserved a ninth *in pectore;* a bait plainly held out for the Bishop of Gurk. But the haughtiness of that prelate stood in his own way as well as his master's. Having assumed the title of lieutenant of the Emperor, Lang entered Bologna with an almost imperial magnificence: at the Pope's reception he insolently required that the Venetian ambassador, as the enemy of his master, should retire from the audience chamber; and he afterwards declared in full Consistory that he would treat on no other conditions than the relinquishment by the Venetians of all they had ever usurped from the Austrian domains or the territories of the empire. He refused to transact business with anybody but the Pope himself; and when Julius once deputed three cardinals to confer with him, he appointed three of his gentlemen to meet them. Nothing but hatred of the French could have induced the haughty Pontiff to submit to the insolence of the imperial envoy. With regard to the objects of the congress, nothing could be effected. Louis XII., though he sent the Bishop of Paris to Bologna as his ambassador, had from the first regarded the assembly as a mere snare; and the only feeling with which it inspired him was alarm at this symptom of defection in Maximilian. It was soon evident that neither the differences between the Emperor and Venice, nor those between the Pope, the King of France, and the Duke of Ferrara were yet capable of peaceable adjustment; and after a stormy interview with Julius, the Bishop of Gurk suddenly quitted Bologna, April 25th 1511.

Upon the failure of the congress hostilities were resumed. Trivulzio, now Viceroy of Milan, had in his army two young captains, who afterwards acquired great renown: Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, nephew to Louis XII. by his sister Mary of Orleans; and George von Frunsberg, a German knight, who had joined the French with 2500 lansquenets. At the first movements of Trivulzio, Julius II. was seized with an unaccountable panic; and after a formal rhetorical address to the Bolognese senate, in which he recommended them to provide for their own safety, he hastily set off for Ravenna, leaving Francesco Alidosio, Cardinal of Pavia, in command at Bologna, with the title of Legate. But the Cardinal himself, alarmed at the insubordination displayed by the Bolognese, fled a few days afterwards in all haste to Imola; and when his flight was known, the citizens admitted the Bentivoglios, whom Trivulzio had sent forwards with 100 French lances (May 22nd). The Duke of Urbino, who was encamped with his army under the walls of Bologna, no sooner heard of the Legate's flight, and the insurrection of the citizens, than he also was panic-

stricken, and though the night was far advanced, gave the signal for retreat, which soon became a disorderly flight. The papal army was set upon both by the citizens and the peasants from the mountains; while the French *gens d'armes* joined in the pursuit, and captured without a blow so large a number of beasts of burthen, that they gave this rout the name of the *Journée des âniers*, or battle of the ass-drivers. The papal army lost its standard, besides a great many other colours, and twenty-six pieces of cannon.

Julius II. was inconsolable for the loss of Bologna, an acquisition which he had regarded as the chief glory of his pontificate; and his regret was still more embittered by the conduct of the inconstant and ungrateful Bolognese, who, though they had flattered him during his residence among them, now pulled down and broke in pieces with every mark of contempt his bronze colossal statue, one of the noblest works of Michael Angelo Buonarotti. Both the Duke of Urbino and the Cardinal of Pavia repaired to Ravenna to justify themselves before the Pope; mutual recriminations ensued between them; and the Duke, stung with jealousy and anger at the hold which Alidosio still retained on the confidence and affection of Julius, openly assassinated him with his own hand in the midst of his guards, as he was on his way to dine at the papal palace. This outrageous act on the part of his nephew wounded the Pope so deeply, that he quitted Ravenna the same day, and returned to Rome overwhelmed with grief. The Duke of Urbino was sentenced to be deprived of all his offices; but the sentence was never carried into execution; and in two or three months he received a pardon, and recovered his former influence.

Julius' misfortunes at this period were aggravated by the news that in many of the Italian cities proclamations were posted up for the assembly of a general council at Pisa, on September 1st, before which he himself was cited to appear. It had been established by the Council of Constance, that a general council should be held every ten years, and Julius himself had sworn at his consecration to call one; but he neglected all the representations which the Emperor and the King of France addressed to him for that purpose, and those sovereigns had therefore resolved to call a council by their own power and authority. In this course they were supported by the adjourned synod of French prelates at Lyon, as well as by five refractory cardinals, who, suspecting that one of their colleagues had been poisoned at Ancona by the Pope's orders, had retired from Rome to Milan, where they put themselves at the head of the French or opposition party. In truth,

however, Julius II. had little to apprehend from this blow, which he parried by a counter one. In July he issued a Bull for the holding of a council at St. John Lateran, April 19th 1512, which assembly, having the sanction of papal authority, would of course be regarded by the orthodox as the only genuine one.

Although the victory at Bologna seemed to leave the Pope at the mercy of France, yet Louis XII., instead of following up his advantages, no sooner heard of that affair, than he directed Trivulzio to withdraw into the Milanese. He, as well as his consort Anne, who governed him, was seized with remorse at making war upon the Church; he forbade all public rejoicings for his victory; he declared his readiness to humiliate himself for the sake of peace, and to ask pardon of the Pope; and he resolved to limit his attacks upon the Holy Father to the peaceful and legitimate operations of the council. But the demands of Julius rose in proportion to the submission of Louis; it was soon plain that nothing would satisfy him but the ruin of the Duke of Ferrara, and the expulsion of the French from Italy; with the view of effecting which projects he had entered into negociations with Ferdinand of Aragon, Henry VIII. of England, and the Swiss. But before we relate their result, we must take a brief retrospect of Spanish history.

After Ferdinand's resumption of the regency of Castile[10], the domestic history of Spain presents but little of importance. Guided by the counsels of his great minister, Cardinal Ximenes, his civil rule on the whole was moderate and equitable, though chequered with a few severities necessary to subdue the spirit of the haughty grandees of Castile. But the fiery enthusiasm of Ximenes could not submit to complete inactivity. His zeal for the Catholic faith incited him to lay plans for a crusade in Palestine, which however were diverted into a safer channel. Since the conquest of Granada, the Moslems of Africa had infested the coasts of Spain, and in 1509 Ximenes persuaded Ferdinand to fit out an expedition for the conquest of Oran, the command of which, Gonsalvo of Cordova lying under the King's displeasure, was given to the celebrated engineer, Count Pedro Navarro. Ximenes himself accompanied the expedition, and his conduct, which literally displayed the church militant, might emulate the deeds of his spiritual father, Pope Julius II. Clad in his ecclesiastical robes, but with sword in hand, he appeared at the head of the army; before him rode a Franciscan monk, bearing as a standard the massy silver cross of Toledo; and he was surrounded by a troop of other Franciscans girt with scimitars over the frock of their order. Oran was taken on the first assault. It

[10] See above, p. 225.

was firmly believed by the Spaniards, and was attested by four eye-witnesses of character and learning, as well as by a host of others, that Joshua's miracle was repeated on this occasion, and the sun arrested four hours in his course for the convenience of the Christians![11] Yet Navarro, a plain soldier, seems not to have highly valued these supernatural powers, and after the fall of Oran gave the cardinal a plain intimation that he would do better to confine himself to his own profession and return home. Ximenes was urged in the same direction by a letter of the King's, which accidentally fell into his hands, and which plainly showed that his selfish and ungrateful master was contriving his ruin during his absence. The cardinal found good reason to suspect that Ferdinand meant to deprive him of the archbishopric of Toledo in favour of his own natural son, Alphonso of Aragon; and therefore, after providing for the wants of the army for several months, he returned in a quiet and unostentatious manner to Spain. Here his energy took another direction. He employed himself in promoting the welfare of the university which he had recently founded at Alcalà de Henares, and in superintending the preparation of his famous polyglot Complutensian Bible.[12] The cardinal's literary tastes, however, were quite subordinate to his catholic enthusiasm, and in 1499 he had shown himself a complete Vandal by burning many valuable Arabian books. After the departure of Ximenes, Navarro extended his conquests in Africa. Bugia, Algiers, and several other cities submitted to his arms, the crowning glory of which was the capture of Tripoli, July 26th 1510, after a bloody and obstinate defence. In the following month a terrible defeat in the island of Gelves put a stop to Navarro's progress, who soon after returned to Spain; but the conquests made on the coast of Africa were held during a long period by the Spanish Crown.

Jealousy of the French had now determined the Catholic monarch to take an active part against them, and after the capture of Bologna, Ferdinand despatched Navarro, with a chosen body of Spanish infantry, into North Italy. Yet, had not Ferdinand's character been well known, the nature of his intercourse with the French Court was calculated to disarm all suspicion. The remonstrances which he addressed to Louis XII. respecting his aggressions on the Church were couched in the mildest and most fraternal language; while, true to his policy of covering every political design with the mantle of religion, he pretended that the preparations which he was making both by sea and land were only designed to

[11] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. iii. p. 290, note.

[12] Alcalà is supposed to be the ancient Complutum.

spread the banner of the cross in Africa. But Louis had reason to know his royal brother better. "I," he exclaimed, "am the Saracen against whom these armaments are directed."

The suspicions of the French King were well founded. On October 4th 1511, the alliance called the Holy League, was concluded by the Pope, King Ferdinand, and the Venetian Republic. Its professed object was the protection of the Church, menaced by the council, or rather *conciliabulum* of Pisa; and Ferdinand talked much of the necessity of saving Rome from the hands of the French, in order to preserve the liberty of Italy, and even of Europe.[13] There were two other parties to this league, who, for the present, remained in the background: the Emperor Maximilian and Henry VIII. of England. Margaret, in her cabinet at Brussels, had long been scheming a reconciliation between her father and Ferdinand, and the union of both with England, in order to overwhelm France; but before the French successes at Bologna, the Catholic King appears to have hung back, owing to the little love he bore to his Flemish grandson and heir, the Archduke Charles.[14] Bambridge, Cardinal-Archbishop of York, the English ambassador at Rome, had assisted in negociating the league. The vanity of Henry VIII. seems to have been tickled with the idea of becoming the head of that holy confederation, as well as with the promised title of "Most Christian King," of which, in his favour, Louis XII. was to be deprived. Ferdinand soon afterwards dazzled his vain-glorious son-in-law—for Henry had consummated his marriage with Catherine of Spain in the June following his accession—with the prospect of reconquering Guienne. This enterprise would serve the purposes of the Holy League by creating a diversion of the French arms; and by a treaty between Ferdinand and Henry, November 17th 1511, it was agreed that the former should furnish 9,000 men, the latter 6,500, to carry out the enterprise. The Catholic King's real object in this treaty we shall presently see; meanwhile, it was kept secret till Henry should have received another instalment of the pension payable by France, under the treaty of Etaples. Maximilian's accession to the league was, as we have said, also kept secret, till his defection from France was declared at an unexpected and fatal moment, on the eve of the battle of Ravenna, in the following year. The army of the Holy

[13] See P. Martyr, *Opus Epistt.* Ep. 466. In spite of the careless manner in which Martyr's work has been published, its value as contemporary evidence has been vindicated by Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschicht-schreiber.*

[14] See Margaret's letter to Henry VIII. (April 14th 1511), ap. Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 164.

League was to be commanded by Don Raymond de Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, a man of polished and agreeable manners, but of no military experience, whom the rough old Pope nicknamed "Lady Cardona."

The Council of Pisa, although summoned for September 1st, did not meet till November 1st. After the publication of the Holy League, the Pope had deprived the refractory cardinals of their dignity, and excommunicated them as schismatics (Oct. 24th); and he also laid an interdict on the Florentines, for having permitted the obnoxious council to meet in their town of Pisa. The assembly consisted only of four cardinals, and a few French and Milanese prelates, who were protected by a guard of 150 French archers. The clergy and populace of Pisa received them with marks of the greatest aversion, and after a short residence, the assembled fathers eagerly seized the occasion of a quarrel which arose between some of their domestics and the townspeople, to quit Pisa and adjourn to Milan. But it is hardly necessary to detail the subsequent proceedings of an assembly which was never seriously regarded, even by those who summoned it, and which Louis himself characterised as a comedy.

Meanwhile the Emperor Maximilian still adhered, in appearance, to the alliance with France. After the failure of the congress at Bologna, he had leagued himself more closely than ever with Louis, and they had secretly agreed to divide Italy between them. France was to content herself with the Milanese, Mantua, Ferrara, and Florence, whilst the Emperor was to have Venice, with its dependencies, together with Rome and the Papal States. Maximilian's projects were always on a scale of magnificence which formed an absurd contrast with his means to execute them. He dreamt of nothing less than marching to Rome, and restoring to the German empire all the prerogatives formerly exercised by Charlemagne or Otho the Great. With restless activity, he showed himself by turns at Innsbrück, at Trent, at Bruneck; he negotiated alternately with France, the Pope, and the Venetians; sometimes he seemed to threaten an immediate descent upon Italy, and as suddenly withdrew to attend a hunting-party. The illness of the Pope at the time fixed for the opening of the Council of Pisa had inspired him with a singular idea. He resolved to become a candidate for the tiara; sent 300,000 ducats, which he had raised by pawning to the Fuggers the imperial jewels and mantle, to the Bishop of Gurk, at Rome, to buy the votes of the cardinals; and, in anticipation of uniting the empire and pontificate, assumed, like the Roman Emperors, the title of Pontifex Maximus! Thus, as a modern

historian has observed, the princes of that period seemed to have exchanged parts. Maximilian wished to be a pope and saint, and Louis XII. was holding a council; while the Pope himself, aping the name and deeds of the greatest of the Cæsars, and covering his white hairs with a helmet, led a body of old priests under the cannon's mouth.[15]

In November many thousand Swiss, in the pay of Venice and the Pope, descended from the St. Gothard with the standard under which they had defeated the Duke of Burgundy, and another bearing in large golden letters the boastful inscription, *Domatores principum, Amatores justitiæ, Defensores sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ*[16]; and they advanced to the very gates of Milan; Gaston de Foix, now viceroy of the Milanese, retreating before them by the advice of Trivulzio. The garrison of Milan consisted only of about 300 *gens d'armes* and 2000 foot; but the Swiss were totally destitute both of the skill and means for attacking towns, and they shortly after withdrew by way of Como, not without suspicion of having been bribed by the French.

The armies of the Pope and of the King of Aragon united at Imola in December. The Papal army was commanded by the Cardinal John de' Medici, the Duke of Urbino having refused to serve under the Spanish viceroy Cardona, who was generalissimo. Navarro, captain-general of the Spanish infantry, which was at that period chiefly composed of Mussulmans, had been despatched, as we have said, against the possessions of the Duke of Ferrara, and succeeded in reducing all the fortresses south of the Po. The fact that the poet Ariosto was an eyewitness of these obscure combats, which he has illustrated by his verses, lends them an interest they would not otherwise possess.[17] The most ardent desire of the Pope was to recover Bologna, before which the allied army sat down January 26th 1512. The French on their side attached the highest importance to the preservation of that city, both as a military position and a point of honour; and Louis had declared that he would defend it as if it were Paris itself. He had provided the Duke of Nemours with all the money, and reinforced him with all the troops, he could collect, including his own *Maison*, or house-

[15] Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxiii. § 7. That this scheme was not, as some historians have supposed, a mere joke or passing whim on the part of Maximilian, appears from the circumstance that we find Ferdinand of Aragon writing seriously to him on the subject two years afterwards. See Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. ii. p. 234. See also Maximilian's letter to his daughter Margaret, Sept. 18th 1512, in the *Lettres du Roy Louis XII.* t. iv. p. 1; and another to his minister Lichtenstein, *ibid.* t. iii. p. 324.

[16] "Vanquishers of princes, Lovers of justice, Defenders of the Holy Roman Church."

[17] See *Vita di Ariosto*, p. xxii. (*Class. Ital.* t. xl. Milan, 1812)

hold troops. They could not have been intrusted to more competent hands. In a short career of two months, Gaston revealed to France the true secret of its military power,—the capacity of its infantry to perform marches of extraordinary rapidity.[18] The maxim of Marshal Saxe, that battles are gained not with the hands, but with the feet, was never more strikingly illustrated than by the operations of this youthful commander. The allies had already made a practicable breach in the walls of Bologna, when the Duke of Nemours hastened to Finale, whence, during a tempestuous night of wind and snow, he succeeded in throwing himself into Bologna, with 1300 lances, and 14,000 infantry, without meeting a single vidette or sentry (February 5th). Don Raymond de Cardona immediately raised the siege, and retired to Imola.

Gaston was deterred from pursuing the enemy by news which arrived from Lombardy. Brescia and Bergamo, revolted at the cruelty and brutality of the French garrisons, had admitted the Venetians with cries of *Viva San Marco!* and it was to be feared that this success might invite a new invasion of the Swiss. Gaston now made even a more extraordinary march than his former one. Leaving 300 lances and 4000 foot in Bologna, he quitted that city with the rest of his army, February 8th, and appeared before Brescia on the 16th, after attacking with his cavalry and defeating on the way, near Isola della Scala, the Venetian division under Baglione. This immense distance, therefore, was accomplished in eight days, in spite of broken roads and overflowed rivers. On the day of the affair with Baglione, who had no notion that the enemy was near, Gaston's cavalry is said by an eyewitness[19] to have marched fifty miles without drawing bridle. The battle was fought at four o'clock in the morning, by the light of the stars and the snow. Brescia was taken by assault, to which Gaston mounted with bare feet, on account of the slippery nature of the soil. It was here that Bayard received a wound, which was at first thought mortal.[20] The inhabitants made an obstinate defence, for which they suffered by a general massacre, and a sack accompanied with the most horrible outrages, which lasted a week. Brescia was the richest city of Lombardy after Milan. The

[18] See Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 167.

[19] The *Anonimo Padovano*, ap. Muratori, *Annal.* t. x. p. 69. The first four days' marches were Cento—Bondeno—Ostia—Nogara, whence the cavalry were despatched to attack the Spaniards, near Isola della Scala.

[20] The story of the convalescence of the good knight, "without fear and without reproach," in the house of a Brescian lady, is one of the most interesting and characteristic episodes in his life. See *Hist. du Chev. Bayard*, c. 50, 51. Tartaglia, the restorer of the mathematics, was nearly killed at this siege. Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxiii. § 15.

plunder was estimated at three million crowns; but this sack contributed much to ruin the French army, as a great part of the soldiers returned home to enjoy their booty. Bergamo submitted, and escaped with a fine of 20,000 ducats.

This campaign of a fortnight, in which Bologna had been rescued, the Venetians defeated, and Brescia and Bergamo recovered, is perhaps one of the most extraordinary on record, and spread the fame of the Duke of Nemours over all Europe. But, in spite of this brilliant success, the French cause in Italy seemed anything but promising. The Spanish army was untouched; the Swiss turned a deaf ear to the tardy and repentant overtures of Louis; the King of England had thrown off the mask and declared war; while Maximilian was evidently preparing to join the enemy. Louis began to perceive the machinations of Margaret, and felt the necessity for striking a speedy and decisive blow. He seemed suddenly to have emancipated himself from his own bigotry and the influence of his consort; the Pope was attacked by pamphleteers and openly ridiculed on the Paris stage by the *Enfans sans souci;* nay, a medal was even struck with the legend *Perdam Babylonis Nomen*, a name for the holy see which has hardly been surpassed in the vocabulary of subsequent reformers. Gaston was instructed to deliver a decisive battle, after which he was to march to Rome, dictate a peace, and depose the Pope. These proceedings were to be authorized by a Legate despached from the Council of Pisa at Milan, who was to accompany the army.

Instructions of this nature exactly suited the taste of the young hero to whom they were addressed. Towards the end of March Gaston set out with his army for Finale, in the Modenese, having been joined by the Duke of Ferrara with his troops, and especially with that celebrated artillery, the best in Europe, to which Alphonso devoted so much attention.[21] Gaston directed his march on Ravenna, and Don Raymond de Cardona, whose army was inferior in force, retired before him, manœuvring in order to avoid a battle. At length Gaston found himself shut in between Ravenna and the camp of the allies, which was on the banks of the Ronco, about three miles from the city; provisions and forage began to fail, and to add to his embarrassment, a message arrived at this decisive moment that Maximilian had concluded a ten months' truce with the Venetians, and had recalled, on pain of death to their leaders, the German lansquenets serving in Gaston's army, in number about 5000 men. Jacob Empser, one of their commanders, to

[21] Ariosto did not partake his patron's taste in this matter, and curses the invention of fire-arms, so destructive to his beloved chivalry. See *Orl. Fur.* c. xi. st. 26.

whom the letter was delivered, being a great friend of Bayard's and a devoted servant of Louis, engaged indeed to keep the order secret; but, as fresh commands of the same tenour might speedily arrive, it became necessary to act with promptness and decision. On April 9th a terrible assault was delivered on Ravenna, which failed from the breach not being sufficiently practicable. Gaston now determined to storm the enemy's position on the Ronco, and on the 11th orders were given to cross that river. Gaston had put on a rich and heavy armour, with embroideries bearing the arms of Navarre, to which kingdom he pretended; he regarded the Spaniards as personal enemies who kept him out of that inheritance, and he had left his right arm bare to the elbow in the hope of bathing it in their blood. The battle began by a dreadful cannonade of three hours. The French army was drawn up in the form of a crescent, and Alphonso's artillery being stationed at the extremity of the left wing, kept up a tremendous cross-fire, which carried off whole ranks of the enemy. At length, however, both armies became tired of this distant butchery; the signal was given to charge; Gaston himself led the French men-at-arms, and ran his lance through an Italian cavalier; and after a short but terrible encounter the Spanish and Papal cavalry were overthrown. Cardona and Carvajal, who commanded the rear guard, retired too early for their honour, and were escorted from the field by Antonio de Leyva, then a young subaltern, who afterwards acquired so much renown in the wars of Italy. Fabrizio Colonna, already a distinguished Italian general, the young Marquis of Pescara, a Neapolitan, whose fame was yet to be achieved, and the Cardinal John de' Medici, were taken prisoners; and the latter, who had retained his sacerdotal habit in the midst of the fray, was conducted before the Cardinal of San Severino, the legate of the *conciliabulum* of Pisa. The struggle, which was not so soon decided between the infantry, served to display the relative merits of the Spanish foot and the German lansquenets. The latter, like the Grecian phalanx, were armed with spears of an enormous length, and fought in close column; the former, furnished like the Roman legionaries with a short sword and buckler, again established the superiority of that weapon. The Spaniards, protected by their defensive armour, insinuated themselves between the ranks of the Germans, whose unwieldy lances became useless at close quarters, and they would have been cut to pieces had they not been rescued by the French cavalry.[22] The Spanish infantry was broken, and

[22] The comparative value of these troops has been estimated by Macchiavelli, *Arte della Guerra*, lib. ii. Cf. *Il Principe*, cap. ult. The great defect of the Spanish infantry was, that it could not resist cavalry. Besides the ordinary

Pedro Navarro made prisoner; but a considerable body of them was retiring in good order, when Gaston, irritated at the carnage which they had made, and forgetting his duty as general, charged them at the head of a few *gens d'armes*, and he was struck from his horse by a Spanish soldier. In vain his cousin Lautrec exclaimed, "Spare his life! it is our viceroy, the brother of your queen;" Gaston fell, pierced with twenty wounds, and Lautrec shared the same fate.

Thus died Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, at the early age of twenty-three, who in the course of a few months had achieved the most brilliant military reputation, and acquired the surname of the "Thunderbolt of Italy." His victory was indeed complete, but it was counterbalanced by his death. "Would to God," exclaimed the weeping Louis, "that I had lost all Italy, and that Gaston and those who fell with him were safe!" The consternation of the allies amounted almost to a panic. Ravenna was taken the next day while treating for a capitulation, and was sacked with the greatest brutality[23]; Imola, Forlì, Rimini, all Romagna, hastened to submit to La Palisse, who now assumed the command, and to the Cardinal of San Severino, who received the keys of the surrendered towns in the name of the Council of Pisa; terror reigned at Rome, and even the stout heart of Julius himself was so shaken that he at first agreed to receive the conditions of peace proposed by Louis XII. before the battle. Ferdinand displayed the extent of his consternation by ordering Gonsalvo de Cordova to prepare for a campaign in Italy. But, in fact, the victory of Ravenna proved fatal to the French themselves. The soldiers were disheartened by the loss of Gaston; the officers were divided; San Severino disputed the command with La Palisse; the Duke of Ferrara, who had refused it, returned home, released his prisoner, Fabrizzio Colonna, and endeavoured to make his peace with the Pope; Maximilian withdrew his lansquenets, and the Swiss were preparing for a fresh descent into Lombardy. Under these circumstances, La Palisse was obliged to retire into the Milanese, and Julius II. regained his wonted courage. On May 3rd, three weeks after the battle, he opened the Council of the Lateran, which, at the first session, was attended by eighty-four prelates from Italy,

historians, the battle of Ravenna has been described by Zwinglius, the celebrated Swiss reformer, in a letter to Vadeus of St. Gallen (Freher, *Germ. Rer. SS.* t. iii. No. 8).

[23] It should be remembered, however, that at this period all sides were nearly equally brutal. Julio Vitelli, bishop of Città di Castello, having recovered Ravenna by capitulation after the retreat of La Palisse, broke his word, and abandoned the four chief officers of the garrison to the populace, who buried them alive before his eyes! Sismondi, *Rép. It.* t. xiv. p. 239.

Spain, England, and Hungary. The Cardinal of York, as well as an Aragonese cardinal, dissuaded him from accepting the proposals of France; and Julius readily yielded to counsels which he had himself suggested. The towns evacuated by the French were immediately occupied by Papal troops, and Bologna itself, the object of so much anxiety, was again wrested from the Bentivogli. Meanwhile Cardinal Schinner had agreed with the Emperor and the Pope to restore Maximilian Sforza, eldest son of Louis the Moor, to the ducal throne of Milan.[24] Instructed by their previous miscarriages, the Swiss now resolved to supply themselves with cavalry and artillery from the Venetians, and with this view they pressed to the eastward through Coire and Chiavenna; as well as through Trent, into the territory of Verona. La Palisse was compelled to retire before them as far as Pavia, and Maximilian Sforza was everywhere proclaimed with enthusiasm.[25] The Cardinal John de' Medici profited by the confusion of this retreat to make his escape; the fathers composing the Council of Pisa fled from Milan at the approach of the Swiss; and the Italians signalised their hatred of the French by massacring all they could lay hands on.

The Swiss and Venetians soon appeared before Pavia, and, after a bloody engagement, La Palisse was forced to evacuate that place and retreat into France. At the end of June, less than three months after the victory of Ravenna, Louis XII. possessed in Lombardy little more than Brescia, Peschiera, and Crema, and the citadels of Milan, Cremona, and Novara. But the success of the Holy League produced in it those dissensions which invariably attend such confederations. The grasping Julius, on pretence that Parma and Piacenza had at one period formed part of the Exarchate of Ravenna, proceeded to occupy those cities, in violation of the claims of the new Duke of Milan, as well as those of the Emperor, to the whole of Lombardy. The Pope, at the intercession of Fabricius Colonna and his powerful family, and of the Catholic King, consented to pardon the Duke of Ferrara, after he had submitted to a suitable humiliation; and six cardinals were appointed to arrange with him the terms of his pacification. But what was the surprise of Alphonso a few days after, to hear that the Pope was resolved to claim the whole Ferrarese for the Holy See; that he must content himself with the County of Asti in exchange; and that the Duke of Urbino had actually occupied some of his towns! Julius was prepared to extort his demands by keeping Alphonso a prisoner at Rome; and Fabricius and M. A. Colonna

[24] Muratori, *Ann.* t. x, p. 76.

[25] He was actually restored Dec. 15.

were obliged to secure his return to his dominions by forcing the Papal guard at the gate of S. Giovanni. Maximilian, as grasping, and still more capricious than Julius, although now confederated with the Venetians, would not relinquish his pretensions to their continental territories. Raymond de Cardona was immediately to lead his army into Lombardy, in order that he might have more influence on the distribution of the territories occupied by the Holy League, as well as to feed his army at the expense of that country, which Ferdinand assigned to them in place of pay. The Swiss, after restoring the Duke of Milan, continued to levy contributions on his subjects, and, on their return, permanently occupied the Valteline, Locarno, and Chiavenna; while the Venetians were making some fruitless attempts on Brescia and Crema, without the participation of their allies. All parties complained of one another; on one point only were they agreed—the necessity of punishing Florence, although the only crime that could be alleged against that state was a too timid and vacillating policy.

A republic had continued to exist at Florence, since the death of Savonarola; and Soderini, who had been one of the chief supporters of that reformer, enjoyed the supreme direction of its affairs, having been elected Gonfalonier for life. Although during the Holy League Soderini observed a strict neutrality, Julius could not pardon his partiality for France, and still less his having given a safe conduct to the five refractory cardinals who had lent their names and authority to the Council of Pisa. The Pope had even incited a Florentine citizen, Prinzivalle della Stufa, to assassinate Soderini, but the conspiracy was discovered and frustrated.[26] After the triumph of the Holy League, the ruin of Florence was resolved on by the resentment of Julius, the intrigues of the Medici, and the cupidity of the generals of the allies.

A congress had been opened at Mantua, for the purpose of arranging a general pacification, to which John Victor Soderini, a jurisconsult, and brother of the gonfalonier, was despatched to watch over the interests of Florence, and procure her admission into the treaty. There was nothing that the Holy League was more in want of than money. The Bishop of Gurk offered the Florentines the imperial protection in consideration of a sum of 40,000 florins. Soderini hesitated, and the republic was lost. Julian de' Medici, third son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who had also appeared at the congress, hinted that, if the armies of the League were in want of money, they could more readily procure it from the Medici than from the popular party at Florence. The argument was

[26] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. xiv. p. 128 sq.

irresistible. The congress ordered Don Raymond de Cardona, with the Spanish army, accompanied by the Cardinal John de' Medici, to march upon Florence and change the government.

The Spaniards, crossing the Apennines, approached Florence by Barberino and Prato. The latter place was taken by assault, August 30th, when a general massacre and pillage ensued, accompanied with atrocities which surpassed even those committed at Brescia and Ravenna. Meanwhile the Florentines were deliberating on the proposition of Cardona, who had demanded the banishment of the Gonfalonier Soderini, and the restoration of the Medici, not, however, as princes, but simply as private citizens. The Grand Council consented to the latter demand, on condition that the Gonfalonier should remain at the head of the republic, and that no changes should be made in their laws and government. But after the capture of Prato Cardona raised his terms, and demanded in addition a large sum of money. The barbarities perpetrated at Prato had filled the Florentines with consternation: the Gonfalonier himself could not conceal his terror, and offered to abdicate. In this conjuncture, the revolution which restored the Medici was accomplished by a literary society of some thirty young men, who were accustomed to assemble in the gardens of Bernardo Ruccellai, and who had previously been in secret correspondence with Julian de' Medici. On the morning of the 31st of August the conspirators proceeded to the Public Palace, seized the Gonfalonier Soderini, carried him off to the house of Paul Vettori, on the Quay of the Arno, and having assembled the government, compelled them to depose Soderini. Ambassadors were then despatched to Cardona, to accept the terms already named; the money payment being fixed at 80,000 florins for the Spanish army, 40,000 for the Emperor, and 20,000 for Cardona himself.

Cardinal John de' Medici, although the eldest surviving son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, did not desire for himself the headship of the Florentine state; his views were directed to the Papacy, which he obtained in the following year. But in spite of the terms of the capitulation, he wished to procure for his brother Julian the supreme power at Florence. Julian entered the city before his condemnation had been reversed (September 2nd); and the measures which he first concerted with the Albizzi, now his own partizans, were of a sufficiently mild and liberal character. But on the 14th the Cardinal, who had hitherto remained at Prato, entered Florence with a large military escort, and took possession of the palace of the Medici. On the next day he proceeded to the Public Palace; and, having intimidated the

government, and summoned what was called a parliament, or assembly of the people, which was composed in reality of his own creatures and soldiers; he established, in place of the former constitutional government, a narrow oligarchy, which subsisted till the expulsion of the Medici in 1527.

It was soon discovered that Julian had not energy enough to curb the turbulent democracy of Florence; and after the elevation of Cardinal John de' Medici to the papal throne, he resigned his authority to his nephew Lorenzo, took up his residence at Rome, and was appointed Captain-General of the Church. Under Lorenzo the Florentine government became a perfect despotism.[27] On the other hand, Genoa recovered her liberty, if the various phases of sedition and anarchy which characterized that republic deserve the sacred name. The exile Giano Fregoso, being sent thither by the allies, raised an insurrection, drove out the French, and was elected doge (June 29th).

Laden with the booty of Tuscany, Cardona directed his march into Lombardy, where he took possession of several towns and fortresses. A secret jealousy reigned among all the members of the League. The Pope, to strengthen himself with the Emperor, gave a cardinal's hat to his secretary, the Bishop of Gurk; and he offered the Venetians to mediate a peace for them with Maximilian; but as they were informed of his secret league with the Emperor, they began to think of an alliance with Louis XII.

Both Ferdinand of Aragon and his son-in-law Henry VIII. were very dissatisfied with the Pope's alliance with Maximilian. Ferdinand's attention, however, was at this moment engrossed with his domestic policy, and he was endeavouring to add the kingdom of Navarre to his dominions. After Eleanor's brief reign, to which we have already adverted, the blood-stained sceptre of Navarre passed to her grandson Phœbus, 1479, who, however, lived only four years, and was succeeded by his sister Catherine. Ferdinand and Isabella endeavoured to effect a marriage between Catherine and their own heir; but this scheme was frustrated by Magdalen, the queen-mother, a sister of Louis XI. of France, who brought about a match between her daughter and John d'Albret, a French nobleman who had large possessions on the borders of Navarre (1485). Nevertheless the Kings of Spain supported Catherine and her husband against her uncle John de Foix, viscount of Narbonne, who pretended to the Navarese crown on the ground that it was limited to male heirs; and after the death of John, the alliance with Spain was drawn still closer by the avowed purpose of

[27] "Hora non si serva più ordine; quel ch' el vol (Lorenzin) è fatto."—*Relazione* di S. Marin Zorzi, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 269. (Mrs. Austin's transl.)

Louis XII. to support his nephew, Gaston de Foix, in the claims of his father. After the fall of that young hero at Ravenna, his pretensions to the throne of Navarre devolved to his sister, Germaine de Foix, the second wife of King Ferdinand, an event which entirely altered the relations between the courts of Spain and Navarre.[28] Ferdinand had now an interest in supporting the claims of the house of Foix-Narbonne; and Catherine, who distrusted him, despatched in May 1512, plenipotentiaries to the French court to negotiate a treaty of alliance. John d' Albret, Catherine's husband, was a careless, easy prince, who hated show and ceremony; he heard every day two or three masses, dined with any body who would invite him, attended every village festival, and danced in public with the wives and daughters of his peasantry and citizens. In vain Louis XII. advised him to be on his guard against Ferdinand; John continued his easy course of life, while the storm preparing for him was ready to burst over his head.

We have already adverted to the alliance between Ferdinand of Aragon and his son-in-law, Henry VIII., for the avowed purpose of invading Guienne.[29] Henry communicated that project to his parliament in February, 1512; and he represented that his views in creating this diversion were also to oblige Louis to dissolve the council of Pisa, and to restore Bologna to the Holy See; and the English parliament is said to have been seduced by a timely present from the Pope. A vessel laden with Greek wines and southern fruits displayed, for the first time, the pontifical standard in the Thames, and the English senators, corrupted by the distribution of these delicacies, are represented as voting, in consequence, liberal supplies for an object so foreign to their interests! We may with more probability ascribe these grants to the favour which a war with France still found in the minds of the English people. But from this purpose the English forces were diverted by the duplicity of the wily Ferdinand. Having sent his own vessels to convey the English army, near 10,000 strong, for a pretended expedition against Bayonne, Ferdinand caused it to be landed at Passages, in Guipuscoa, June 8th; and he then represented to the Marquis of Dorset, the English commander, that it would first of all be necessary to occupy the kingdom of Navarre, as the inclinations of its sovereigns could not be trusted. King John, indeed, soon afterwards concluded, at Blois (July 17th), a treaty with Louis XII., one stipulation of which was that neither nation should allow the enemies of the other to pass through its dominions;

[28] See Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 411. This circumstance is totally overlooked by Prescott.

[29] Above p. 284.

and the King of Navarre further pledged himself to declare war against the English assembled at Guipuscoa. Dorset was not slow to perceive the real drift of Ferdinand's policy, the nature of his relations with Navarre, and the reasons why he had carried the English to Spain, and dissuaded them from making a direct attack upon France; and he consequently declined to exceed his instructions by entering upon a war with the Navarrese. The mere presence of the English army, however, assisted the designs of the Catholic King, by overawing his opponents. Ferdinand, who was aided by the Navarrese faction of the Beaumonts, to which his general, the Duke of Alva[30] belonged, ordered his army to invade Navarre. The pretexts which he alleged for this act were that the Navarrese sovereigns had refused his demands that they should accede to the Holy League, grant him a free passage through their dominions, and guarantee their neutrality by delivering to him six of their principal fortresses. Another ground adduced breathed all the hypocrisy of Ferdinand. In joining Louis the Navarrese sovereigns had recognised the council of Pisa, and were therefore comprised in the excommunication fulminated against its adherents, which involved the deprivation of their dominions! In fact, Ferdinand, in letters written during this period, attributes his unjust and ambitious aggression to a desire of extirpating "the accursed schism," and saw in the rapid success which attended his arms, the miraculous interposition of Providence.[31] King John retired before the Spaniards to Lumbier, and, after in vain invoking the assistance of the French, took refuge with his family in France; while Alva, who found but small resistance, subdued nearly the whole of Upper Navarre in less than a fortnight. He even penetrated into Lower Navarre, but, not meeting with the support which he expected from the English, was obliged to retire before the Duke of Longueville and the French troops, the veterans of Italy, under La Palisse. Alva threw himself into Pampeluna, which he succeeded in defending. The Marquis of Dorset, who loudly complained, and not without reason, that his master had been duped, re-embarked his forces in October, and returned to England without having had an opportunity to strike a single blow against the French. Ferdinand affected to assume that he was the injured party in this transaction, "which," he observes in one of his letters, "touches me most deeply, for the stain it leaves upon the honour of the most serene King, my son-in-law, and the glory of the English nation, so distinguished in times past for high and chivalrous enterprise."[32] The policy of the

[30] Grandfather of the Duke of Alva notorious for his cruelties in the Netherlands.

[31] Prescott, vol. iii. p. 334.

[32] Prescott, *ibid.* p. 337, who, from his way of relating the story, seems to partake the opinion of his hero Ferdinand.

Catholic King was, however, crowned with substantial success, as we shall here relate by anticipation. In the following year, he effected at Orthès a year's truce with Louis XII. (April 1st 1513), by which Louis sacrificed his ally, the King of Navarre, and afterwards, by renewing the truce, allowed Ferdinand permanently to settle himself in his new conquest. The States of Navarre had previously taken the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand as their King, and on the 15th of June 1515, Navarre was incorporated into the kingdom of Castile by the solemn act of the Cortès. The dominions of John d'Albret and Catherine were now reduced to the little territory of Bearn, but they still retained the title of sovereigns of Navarre.

Pope Julius II. had expired before Ferdinand consummated his treachery towards the Holy League by the truce of Orthès. Julius was still occupied with his favourite scheme of expelling the "barbarians" from Italy, as well as with his plans for extending the domains of the Church, when he was attacked by a slow fever and dysentery, which after a few days proved fatal (Feb. 21st, 1513). He was a Pontiff, observes Guicciardini, worthy of imperishable glory had he worn any other crown than the tiara; and certainly the idea of making the papacy the instrument of Italian liberation was a grand one, however incompatible with the proper vocation of the Holy See. We now see the same instrument employed by a feebler Pontiff to obstruct the consummation of Italian freedom. Julius must be regarded as the founder of the States of the Church, which for the most part had been acquired by Cæsar Borgia to gratify his own selfish ambition. Macchiavelli has observed that, before the time of Julius, the most insignificant baron despised the Papal power, of which subsequently even the King of France stood in awe. Julius II. was economical, and even miserly, in his way of life, confining the expenses of his household to 1500 ducats a month[33], so that, in spite of his constant wars, he left a considerable sum in his treasury. Yet, as a ruler, all his ideas were on a gigantic scale. It was he that resumed the building of St. Peter's, in which, and other architectural designs, he found in Michael Angelo Buonarotti a genius of kindred vastness to assist him. One of the last acts of Julius II. was to deprive Louis XII. of the title of "Very Christian," and to transfer it to Henry VIII. by a decree of the Lateran Council; and at the same time he issued a Bull laying the kingdom of France, with the exception of Bretagne, under an Interdict.[34]

[33] *Relazione* di Domenego Trivixian, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 257.

[34] Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* 1512, t. xi. p. 638. Cf. Guicciardini, lib. xi.

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FROM 1513 TO 1545.

(*The Years show the end of their Reigns.*)

GERMANY.	SPAIN.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	POPES.
Maximilian I. . 1519	ARAGON.	Louis XII. . . 1515	Henry VIII. . —	Leo X. . . . 1522
Charles V. . . —	Ferdinand . . 1516	Francis I. . . —		Adrian VI. . . 1523
	Charles I.* . . —			Clement VII. . 1534
	CASTILE.			Paul III. . . . —
	Joanna }			
	Charles I. } . —			
	*(*The Emperor Charles V.*)			
TURKEY.	PORTUGAL.	POLAND.	SCOTLAND.	DENMARK.
Selim I. . . . 1520	Emmanuel the Great . . . 1521	Sigismund I. . —	James V. . . 1542	Christian II. . 1522
Soliman I. . . —	John III. . . —		Mary . . . . —	Frederick I. . 1534
				Christian III. . —

BOOK II.

FROM THE ELECTION OF LEO X. IN 1513, TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT IN 1545.

CHAPTER I.

ALTHOUGH it is impossible to define with precision the limits of those revolutions which depend on a gradual change in the opinions and habits of mankind, yet the period comprised in the preceding book may be characterised with sufficient accuracy as an era of transition, in which were prepared or perfected those three great changes which have distinguished the social and political life of Modern Europe from that of the Middle Ages: the extinction, namely, of feudalism; the alteration in the commercial system of Europe, consequent on the maritime discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese; and the reformation of the Church.

I. We will first consider the destruction of the feudal system, and the changes in war and politics which it occasioned. At the period at which the present book opens, the power of the great European vassals had been shaken but not annihilated. In France, feudalism had received a severe blow at the hands of Louis XI.; yet it still in some degree survived; it threatened to rise again during the civil wars of France, and was not completely extinguished till the time of Richelieu. So also in Spain, though much abated, it remained to be put down by the policy of the Emperor Charles V. and his successor Philip II. In England, the great vassals of the Crown had never been so powerful as on the continent; and hence, in the time of John, they had been obliged to league themselves with the people in defence of their common rights. The great Earl of Warwick, in the reign of Edward IV., and perhaps we may add the Duke of Buckingham in that of Richard III., are among the last remarkable instances of formid-

able power in the nobles. The greater part of them perished in the wars of the Roses, and Henry VII.'s act against retainers (1509) severely shook their little remaining influence. The great vassals of France and Spain had however been sufficiently reduced to allow either monarch to wield the centralised force of his kingdom in those foreign wars which arose from his policy or ambition. The destruction of feudalism was a monarchical, not a popular, revolution, and hence European politics became in a great degree centered in the interests of families and dynasties. Even in England, where the people had a larger share of power than in any continental state, the Tudor dynasty was the strongest and most absolute that ever sat upon the throne. Thus the destinies of Europe depended on court intrigues, and were settled in royal palaces and the cabinets of princes. All the foreign wars which we have described in the preceding book, and all that we shall have to narrate in the present one, were waged for no national cause, but merely for the interest of a dynasty:

"Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi."

Rabelais, the great humourist of the sixteenth century, was struck by this all-absorbing power of the royal houses, which he has amusingly depicted in the descriptions of his giant kings, Pantagruel, Grand Gousier, and Gargantua.[1]

In Germany, however, little or no progress had been made in the centralisation of the governing power. The federal government of that country was indeed rather better calculated to produce national strength than that of a king surrounded with great and almost independent vassals, as was the case in France in the earlier ages; yet, in that respect, it cannot be compared with France when united under one almost absolute head. In the times, however, of which we shall have to treat in the following pages, this defect was in some degree compensated by the enormous power of the House of Austria, now virtually become the hereditary Emperors of Germany.

But, besides its government, Germany presents the most striking image of feudalism in the domestic lives of its nobility. We have already adverted to this subject, and shall here only briefly recur to it.[2]

If the spirit of chivalry, and what has been called knight-errantry, on which Mr. Hallam has passed so glowing a panegyric[3], be not mere chimeras and creations of the brain, in no country might we expect to find them so favourably developed as in

[1] Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 211. [2] Introd. p. 24. [3] *Middle Ages*, ch. ix. pt. ii.

Germany. For an individual to become a redresser of wrongs and champion of the oppressed, it is necessary that he should have a power above the law,—in short, that he should take the law into his own hands; and the German knights possessed this power in a far higher degree and for a longer period than any of their European brethren. Their impregnable castles, the nature of their arms and equipments, the number of their retainers, made them so many little sovereigns with no law but that in their own breasts. And how did they use this power? As the perpetrators, instead of the redressers, of wrongs and grievances. They were nothing but public robbers — highwaymen on a grand scale, ready for any deed of violence. To illustrate this subject by a few instances. In May 1512, Götz von Berlichingen and Hans Selbig von Frauenstein, two of the most renowned of German knights, at the head of 130 horse, attacked, between Forcheim and Neusess, the caravan which was returning to Nuremberg from the Leipsic fair, and carried off thirty-one persons and a booty valued at 8800 *gulden*. About the same time another troop assembled in the castle of Hohenkrähn for the abduction of the daughter of a citizen of Kaufbeuern, whom a nobleman had wooed in vain. Such deeds were common. Franz von Sickingen, another renowned knight, whose power procured him great influence in Germany, and even commanded the respect of the Emperor, was no better than the rest. A feud with Worms,—for he was strong enough to defy whole cities,—afforded him a pretext for robbery; all traders were with him men of Worms, and he plundered them without mercy. One of his methods was to buy suits from lawyers, which afforded him an opportunity for violence under pretence of justice. Yet Sickingen, though independent and almost savage, was not illiterate or barbarous; on the contrary, his castle of Ebernburg near Kreutznach, was the refuge of the men of letters and bold and original thinkers of the age. The deeds just related were daring and on a large scale, and have something of a wild magnificence about them; but no booty, however small, was disdained by these noble robbers, and even poor scholars became sometimes the objects of their plunder.[4]

Mr. Hallam allows that the feudal knight was dissolute; we have seen that he had little respect for the rights of property and the precepts of morality and justice: whether these defects were compensated by his fantastic and bloody code of honour may well admit of question; or whether the three virtues which that

[4] On the German Knights and their doings see Münch's *Sickingen*; Pistorius, *Götzens v. Berlichingen ritterliche Thaten.*

writer peculiarly assigns to him, of loyalty, courtesy and munificence[5], are not shared by every high-bred man of whatever age or nation. In fact, in discussing this subject, as appears from Mr. Hallam's dissertation, we have commonly before us rather an ideal standard of romance than the sober facts of history. Perhaps the man who nearest approached that standard was the Frenchman Bayard, the good knight *sans peur et sans reproche*. But in Bayard's days the power and privileges of the knight were sadly curtailed in France. With all his valour and generosity Bayard is civilised and regular in his conduct, subject to military discipline, and enlisted in the regular forces.

Among the chief agents in the destruction of feudalism was the invention of gunpowder and consequent change in the art of war. Neither the armour of the knights nor the thick walls of their castles were proof against bullets and cannon balls. The Nurembergers, in order to punish the attack before related of Götz and Selbig on their commerce, contributed 600 infantry and some cannon to the forces of the Suabian League, while the Emperor sent from Austria two of his best guns, the *Weckauf* and the *Burlebaus*. Frauenstein, the castle of Selbig, was attacked and taken, and the stolen goods recovered, and soon afterwards the castle of Hohenkrähn was invested. The effects of these terrible guns are celebrated in an old song, which describes the hill as trembling at their fire: the cliffs were rent asunder, the walls split in twain; the knights fled, their followers surrendered, and the castle was rased to its foundations.[6]

The invention, or rather the practical use, of gunpowder, the extinction of feudalism, and consequent centralisation of monarchical power, produced the modern system of warfare, which has enabled nations to carry on more distant and more lengthened wars. The principal features in this change are, the development of infantry forces and the institution of standing armies.

Although it is universally allowed that gunpowder was invented by our great countryman Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, it was long before the invention was applied to the art of war. This application has been claimed for Barthold Schwartz, a German apothecary, about 1330; but gunpowder appears to have been used in war by the Moors before that period, who are said to have employed it to discharge balls and stones in their battles with the Spaniards about the year 1312.[7] The Moorish King of

[5] *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 400 (ed. 1855).

[6] *Anonymi Carmen de Obsidione et Expugnatione Arcis Hohenkrayen*, 1512; Fugger ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 208.

[7] Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica*, ap. Koch, *Révol. de l'Europe*, t. i. p. 243.

Granada had cannon that discharged iron balls in 1331.[8] About the same period cannon seem to have been in use in Italy, as Petrarch in his dialogue *De remedio utriusque fortunæ*, written before 1344, execrates the employment of them, and speaks of it as common. The use of guns by the English is mentioned before this period. The Scotch poet, Barber, in his *Life of King Robert*[9], speaks of the English guns, which he calls *cracks of war*, in a skirmish on the banks of the Were in 1327. In 1339, the Scots battered the walls of Stirling Castle with cannon.[10] At the battle of Crécy, the use of artillery by the English is attested by Giovanni Villani[11], who mentions that their *bombarde* discharged little balls of iron and were chiefly intended to frighten the horses of the enemy, though they seem to have caused considerable dectruction; and as Villani died within two years after that battle, he cannot have committed an anachronism in the matter. Without pursuing the subject further, it may suffice to state that in the course of the fourteenth century artillery had come into pretty general use.

It was long before the art of sieges was understood and cannon were first employed against the enemy's line of battle. At first however they were deemed of little account. As it required much time to load them, they could be fired only a few times; the art of pointing them was not understood; the carriages were not easily moved; and thus the guns, when once planted, fired straight forward. These defects continued till a late period. Macchiavelli, who wrote at the beginning of the sixteenth century, reckons that cannon can scarce be discharged twice in an engagement, and from the want of skill in pointing them, he proposes to avoid their effect by leaving a gap in the line of battle opposite to the enemy's batteries.[12] From these considerations, that author even doubts altogether the expediency of using artillery. The objections urged by Macchiavelli would not, however, apply with so much force to the employment of cannon in sieges. Walls and ramparts could not evade their fire; and that they had begun to be effective against towns by the middle of the fifteenth century appears from the fact that in the latter half of that period ramparts were constructed with oblique lines instead of the former straight ones.[13] The Turks certainly used artillery with effect at the siege of Constantinople[14]

[8] Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, t. ii. p. 99, ap. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 499.

[9] Ap. Macpherson, *ibid.*

[10] Froissart, liv. i. c. 74.

[11] "Che facieno (le bombarde) si grande tremuoto e romore, che parea, che Iddio tonasse con grande uccisione di gente e sfondamento di cavalli."—*Istor. Fiorent.* lib. xii. c. 67. Cf. c. 66.

[12] *Arte della Guerra*, lib. iii.

[13] Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. 55.

[14] Chalcocondylas, lib. v. (p. 231, ed. Bonn) represents the Turks as employing cannon in the first siege of Constantinople in 1422; while Ducas, c. 30 (p. 211, *id.*),

in 1453. The heavy ordnance used by the Spaniards in their wars with the Moors towards the close of the fifteenth century were about twelve feet long, and composed of iron bars two inches broad fastened together with rings and bolts. These guns were firmly fixed on the carriages, and incapable either of vertical or horizontal movement.[15] The Emperor Maximilian brought a good train of artillery against Padua in 1509; but the carriages were imperfect, the guns could be fired only about four times a day, and were loaded with stone instead of ball. It was the French in their Italian wars who first brought artillery to some perfection.

The art of mining, a Spanish invention, also marked a progress in sieges. The first authenticated account of the use of gunpowder in mining is at the siege of Malaga in 1487, by an engineer named Francisco Ramirez[16]; but mines were first employed on a more extended and scientific scale by Pedro Navarro in the Italian wars of the sixteenth century, as already related.

One of the earliest accounts we have of the use of hand-guns, or arquebuses, belongs to the year 1432, when the Emperor Sigismund, during his journey into Italy, had a guard of five hundred men so armed.[17] These ancient arquebuses were so heavy as to require an iron rest, and were used with a matchlock; inconveniences which long caused them to be considered by many as inferior to the cross-bow. The hand-guns used at the siege of Sarno in 1459 were without locks, as appears from the description of Æneas Sylvius.[18] Muskets or pistols with locks were first made at Nuremberg in 1517.[19] Muskets were introduced in England in 1521; but more than a century elapsed before the use of the bow was quite laid aside in this country.[20]

Even at the beginning of the sixteenth century the *gens d'armes*, or heavy cavalry, were still pretty generally regarded, at least in Western Europe, as forming the pith of armies; though in the Spanish forces, the heavy cavalry were not so numerous as the light, who fought in the Moorish fashion. The Burgundian *gens d'armes* had a great reputation.[21] Infantry, however, were now beginning to be more employed. During the preceding century, and especially the first half of it, little or no care had been

assigns their first use of it to the siege of Belgrade, in 1436.

[15] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 442 sq.

[16] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 29.

[17] Bandini, in Muratori, *Scripp. Rer. Ital.* t. xx. p. 41.

[18] "Ignis per foramen parvum in posteriori parte adhibetur." — Pii II[di]. *Commentarii*, lib. iv. p. 105 (ed. 1614).

[19] Wagenseil, *De Civitate Noribergensi*, De Murr, *Beschribung von Nürenberg*, ap. Koch, *Révol. de l'Eur.* t. i. p. 244.

[20] Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 58.

[21] Von Raumer, *Gesch. Europas*, B. i. S. 272 ff.

bestowed on the raising or discipline of the infantry, who were considered incompetent to resist cavalry. Yet those horsemen all cased in iron, who fought with long lances and heavy swords, could not engage except upon an open plain; a small fortification, a little stream, even a ditch, arrested them; and it was rarely that they ventured to attack an intrenched camp. Thus an engagement could not take place unless the generals on both sides were desirous of it; and in Italy, especially, there was frequently no pitched battle, scarcely even a skirmish, in the course of a war. The expeditions were confined to what were called *cavalcades*, or forays into the enemy's country; when the horsemen swept over the plains, destroying the crops, carrying off the cattle, and burning the houses. In short, war was thus made upon the people and not against the enemy's army.[22]

The Swiss, whose mountainous country is ill adapted to horsemen, were the first European people who organised a formidable infantry; and its effect on the Burgundian horsemen has been already related. The Swiss foot soldiers were armed with pikes of enormous length, or halberds; they had gigantic sabres, wielded with both hands, and a club armed with points of iron, called the *Morgen-stern*, or morning star. Such arms were necessary against the helms and cuirasses of mounted knights. Among the German peasantry, oppressed and discontented for a long series of years, it was also easy to raise soldiers, and it was in their villages that were recruited the troops called *lansquenets*, who played so great a part in the wars of Europe during the period we are contemplating. In this respect the example of their Swiss neighbours had a great influence upon them. The German *lansquenets* (*Lanz-knechte*, or lance-men) were also, as their name implies, armed with long spears. But however effective against cavalry, these troops could not contend in close combat with the short swords of the Spanish infantry. The question had before been decided between the Roman legion and the Macedonian phalanx.

The missile weapons used before the introduction of muskets were arrows, discharged either from bows or cross-bows. The bow and arrow was the national weapon of the English, and gained for them many of their victories. Giovanni Villani, in a passage already cited, bears testimony to the skill and readiness of the English archers, whom he represents as shooting three arrows in the same time that the Genoese cross-bowmen, in the service of France, took to discharge one. It was natural that the English should be loath to relinquish a weapon in which they so much

[22] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. viii. p. 56 sq.

excelled; and the consequence was that their infantry was for a long time behind that of the continent in skill and effectiveness. In the war with Scotland in 1523, we find Surrey requesting to be supplied with a body of 4000 Germans, in order that he might be able to oppose pikemen to pikemen, and that the English might learn from them how to observe the order of battle.[23] This was a sign that the English archer was no longer all in all. For the same reason judicious persons were opposed to Henry VIII.'s schemes of conquest in France. The reason assigned by Lord Herbert[24] is the change of weapons: instead of the bow, proper for men of our strength, the *caleever*, or hand-gun, begins to be generally used; which is costly, requires long practice, and may be handled by the weak. He would rather direct the efforts of the nation towards the Indies. A prejudice in favour of the bow lingered in England throughout the sixteenth century; and Sir John Smythe, whose *Discourses on the Forms and Effects of Divers Sorts of Weapons* were suppressed by Queen Elizabeth in 1590, was still a great stickler for its use.[25]

In a military point of view, the nations of Eastern Europe presented some peculiar features. They possessed few fortresses in comparison with the nations of Roman or Teutonic origin, and their chief military force, even down to the seventeenth century, consisted of enormous bodies of cavalry. Louis, King of Hungary, often assembled about the middle of the fourteenth century an army of 40,000 or 50,000 horsemen, to the astonishment of the Italians, who in their most important wars could hardly raise 3000. They served like the Poles on the condition of their tenures. Although well mounted they were badly armed, having only a long sword, a bow and arrows, and no coat of mail; for which, however a thick jacket formed a kind of substitute.[26] A French traveller, who passed through Hungary in 1433, mentions the extraordinary number of wild horses that he saw, which the Hungarians were very skilful in taming. They were sold by the *stalls*, a stall of ten horses fetching 200 florins. Yet with all this plenty of horses, it was the custom of the country to travel in carriages drawn only by one, though holding six or eight persons.[27] It was computed in the sixteenth century that the Polish cavalry was equal in

[23] Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 208, note.

[24] *Life of Henry VIII.* (in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 8.)

[25] See *Original Letters*, edited by Sir H. Ellis for the Camden Society, p. 54.

[26] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. vi. p. 267.

[27] See the account of Bertrandon de la Brocquière, premier écuyer tranchant du Duc de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon, in the *Mém. de l' Acad. des Sciences*, t. v. ap. Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. ii. S. 374. The same traveller does not speak with much reverence of the manners of the people, and says that he would rather trust a Turk than a Hungarian.

number to that of Spain, France and Germany combined. The Grand-Prince of Moscow could bring into the field 150,000 mounted combatants. The force of the Voyvodes of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia was reckoned at 50,000 horsemen each, and the Szekler in Hungary at 60,000.[28] Beyond, were the bordering Tartar hordes, which may be said to have lived on horseback.

We have already adverted to the institution of standing armies by Charles VII. of France; but it was long before they were kept up in any force, except among the Turks, and only some garrisons and a few *gens d'armes* were retained in time of peace. The institution of standing armies, like every other division of labour, must be regarded as having promoted civilisation, by enabling those not in military service to direct their whole attention to other pursuits.

It has been well remarked that Europe did not exist before the crusades; its various states were previously mere *disjecta membra* — communities isolated from one another and without any bond of interest or union. A common religion united them together, a common enemy, the Asiatic Mahometans, made all Europeans brethren. The heroic times and the early periods of Grecian history seemed to be revived, when mutual injuries and wide spreading wars precipitated Europe and Asia upon each other, and gave to either continent a distinct individuality. Henceforth Europe seemed to form as it were one great state held together by a religious system, of which Rome was the centre. A chord in that system struck in one nation vibrated through the rest. The impulse given by Rome lasted down to the time of the Reformation, as appears from the general councils, attended by deputies from all the great European nations, which occupied the first portion of the fifteenth century. When by the subsequent divisions in the Church the unity of Europe seemed threatened with dissolution, it was preserved in what may appear a paradoxical manner — not by the agreement of the various states, but by their dissensions. The destruction of the feudal system, the centralisation of monarchical power, the wars and consequent negociations which ensued among the European nations, gave rise to a new bond of union in what has been called the European system, in which the political theory of the balance of power supplied the place previously held by the religious influence of Rome. The European system cannot be said to have commenced before the Italian wars of the French; and thus, for instance, the conquests of the English in France during the first half of the fifteenth century had been utterly disregarded by the other nations of Europe. The wars and nego-

[28] Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, Vorrede.

ciations of the European system produced treaties, resident embassies, and the creation of the *Jus Gentium*, or codes of international law.

In the middle ages, treaties were promulgated by the voice of the herald, nor was its customary to print and publish them till long after the invention of printing. The Golden Bull, however, the fundamental law of the German constitution, forms an exception, which appeared at Nuremberg in Latin in 1474, and at Ulm and Strasburg in German in 1484 and 1485. The *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius, the first volume of which appeared at Rome in 1588, is one of the earliest historical works in which treaties are inserted.[29]

Ambassadors[30], who in early times, and even in the reign of Henry VIII., were called *orators*, were, of course, at all periods occasionally necessary in the intercourse of nations; yet except among the Venetians, embassy, as a diplomatic office, was unknown in the middle ages, and the functions of an ambassador were from time to time discharged by eminent men, when the interests of their country might require their services. The custom of employing resident ambassadors belongs to the period of modern history; for though the Kings of Poland and Sweden, the Knights of St. John and of the Teutonic order, had residents at Rome in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who bore the title of *procurators*, these seem different from what we properly understand by the term *ambassador*. Mr. Prescott ascribes the introduction of resident ambassadors to Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain. The practice, however, does not appear to have become common till towards the middle of the sixteenth century; nor indeed during the whole of that century can the diplomatic career be said to have been thoroughly established, as the office of ambassador was often filled not by regularly bred diplomatists, but by distinguished ecclesiastics, magistrates and influential citizens.

The Florentines distinguished themselves from an early period as diplomatists and ambassadors; and often undertook the office not only for their own city but also for foreign states; thus fal-

[29] *Hist. abrégée des Traités de Paix*, par Koch et Schoell, *Introd.* p. 15. The most complete collection of treaties is that of Dumont, *Corps Universel Diplomatique.*

[30] The etymology of the word *ambassador* is uncertain. Prescott (*Ferd. and Isab.* vol. i. p. 412) derives it from the Spanish *embiar*, to send; an ambassador being, in other terms, an envoy, or person sent. But though this derivation seems plausible, the words *ambascia*, legatio, *ambasciare*, legationem obire, with other allied forms, occur in the Latin of the middle ages; and Ducange gives the etymology from the Gallic *ambactus*, a hired servant, German, *Ambacht.* The following account of embassies is principally taken from Reumont, in Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1841.

sifying one part at least of Sir Henry Wotton's definition, that, "an ambassador is a clever man sent abroad to lie for his country." Each of Florence's great literary triumvirate, Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, had been employed as an ambassador, and at a later period Macchiavelli distinguished himself in the same capacity. His despatches, under the title of *Legazioni*, are published in all his works, and although not correctly arranged, contain a treasure of authentic information respecting the persons as well as the political relations of the period. The Venetians, however, were the first to bestow any systematic attention upon embassies. The Venetian government, by an order of September 9th 1268, directed their ambassadors to deliver up on their return all the presents they had received[31]; and in December of the same year the great council ordered them to make a report of what might be useful to the government (Oratores in reditu dent in nota ea quæ sunt utilia dominio).[32] It was necessary that the Venetian ambassadors should be nobles and past the age of thirty-eight. In the sixteenth century after the custom of resident ambassadors had been introduced, the term of Venetian embassies was restricted to three years, lest the patriotism of the ambassadors should be weakened by too long a residence abroad. The disadvantages attending the appointment of a new and inexperienced minister were thought to be counterbalanced by the number of men conversant with foreign affairs which by this arrangement would be always congregated at Venice: nor did their recall preclude them from being again appointed. We have already alluded to their reports, or *Relazioni*, which in process of time became elaborate descriptions of the countries and courts to which they were accredited. The substance of some of the oldest of them is preserved in the Chronicle of Marino Sanuto.

The ambassadors of Rome were divided into two classes; if cardinals, they bore the title of *legates*, while other papal ambassadors of high rank were called *nuncios*. In the middle ages, legates were frequent enough, while in modern times cardinals are seldom sent in a diplomatic character. The ambassadors of Rome hold the highest place in the diplomatic circle: they are now always archbishops, mostly *in partibus;* a condition not indispensable in the middle of the sixteenth century, when persons who

[31] It was customary for princes to make large presents to ambassadors on their departure. Thus we find Henry VII., on dismissing the Danish ambassadors, giving the chancellor of Denmark 100*l*., the doctor 40*l*., the chancellor's brother 20*l*., and the herald 10*l*. Rymer, t. xii. p. 516.

[32] See above, p. 43.

were not even clerical had the office and title of nuncios, as Castiglione and Acciajuoli under Clement VII. The reports of some of the Roman ambassadors, like those of the Venetian, are become important historical papers.[33]

Ambassadors had the title of *Excellence* at the beginning of the sixteenth century, though perhaps only by courtesy. The official address was *Magnifico Signore* or *Magnifico Oratore*. Charles V. ordered that the title of ambassador should be given only to the envoys of crowned heads and of the Republic of Venice, and not to the agents of any feudal state.[34] After the Papal ambassadors, the Venetian had the precedence. In Italy, the Imperial ambassadors naturally took the first place; next, those of France, and then of Spain. It was usual in former times for ambassadors to follow the movements of the court to which they were accredited, whithersoever it went; and as journeys were then generally made on horseback, they had thus a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with the countries which they visited.

Of international law, another and very important result of the European system, we shall speak in a subsequent chapter, as its foundations can hardly be said to have been laid in the period we are contemplating.

II. The second revolution, which we noticed as accompanying the transition from the middle ages to modern times, is that which was produced by maritime discovery and the consequent changes in trade and commerce.

As the invention of gunpowder was a principal agent in the destruction of feudalism, so a knowledge of the properties of the magnet was a necessary antecedent of distant ocean voyages and the discovery of unknown lands. Like gunpowder, however, the compass was long known before it was applied to its proper use. The invention of it has been attributed to Flavio Gioja, a citizen of Amalfi, who flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century; but though Dr. Robertson laments that Gioja has been deprived of his just fame[35], it is certain that the instrument was known nearly two centuries before his time. It is minutely described in a Provençal poem by Guiot de Provins, supposed to have been written towards the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.[36] The age of Guiot may indeed be dis-

[33] The present *Nunziature* are Vienna, Paris, Madrid, Lisbon, Munich, Lucerne, Turin, and Naples.

[34] Vinc. Ferdeli, *Relazione* on the court of Cosmo I. of Florence, 1561, ap. Reumont, *Hist. Taschenb.* 1841, S. 452.

[35] *Hist. of America*, book i.

[36] See Koch, *Révol. de l'Europe*, t. i. p. 246.

puted; yet that the compass was known at least in the first half of the thirteenth century, appears from the writings of Cardinal Vitry (Jacobus de Vitriaco), Bishop of Acon in Palestine, who died in 1244. Vitry, indeed, in his "History of the East and West" (lib. 1, c. 91), confounds the magnet with the adamant or diamond, as some of our own writers have also done; yet he describes the polarity of the magnetic needle, and intimates its indispensable necessity to navigation.[37] In 1263 the compass, fitted in a box, was in common use among the Norwegians. A letter written by Peter Peregrini in 1269, and preserved among the manuscripts in the University of Leyden, contains a scientific account of the properties of the magnetic needle, and even of the construction of the azimuth compass.[38] The description of Guiot de Provins, who was probably older than the authors cited, shows the compass in a very rudimentary state; merely a needle rubbed on a loadstone, and floating on a cork or other light substance in a vessel filled with water; a method, however, used early in the twelfth century by the Chinese, who were acquainted with the compass long before it was known in Europe.[39] The English, with that talent for practical adaptation which characterises them, seem to have made great improvements in the compass, and the French name for it, *compas de mer*, appears to have been derived from them.[40]

But although the compass was so early known, it was not till the fifteenth century that voyages of discovery were prosecuted on any systematic plan. The Spaniards had indeed discovered the Canary Islands about the middle of the fourteenth century, but rather by accident than from design; which might easily have happened, as they are situated considerably less than 200 miles from the continent of Africa. Cape Non on that continent, which lies opposite to the Canaries, was long considered an impassable boundary, till an expedition fitted out by the Portuguese King John I., or the Bastard, in 1412, succeeded in doubling it and reaching Cape Bojador, 160 miles further.[41] The only effect of this voyage was to awaken a desire for further discoveries. King John's fourth son,

[37] The passage of Vitry is in Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, t. iv. lib. ii. c. 30.

[38] Torpæus, *Hist. Norv.* Pars IV. lib. vi. c. 4, p. 345. Peregrini's name has been erroneously converted into *Adsiger*. See Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.* t. iii. p. 31, note.

[39] Klaproth, ap. Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.* t. iii. p. 34.

[40] On the subject of the compass see further, Gilbertus, *De Magnete*, lib. i. c. 4 and 5; Pluche, *Spectacle de la Nature*, t. iv. p. 424.

[41] It appears, however, that Don Jayme Ferrer, a Catalan, had, in 1346, sailed six degrees to the south of Cape Non, and that some navigators of Dieppe had penetrated as far as Sierra Leone and Rio Sestos in 1364. Humboldt, *Ex. Crit.* t. i. p. 284.

Henry[42], who was distinguished both by an enterprising temper, and a love of art and science, especially geography, establishing his residence at Sagres (Terca Nabal, afterwards called *Villa do Infante*), near Cape St. Vincent in the Algarves, gathered around him from all quarters men practically acquainted with navigation, as well as others versed in mathematics and astronomy, and discussed with them bold projects of maritime enterprise. Prince Henry's cares were rewarded by the discovery of the Madeiras[43] (1419), and subsequently of the Azores, Cape Verd, and Guinea. His death in 1463 checked the progress of these voyages, which had extended to within five degrees of the equinoctial line.

The importance of these discoveries had excited the apprehension of the Portuguese that their title to the possession of them might be contested; and in order to settle this question, they applied to Pope Eugenius IV., who issued a Bull liberally granting to Portugal all the lands from Cape Non to India! The Popes claimed a peculiar property in all islands and undiscovered lands, rather, it would seem, as the successors of the Roman emperors, than, as some authors have asserted, as the vicars of Christ upon earth. The Guelf doctors and canonists held that the Pope was master of all the world, while the Ghibeline doctors assigned it to the Emperor. In accordance with the former of these theories, Pope Adrian IV. had bestowed Ireland on Henry II.; and in 1295 Boniface VIII. granted Gerba and some other islands on the African coast to Admiral Ruggiero di Loria, on condition of homage and tribute.[44]

Alphonso V., the eldest brother of Prince Henry, and successor of their father John, did not pay much attention to navigation; but the spirit of maritime discovery was revived by his son John II., who ascended the throne in 1481. In 1484, a Portuguese fleet sailed 1500 miles south of the line, and observed the stars and constellations of another hemisphere; settlements were made on the coast of Guinea, which were fortified, and a regular commerce

[42] See above, p. 62.

[43] Madeira is said to have been previously discovered by an Englishman named Macham, or Machin, who, flying to France with a lady of whom he was enamoured, was driven by stress of weather to that island. See Sir Geo. Staunton's *Acc. of an Embassy to China*, vol. i. p. 65, ed. 1797; and Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*, App. No. xxvii.

[44] Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, lib. xix. c. 5. When Albert of Austria sent deputies to Boniface VIII., requesting to be recognised as King of the Romans, that Pope appeared in public with sword and cuirass, and said—"It is I who am the Cæsar. There is no other King of the Romans but the sovereign pontiff." And after opening the Jubilee in his pontifical habit, he showed himself, the following day, to the multitude of pilgrims that swarmed in Rome, with the imperial ensigns, the sword, the sceptre, and the globe. Baillet, *Hist. des Démêlés de Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel*, p. 69 sq., ap. Martin, t. iv. p. 423.

established. From their own experience of the line of coast, as well as from information obtained from the natives, the Portuguese now began to conceive the possibility of reaching India by a southern navigation, agreeably to the ancient accounts of the Phœnician voyages. To acquire information and aid in effecting this design, John II. despatched two ambassadors to the Emperor of Abyssinia, a Christian Prince in the eastern parts of Africa near the Red Sea, whom he supposed to be the Prester John, famed in the relations of eastern travellers, and from their inquiries it was evident that a passage round Africa to India was feasible. Meanwhile, however, Bartholomew Diaz had already set off to attempt it. In spite of great dangers from tempests and mutinous crews, this enterprising navigator sailed far enough south not only to descry but to *double*[45] the *Cabo Tormentoso*, or Cape of Storms the southern boundary of Africa (1487); and as the coast beyond was ascertained to trend to the north-east, the prospect of success seemed now so clear that King John re-named this cape *Cabo de Boa Esperança*, or Cape of Good Hope.

The discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in the East Indies were, however, reserved to be effected in the reign of John II.'s cousin, Emmanuel the Great, who ascended the throne on John's death in 1495.[46] Vasco de Gama, having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at Calicut in Malabar in May 1498, and returned to Portugal in the following year; without indeed having founded any settlement, but bringing home with him a rich cargo consisting of the various products of the country. In 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral, with a Portuguese fleet, having stood to the westward in order to avoid the calms and variable breezes on the African coast, arrived off the coast of Brazil and took possession of that country for the crown of Portugal, of which Cabral considered himself the discoverer. But though his pretensions in this respect have till lately been sanctioned by the highest authorities[47], it appears from more recent researches that two Castilian navigators, one of whom was Vicente Pinzon, the companion of Columbus, had previously landed there and claimed the country for Spain.[48] These conflicting pretensions were settled by the treaty of Tordesillas, to which we shall advert further on.

[45] Humboldt, *Exam Crit.* t. i. p. 232.

[46] These conquests are related by the Portuguese historian Osorio, whose work has been translated by Gibbs. See also the Abbé Raynal, *Hist. des Établissemens des Européens dans les deux Indes* (translated by Justamond); Robertson, *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, sect. iii.; De la Clède, *Hist. générale de Portugal.*

[47] Robertson, *Hist. of America*, book ii.; Raynal, *Hist. of Settlements, &c.*, book ix. *sub init.*; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 19, &c.

[48] Navarrete, *Viages*, t. iii. p. 18 sq., ap. Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.* vol. ii. p. 468.

While the Portuguese were making this progress in eastern navigation, the Spaniards had made still more brilliant and striking discoveries in a new hemisphere, though probably not more important in a commercial point of view.

The existence of a fourth continent and of a race of antipodes had been at least suspected by the ancients centuries before the commencement of our æra. The sphericity of the earth was known to the Pythagoreans. Plato in his *Timæus*[49] alludes to an Atlantis greater than Asia and Africa put together. Aristotle asserted the possibility of sailing from the extremity of Europe or Africa to the eastern parts of Asia[50], and the same idea was adopted by Strabo.[51] Aristotle likewise thought it probable that there were other lands in the opposite hemisphere[52]; and Ælian also maintained the existence of a fourth continent of enormous extent.[53] Seneca the philosopher affirms that with a fair wind the voyage from Spain to the Indies might be accomplished in a few days[54]; and the same writer in one of his tragedies has uttered on the subject the following most precise and striking prophecy:

> "Venient annis sæcula seris
> Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
> Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
> Tethysque novos detegat orbes
> Nec sit terris ultima Thule."[55]

This remarkably consentient opinion of all civilised antiquity continued to prevail during the earlier ages of Christianity till the doctors of the Church, with that narrowness of view which led them to stifle all liberal knowledge, did their best to suppress it, and thus contributed to defer its realisation.[56] The work called *Christian Topography* (Τοπογραφία Χριστιανική), attributed to Cosmas Indicopleustes, exhibits the strange geographical notions of the Fathers of the Church. It is a return to barbarism. The earth is described as a vast oblong plain, more than twice as long from east to west as it is broad, and surrounded by the ocean. The ancient idea nevertheless partially survived, and was recorded by Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, and by other writers in the middle ages.[57]

[49] P. 25, tom. vii. p. 12 sq., ed. Tauchn.
[50] *De Cœlo*, lib. ii. c. 14.
[51] Lib. i. p. 103, and lib. ii. p. 162, Alm. ed.
[52] *De Mundo*, c. 3.
[53] *Var. Hist.* lib. iii. c. 18.
[54] *Nat. Q.* Præf. 11.
[55] *Medea*, act ii. v. 375. "The time will come in distant years when Ocean may relax the bonds of things, and the immense earth may be laid open: Tethys may then unveil new worlds, and Thule be no longer the remotest spot of land."
[56] See the arguments against the theory of Antipodes in Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* lib. iii. c. 24, and in St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, lib. xvi. c. 9.
[57] All the ancient and mediæval learn-

Even the circumnavigation of Africa by the Portuguese had been anticipated six centuries before the Christian æra. With some minds antiquity is a fatal objection to any narrative that appears a little extraordinary, or that runs counter to their own narrow prejudices: yet a capricious incredulity is a more dangerous critical fault than too ready a belief; and there are two circumstances in Herodotus's narration[58] of the voyage round the African continent, undertaken by some Phœnicians at the command of Pharaoh Neco, which give it an indelible stamp of truth. By this voyage it was discovered that Africa was detached from any other continent except at the Isthmus of Suez, and could consequently be circumnavigated. Again, the Phœnicians asserted that on their voyage, which, as they started from the Red Sea and returned by the Columns of Hercules, or Straits of Gibraltar, was performed from east to west, they had the sun on the *right* hand. Both these circumstances are true, yet neither could be guessed *à priori*; the latter indeed was so contrary to all experience and probability, that Herodotus himself refused to believe it. These two facts are sufficient to dispose of the futile objections which have been raised against the story on account of some of its minor details.

It is probable that America had been visited by Europeans centuries before the time of Columbus. Historians who long preceded him have related that, towards the close of the tenth century, Eric Rauda, Biorn, and other Icelandic navigators, visited Greenland and a country lying to the south-west of it, which they called Winland, from its grapes. In this country the sun is described as being eight hours above the horizon in the shortest day; and as this would happen in about latitude 49°, Winland was probably Newfoundland. A colony was settled there, but after a time all intercourse with it was dropped. As the distance between Iceland and Greenland is not great, there is no *à priori* improbability in this account, which is attested by most respectable authorities.[59] Other voyages and discoveries, as that of the Welsh Prince Madoc ap Owen in 1170[60], and the navigation towards India by the west, of the two Genoese, Guido

ing on this curious and interesting subject, will be found collected in Humboldt's *Exam. Crit. de l'Hist. de la Géogr. du nouveau Continent*, § 1.

[58] Lib. iv. c. 42.

[59] As Adam Bremensis, who died in 1076, in his *De Situ Daniæ*; Ordericus Vitalis, who flourished about the middle of the 12th century, in his *Hist. Eccl.* ann. 1098; and Snorro Sturleson, who was repeatedly chief magistrate of Iceland, 1215—1232, in his *Hist. Olafi Trygves.*, ap. Macpherson, vol. i. p. 280. Cf. Mallet, *Introd. à l'Hist. de Dannemarc*, ch. xi., and Forster, *Hist. of Voyages in the North*.

[60] Dr. Powel, *Hist. of Wales*, ap. Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 340. Cf. Humboldt, *Ex. Crit.* t. i. p. 29.

de' Vivaldi and Theodosio Doria, in 1281 and 1292, are perhaps not so well authenticated.

Little is known about the early life of Columbus.[61] He was a native of Genoa, but the year of his birth is so utterly unknown as to have been variously placed between 1430 and 1455. It was probably 1436. Columbus was bred to the sea, and served not only in the merchant service, but also in some warlike maritime expeditions, as that of John of Anjou for the conquest of Naples, in 1459, and in some cruises against the Turks and Venetians, in which he distinguished himself by his bravery. According to his own account, Columbus visited *Tille*, or Thule, by which he probably meant either the Feroe Isles or Iceland.[62] In 1470 he proceeded to Portugal, and remained in that country till 1484. His love of enterprise was no doubt stimulated by the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese; and it has been recently proved that he conceived the first idea of his great discovery shortly after his arrival in that country, and consequently three years before he was in communication on the subject with Paolo Toscanelli.[63] There can be no doubt, however, that his correspondence with Paolo, a Florentine physician and distinguished cosmographer, fortified Columbus in his project. Everything proves that his original idea and principal purpose was, by reversing the Portuguese method, to seek a passage to India, the land of gold and spices, by sailing westward; and that the discovery of lands between Europe and the eastern shores of India was only a secondary consideration both with him and Toscanelli. The idea was necessarily founded on the sphericity of the earth, and on the opinions of the ancients respecting the nature of the globe, which, as we have said, were not altogether extinguished during the middle ages, and which Columbus appears to have more immediately derived from the treatise *De Imagine Mundi* of Pierre

[61] His biography has been written by his son, Fernando Colon (the Spanish name of the family), entitled *Historia del Almirante*. One of the most authentic works on Columbus and his discoveries is the first two vols. of the *Viages y Descubrimientos* of Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete (1825), who was commissioned by the Spanish Government to examine the public archives for materials. These volumes were used by Washington Irving for his *Life of Columbus*. The contemporary author, Peter Martyr, wrote a valuable account, *De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe*, but somewhat hastily compiled, and therefore frequently erroneous. Another leading authority is Herrera, *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales;* which is a good deal founded on the contemporary but unpublished *Cronica de las Indias Occidentales* of Las Casas.

[62] MS. on the *Cinco Zonas Habitables*, ap. Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.* t. i. p. 102. The MS. says the visit was made in 1477, but Humboldt thinks this must be a mistake.

[63] Navarrete, *Viages*, t. i. p. lxxix. ap. Humboldt, *ibid.* p. 12. Paolo Toscanelli erected in 1468 the great gnomon in the cathedral of Florence.

d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambray. The theory that an unknown land, which he supposed to be India, lay at no great distance in the western ocean, was confirmed by the circumstance of trees, pieces of carved timber, and other things having been cast by the waves on the coast of Madeira and the Azores; nay, even the bodies of two men of an unknown race. Columbus was also encouraged by his own errors and those of the authors on whom he relied. He imagined that the globe was not so large as it really is, and that India extended much further to the east, leaving consequently a smaller space of ocean to be traversed.

It does not detract from the merit of Columbus that his project was founded on the previous opinions of others, and on such slight evidence in favour of it as could be collected; on the contrary, allowing it to be possible that the idea could have even entered his mind without these aids, still he would rather deserve to be called a madman than the greatest of all discoverers, if he had set out on his voyage without a rational probability of success. His merit consists in having realised, by his courage and perseverance, what others had only speculated on in their closets. Like Luther, and all the other great benefactors of mankind, he was the man of action. Thought is a noble thing, and must necessarily precede all great and noble undertakings; but so long as it remains merely thought, it is of no practical benefit to mankind.

It is well known what difficulty Columbus found to persuade the princes and powers of the world to assist him in realising the magnificent theory which had taken such complete possession of his own mind. For many years he applied in vain, first to the Genoese government,—for he wished to bestow on his own country the honour and profit of that great discovery and precious birth of time —as well as to those of Portugal, England, and Spain. He was not, however, a man to be easily discouraged and thrust aside. Like most great geniuses, he had a vein of enthusiasm in his temper; and it appears from the frequency of his citing it, that the prophecy of Seneca, before adduced, had made a deep impression on his mind; deeper, perhaps, than the more scientific opinions of the ancient writers. This disposition degenerated, indeed, in his old age into a kind of superstition, when his soul, like that of Newton, became engrossed by a mystic theology. In a letter addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella from Jamaica, in July 1503, and still more strongly in the sketch of his extravagant work entitled *Prophecies* (*Profecias*), written a year or two later, he professes that neither human reason, nor mathematical science, nor maps of the world had been of any service in his enterprise, which was simply an accom-

plishment of the predictions of Isaiah. This result, and the gold which his discoveries might afford for effecting the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre, are, he asserts, alone of importance. All the letters of Columbus, indeed, express the greatest anxiety to amass gold; but this sordid desire is covered with the veil of religion. Thus in one of his letters he says:—"Gold is a most excellent thing; whoever possesses it is master of everything in the world; it even brings souls into Paradise:"[64] an allusion apparently to the practice of purchasing indulgences.

We have entered rather fully into the circumstances which led to the discovery of America, both because that event is one of the most striking and important of the 15th century, and because it is, perhaps, more entertaining and instructive to trace the rise and development of a great idea than to detail the steps by which it is carried into practical execution. The latter, indeed, our space does not allow, nor is it necessary to our purpose. The narratives of the discoveries, conquests, and settlements of the Portuguese and Spaniards in the East and West Indies are mere episodes in the history of Europe, to which they are important only in relation to the effects which they produced on its commerce, and through that on its politics and manners; and we shall therefore content ourselves with briefly indicating the main results.

After the conquest of Granada in 1492, Columbus[65], after many tedious years of suspense, at length succeeded in gaining for his scheme the sanction and assistance of Queen Isabella. An agreement was signed with him constituting him High Admiral and Viceroy in all the countries which he might discover, securing him one tenth of the nett profits of their products, and another one eighth on condition of his furnishing one eighth of the expenses of the expedition. Ferdinand, though he signed this agreement, refused to take any part in the enterprise, the expenses and profits of which were therefore confined to Castile. Columbus appears to have been assisted in advancing his stipulated share of the outfit by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, a wealthy shipowner and experienced navigator of Palos de Moguer, a little seaport town in Andalusia, who had been one of the chief patrons of his scheme, and who, with his brothers Vicente and Francisco, not only furnished one of the vessels required for the expedition, but also engaged personally to accompany it.

On the 3rd of August 1492, Columbus left the mouth of the

[64] See Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.* t. i. p. 110. Cf. p. 15 sq.

[65] He appears to have personally witnessed the surrender of Granada by Boabdil. Wash. Irving, *Life of Columbus*, ch. vi.

Odiel with his little squadron, consisting of three ships; the largest of which, the Santa Maria, in which he hoisted his flag, was under 100 tons' burthen, and the only one decked. The two other vessels, called *caravels*, were little better than boats, being open in the centre, with cabins in the stern and forecastle.[66] Our limits will not permit us to pursue the details of this extraordinary voyage[67], which forms perhaps the most interesting chapter in all the records of human adventure. Suffice it to say that, after touching at the Canaries to refit, and again sailing thence on September 6th, the sagacity and perseverance of Columbus, and the courage and fortitude with which he braved not only the perils of that long and unknown navigation, but also the still more formidable danger of alarmed and mutinous crews, were at length rewarded by the discovery of land (Friday, October 12th). This proved to be one of the Bahama islands. Columbus called it St. Salvador, but it is better known by the native name of Guanahani. In his further searches he discovered the large and important islands of Cuba and Haiti, the latter of which he called Hispaniola. The loss, however, of his largest ship, and other circumstances, compelled Columbus to return to Europe. After constructing a little fort which he called La Navidad, or Nativity, where he left a garrison of thirty-nine men, he set sail from Hispaniola, January 4th 1493; and after many adventures, being driven by a storm into the Tagus, he landed at Lisbon, February 24th. Here he had an interview with King John II., who received him with much apparent honour, but with secret jealousy and mortification at his success. Columbus arrived at Palos March 15th, seven months and eleven days after the date of his sailing thence. In proof of his success he had brought home with him some of the native Indians, as well as birds, stuffed specimens of animals, and bracelets and other ornaments of gold. We have already adverted to the splendid reception which he experienced from Ferdinand and Isabella at Barcelona.

The Spanish sovereigns were readily induced by the success of Columbus's first voyage to fit out another expedition on a larger scale. A fleet of seventeen ships was prepared, calculated to carry 1500 persons, with all the means and appliances necessary for colonising; and so great was now the ardour to partake in the enterprise that many persons of distinction volunteered to join it.

[66] Columbus seems purposely to have selected small vessels, as better suited by their little draft of water for voyages of discovery, in coasting unknown shores, and exploring bays and rivers. See Wash. Irving, *Life of Columbus*, App. xvi.

[67] The reader who is inclined to enjoy the pleasures of romance, combined with the truth of history, may peruse it in the pages of Washington Irving.

A board was established at Seville for the management of the affairs of India; for Columbus still believed that he had touched at Japan and the eastern parts of that country; whence the islands which he discovered have still retained the name of *Indies*, though qualified with the epithet of *West*.

There was one circumstance, however, which gave the Catholic Sovereigns some uneasiness. They felt no scruple in wresting these newly discovered countries from their native princes, who were infidels and enemies of Christ, and consequently their possessions were lawfully at the mercy of the first Christian prince who could seize upon them; but the King of Portugal, as we have said, had already obtained from the Pope a donation of the Indies, and King John had alluded to this circumstance in his interview with Columbus at Lisbon. A fresh appeal to the Pope seemed to be the only way to escape this embarrassment. Alexander VI., who then occupied the chair of St. Peter, was a Spaniard by birth, and might be presumed therefore to view with favour the claims of the Spanish monarchs; which, however, were urged upon him in that high and independent tone which, in the midst of all its bigotry, distinguished at that time the intercourse of the Spanish court with Rome. Alexander readily undertook to settle a question which appeared to him the simplest in the world. The theory of the sphericity of the earth, on which the discoveries of Columbus were founded, and in accordance with which the Spanish and Portuguese adventurers might have come into collision in their new settlements, was an heretical notion which could not for a moment be entertained by the See of Rome. Unfolding the orthodox map of Cosmas Indicopleustes, before mentioned, from which it appeared that the longer the Spaniards sailed to the west, and the Portuguese to the east, the further they would be separated from one another, Pope Alexander drew with infallible hand from north to south a line of *demarcation*, passing 100 leagues to the west of the Azores and Cape Verd: all to the east of this line he gave to Portugal, all to the west, to Spain.[68] (May 4th 1493.)

The jealousy of the King of Portugal, however, was not so easily appeased. By the advice of some of his courtiers he had prepared, under pretence of an expedition to Africa, a naval armament, destined to seize the countries discovered by Columbus; and as King Ferdinand had heard of these preparations, a keen diplomatic game ensued between the two Sovereigns, in which the

[68] The Bull is in Leibnitz, *Codex Diplom.* pars i. p. 472.

superior cunning and duplicity of Ferdinand secured him the advantage. After lengthened negociations, the points in dispute between the two courts were arranged by the treaty of Tordesillas, June 7th 1494, by which it was agreed that the line of demarcation should be placed 370 leagues to the west of the Cape de Verd Islands. Under this treaty the Portuguese subsequently claimed Brazil.

Meanwhile Columbus had set sail from Cadiz on his second voyage, September 25th 1493, carrying with him Father Boyl and a troop of friars destined to convert the natives. He now held a more southerly course, which brought him to the Caribee Islands, November 2nd. Dominica, Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Antigua, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and other islands, were successively discovered, and found to be inhabited by a race of ferocious cannibals, the very reverse of the gentle natives whom he had met with in his former voyage. On arriving at his colony of Navidad, in Hispaniola, he found that all his men had been destroyed by the natives, whom they had ill treated. Having now greater means at his disposal, he founded a town which he named Isabella in honour of the Queen of Castile, and soon after erected fort St. Thomas. But he had great difficulties to contend with. His followers were discontented and mutinous, and not the least turbulent among them was Father Boyl. Columbus now deemed it prudent to send home twelve ships for reinforcements. Meanwhile he set out on a further voyage (April 24th 1494), which, however, after a five months' cruise, ended only in discovering Jamaica. On his return to Hispaniola, he found his colony there in the greatest distress. In 1496, he returned to Europe, where a new plan was formed of a settlement on a more extended scale; and as gold dust had been discovered in Hispaniola, the attention of the settlers was to be directed, not to cultivation, but to the working of that precious metal. Two years were spent in preparation, and in 1498 Columbus again set sail with only six ships. On this occasion he steered due south till near the equinoctial line, and then to the west. Trinidad was discovered August 1st, and soon after the American continent (Paria and Cumana) with the small adjacent islands. On the 30th of August, he again reached Hispaniola.

The success of Columbus stimulated other navigators to emulate his voyages. One of the most eminent of those who followed in his track, the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci, had either the address or the good fortune to make it appear that he had first discovered the

American continent in 1497, which, to the disparagement of Columbus, has from him derived its name.[69]

The profits of Columbus's discoveries did not answer the expectations of the Spanish sovereigns; jealousy and envy were at work against him, the minds of Ferdinand and Isabella were poisoned by the machinations of his enemies, and in 1500 Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of Calatrava, was despatched to Hispaniola to inquire into the charges of maladministration which had been brought against the Indian viceroy. Bovadilla was a man of small and malignant mind; he encouraged the colonists to bring accusations against Columbus, whom he caused to be arrested, and sent home in irons. On Columbus's arrival in Spain, December 17th 1500, the Spanish sovereigns ordered him, indeed, to be set at liberty; but although he cleared himself from the charges brought against him, he was superseded in the government of Hispaniola.

The active mind of Columbus was still brooding over new schemes of discovery. The experience of his former voyages had taught him that he must look still further for the shores of India; he anticipated the existence of the great Pacific Ocean, which he thought might perhaps be entered by a narrow strait, and India reached. He set out from Cadiz on his fourth and last voyage, May 9th 1502, with only four small barks, and discovered on this occasion the coast of the American main from Cape Gracios a Dios to Porto Bello; but he was not destined to behold the Pacific. Compelled to quit the coast of Honduras by violent hurricanes, he bore away for Hispaniola, and in the passage was wrecked at Jamaica. Here he was forced to linger more than a year; for though two of his officers, Mendez a Spaniard, and Fieschi a Genoese, had with incredible difficulty and danger contrived to reach Hispaniola in a canoe, Ovando, the governor, from a mean jealousy of Columbus, could not for a long period be persuaded to send a vessel to bring him away. It was impossible for the Admiral to remain in Hispaniola with a man of the temper

[69] Humboldt, in his *Examen Critique*, explains as follows the way in which the name of Amerigo Vespucci came to be given to the new continent.

Vespucci wrote a letter to René, Duke of Lorraine, giving an account of his voyage, which letter was placed by the duke in the hands of Martin Waldseemüller, an eminent cosmographer of Fribourg, who published some popular geographical works, under the Grecianised name of Hylacomylus. Waldseemüller seems to have first proposed the name of America for the newly discovered continent *proprio motu*, and without any suggestion on the part of Vespucci; and as his works had an extensive circulation, the appellation became irrevocably established.

After all, it can scarcely be doubted that, of the navigators of the 15th century, Cabot first saw the American continent in 1497.

of Ovando; he quitted that island as soon as he could, and arrived at St. Lucar, in Andalusia, December 1504. Queen Isabella was now dead. The mean and ungrateful Ferdinand evaded the recognition of the claims of Columbus under the agreement of 1492, amusing him with fair words and deceitful promises; till the great navigator, worn out by blasted hopes and the fatigues and troubles which he had undergone, expired, unrewarded, at Valladolid, May 20th 1506. Ferdinand may surely claim the first rank in the list of pseudo and ungrateful patrons. Of Gonsalvo, indeed, who had acquired for him the Kingdom of Naples, and who was allowed to end his days in banishment and disgrace, it may be said that he had only discharged his duty as his sovereign's officer; but Columbus, who had added a new world to the dominions of Spain, was actually cheated out of the reward stipulated by a solemn agreement under the royal hand.[70]

We shall only briefly pursue the principal remaining discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese during the period comprised in the preceding book. In 1508 Puerto Rico was settled by the Spaniards. In 1509, Juan Diaz de Solis and Pinzon discovered extensive tracts of the coasts of South America, landed in several places, and took possession for the crown of Spain. In 1511 Cuba was reduced; and in the following year Florida was discovered by Ponce de Leon. In 1513 Balboa penetrated into the Isthmus of Darien, and from the top of the Sierra de Quarequa first beheld the vast expanse of the South Sea[71]; a discovery which excited almost as great a sensation as that of America.

Meanwhile the Portuguese had been extending their conquests and settlements in the East. Cabral, to whose expedition we have before adverted, established friendly relations with the *Zamorin*, or Emperor of Calicut, whose dominion extended over Malabar, and thence pursued his voyage to Cochin and Cananor. The renowned Alphonso Albuquerque was, however, the chief founder of the Portuguese power in India. He established a settlement at Goa, in the middle of the Malabar coast, one of the most advantageous posts in India (1508); and subsequently, by his conquest of the island of Ormus, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, obtained a station which commanded the trade between Persia and the Indies. The Portuguese went on extending their settlements at Malacca, the Molucca islands, Ceylon, and other places;

[70] Ferdinand, however, supplied the first tomb of Columbus in the cathedral of Séville, with a noble inscription: A CASTILLA Y A LEON NUEVO MUNDO DIÒ COLON (Columbus gave a new world to Castille and Leon). He asked for bread and received a stone! *Vida*, c. 108, ap. Humboldt, *Ex. Crit.* t. iii. p. 368.

[71] P. Martyr, *Opus Epistl.* Ep. 540.

and though the route to India through Egypt and the Red Sea still lay open to European commerce, yet it had been rendered almost useless by the command which the Portuguese had obtained of the Indian markets, as well as by the superior advantages of the maritime route.

England was not altogether without participation in these great maritime discoveries. In 1497, under the auspices of Henry VII., Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol, and one of three sons of John Cabot, a Venetian merchant settled in that city, sailed round the northern coast of Labrador, and penetrated into Hudson's Bay, in the attempt to find a north-west passage to India.[72] He reached as far as 67½° north, but, being unable to proceed any further, sailed to the south along the coast of America as far as 38°. His enterprise, however, led to no immediate advantage, for though some subsequent voyages were made, no trade or settlements were established. Thus the navigation of the Atlantic was inaugurated by men springing from the two great maritime republics of Genoa and Venice, on whose Mediterranean commerce these discoveries were to inflict a fatal blow. The voyages of the French to Canada fall after this period.

The commercial effects of the discoveries in the East and West Indies were not immediately felt, and we shall therefore postpone the consideration of them to a future chapter.

III. Not the least surprising and important of the revolutions in progress at the commencement of the 16th century, was the reformation of the Church.

The rise and progress of the Papal power have been traced by Mr. Hallam[73], and we need here only recall a few facts. In 607 Boniface III. obtained from the Emperor Phocas the rank of universal bishop, and assumed the title of Pope; but it was not till the 9th century, in the pontificate of Gregory IV. (827—847), that the Church began to exercise political power beyond the Alps. This was the age of the *False Decretals*, published by Isidore of Seville, the object of which was to establish the appellant jurisdiction of Rome, and its sole and exclusive right to call national councils. In 832 Gregory passed a sentence of deposition on Louis the Pious, of France; but between the pontificate of Gregory IV.

[72] The patent to John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius, authorising the expedition of discovery, and reserving one fifth of the profits of the enterprise to the king, dated March 5th, in the 11th year of Henry VII. (1496), is in Rymer, t. xii. p. 595. The patent for another voyage, dated Feb. 3, 1498, which distinctly alludes to the discoveries made in the former one, is printed by Mr. Biddle from the original in the Rolls' Chapel, in his *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot* (p. 76); a work which contains an accurate examination of all the facts relating to the Cabots.

[73] *Middle Ages*, ch. vii.

and that of Gregory VII. (1073—1085) the power of the Church seems rather to have declined. The latter pontiff, still more famous under his previous name of Hildebrand, was a Benedictine monk, an order noted for supplying the most resolute Popes. Hildebrand's influence was felt long before he occupied the chair of St. Peter. He sought to restore the authority of the Church by a strict reform, and thus to establish an absolute theocracy. It was in his time that the celibacy of the clergy was enforced; an institution which, by giving the Church a host of servants whose cares and allegiance are undivided, has perhaps contributed more than any other to uphold her power. Gregory's main objects were two: to restrict the election of the Pope to the cardinals, and to extend the Papal dominion over all Europe. Hildebrand procured the consecration of Nicholas's successor, Alexander II., without the Imperial authority, and from that time no Pope ever thought of waiting for it. Gregory even reversed the previous relations between Rome and the empire. He made the Emperor dependent on the Pope, deposed Henry IV., and obliged him to do penance at Canossa (1077). Christ recognised Cæsar's penny as the property of the State and not of the Church; Gregory claimed not only Cæsar's penny, but even Cæsar himself and all his dominions.

From this period the Papacy made vast strides. The seven sacraments, which bring the whole of a man's life into immediate connection with the Church, were introduced in the 12th century. In the time of the crusades the Popes were almost omnipotent. King John yielded England to the See of Rome as a fief; a king of Aragon transferred his dominions to St. Peter; Naples was given to a foreign house. The period from Innocent III. (1198—1216) to Boniface VIII. (1294—1303), or the whole of the 13th century, may, however, be regarded as the era of the greatest prosperity of the Church. It was in this age that were established the mendicant orders, the Jesuits of the ancient Church, the principal of which were the Dominicans and Franciscans, originated by St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi, in the pontificate of Honorius III. The Franciscans were, for the most part, harmless fanatics; the Dominicans, on the contrary, ferocious bigots, and the founders of the Inquisition. This was also the great age of the scholastic philosophy, and of the establishment of the more recondite doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. The grand mystery of transubstantiation, by which the priest worked a constant miracle, was first formally established by the Lateran confession of faith (1215). The practice of auricular confession carried the power of the clergy into the innermost household. The doctrine of purgatory was

established, and the priest assumed the privilege of absolution—the power of the keys. The Pope now asserted the monstrous doctrine that he was the representative and vicar of Christ upon earth![74] Gregory IX. (1227—1241) caused the Decretals, including the false ones, to be compiled anew and published in a codex, which formed the most essential part of the canon law, and established the unlimited power of the Roman Pontiff. The influence of the Pope was also wonderfully augmented by the dispensing power, which enabled him to release even the greatest monarchs from an inconvenient oath, or a disagreeable or impolitic marriage.

The abuse, by Boniface VIII., of the enormous power which the Church had acquired, produced the first symptoms of resistance and reaction. Not content with deposing sovereigns, he also arrogated the privilege of bestowing their crowns on whom he pleased.[75] In consequence of a dispute with Philip the Fair, of France, Boniface, in a council held at Rome, promulgated the famous constitution known as *Unam Sanctam*, which lays down, as a necessary article of faith, that every human being whatsoever is subject to the Roman Pontiff; and in another Bull he declared his power of citing whomsoever he pleased to Rome. As Philip would not submit, the Pope prepared to excommunicate and depose him, and to transfer his kingdom to the Emperor Albert; but before the Bull of excommunication could be launched, Philip induced some Italian conspirators, with Sciarra Colonna at their head, to seize Boniface in his native town of Anagni; and though he escaped from their hands, the alarm, or rather the fury, at what he had suffered, was too much for the strength of an old man of eighty-six, and he shortly after expired of a raging fever. The example of resistance was followed both in Germany and England. In 1338 the German princes declared that whoever was chosen by the majority of the electors was entitled to the empire[76], and the Pope was successfully opposed in the case of Louis of Bavaria.

The authority of the Church was much impaired by the imprudent step taken by Clement V., in 1305, in removing the Papal court to Avignon, where it remained more than seventy years. During this period the Popes and the greater part of the cardinals were

[74] Boniface VIII., in a Bull launched against Albert of Austria, calls himself "the vicar of Jesus Christ, sitting on an elevated throne, to whom all power has been given, both in Heaven and on earth." Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* ann. 1301, t. iv. p. 302.

[75] The first instance of this kind, however, is perhaps the transference by Pope Martin IV. (1281—1285) of the crown of Aragon from Peter III. to Charles of Valois. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 231.

[76] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 45.

French, and the Roman See naturally lost in consequence much of its influence, as well in Italy as in the rest of Europe. This was the period of the attacks on the Church by the Italian writers, as well as by many in England, in the reign of Edward III., and of the rise in that country of the sect of the Wicliffites or Lollards. By the statutes of provisors, King John's vassalage and annual tribute to Rome were abolished, appeals to the Papal court forbidden, and the procuring of any presentations from it was made penal. A somewhat similar statute, though not so stringent, had been passed towards the close of Edward I.'s reign; and these precautions against the abuses of Papal power were confirmed by the statute of *Præmunire*, in the reign of Richard II.

The decline of the Papal revenue, through the opposition of temporal sovereigns, caused the Popes to invent new taxes on superstition. The *Jubilee* instituted by Boniface VIII., in 1300, which attracted numberless pilgrims to Rome, was at first, like the *ludi sæculares* of Augustus, intended to be celebrated at the close of every century, but was found so profitable that it was repeated by Clement VI. in 1350, and the term was ultimately reduced to thirty-five years. Other sources of revenue were the sale of indulgences, the proclamation of crusades that were never executed, the sale of offices, &c. These abuses were accompanied with the greatest depravation of morals at the Papal court, insomuch that Avignon obtained the name of the modern Babylon.

In 1376, Gregory XI. restored the Papal residence to Rome; but that event was soon followed by the schism. On Gregory's death (1378), the Roman populace, wearied of a succession of French pontiffs, overawed the conclave with their clamour, and compelled them to choose an Italian, Urban VI., a native of Naples. As Urban, however, proved disagreeable to the cardinals, they pronounced his election void, as having been procured by intimidation, and chose Clement in his place. There was now, therefore, a Pope and an Antipope. Urban remained at Rome, Clement returned to Avignon, and Europe divided its allegiance between them—France, Spain, Sicily, and Scotland, adhering to Clement; while Italy and the rest of Europe acknowledged Urban. The schism was prolonged till 1429—more than fifty years. None of the rival Popes would yield his pretensions, and it was at length determined to remove the scandal by calling a general council.

The council of Pisa, the first of the three great councils of the fifteenth century, assembled to decide this question in 1409. There was no point of doctrine in dispute; it was simply a question of

contested right. The decision of the assembled fathers, however, only more embroiled the fray. They deposed both the rival Popes, Gregory and Benedict, and elected Alexander V. in their place; but as the deposed Popes found many adherents, the only result was three infallible heads of the Church instead of two, all at variance with one another. It became necessary, therefore, to appeal to another council; and as that of Pisa had been objected to, on the ground of its having been summoned only by cardinals, John XXIII., who had succeeded Alexander V., was prevailed upon to call the Council of Constance (1414).

This assembly had something more to decide than the legitimacy of these wrangling pontiffs, whose quarrels, whose schisms, whose avarice, and whose profligacy, had excited the aversion of all thinking men, clerical as well as lay, and had given birth to two separate projects of reform; one within the Church, the other without. A very considerable portion of the transmontane clergy who assembled at Constance were desirous of effecting a moderate reform; and as they agreed to vote by nations, and not *per capita*, or individually, which would have given a preponderance to the Italian clergy, they were enabled to carry some of their resolutions.[77] They appointed a Committee of Reformation, whose resolutions might have eventually counteracted the more glaring abuses of the Papacy; and they made the famous declaration, that the authority of a general council is superior to that of the Pope. It may well be doubted, however, whether the power of the Roman See could have been ever effectually broken without a reform of doctrine; and of this some of the ecclesiastics who were strenuous against the Papal abuses were the most violent opponents.

The more thorough movement from without, begun by Wiclif, though arrested, was not suppressed. Many causes had hindered the success of that reformation. The times were not yet ripe for it: Wiclif himself was scarcely of the true temper for a great reformer; and his attempt was damaged, first by the weakness of Richard II., and then by the revolution which overthrew that monarch. Although Richard prohibited Papal Bulls in England, and passed the *præmunire*, he at the same time made statutes against the Lollards, forbade the teaching of their doctrines at Oxford, and suppressed their conventicles in London. Thus he alienated at once the reformers and Romanists, and fell an easy

[77] In this assembly, England obtained an independent national vote, much to the annoyance of the French, who maintained that it belonged to Germany, like Denmark and Sweden. See L'Enfant, *Hist. du Conc. de Constance*, ap. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 244.

prey to Henry of Lancaster, whose invasion was invited by the Archbishop of Canterbury in person.[78] The reign of the Church was now re-established, and under Henry IV. heresy was made a capital offence. But through the connection of the two countries by the marriage of Richard with Anne of Bohemia, the doctrines of Wiclif had spread to that country, and had taken root there long before the time of Huss. Conrad Waldhauser and Milic had been popular preachers of them towards the end of the 14th century; though Matthias von Janow, a canon of Prague cathedral, who died in 1394, must be more especially regarded as the precursor of Huss. The new doctrines received a further impulse in Bohemia through Jerome of Prague, who had studied at Oxford. Some of the English Wicliffites also took refuge in that country; and we find among them one Peter Payne, who had been obliged to fly from Oxford on account of his principles, and who was subsequently one of the Taborite deputies who attended the Council of Basle in 1433. Huss carried his tenets almost as far as Luther did afterwards. He appealed to the Scriptures alone as the standard of faith; denounced the indulgences published by Pope John XXIII., and held in 1412 a public disputation against them.[79] His friend Jerome of Prague and others burnt, like Luther, the Papal Bulls under the gallows, a description of which scene is still extant in the manuscript of a contemporary student.[80] In fact, Luther's Reformation was only a reproduction, under more favourable circumstances, of those of Wiclif and Huss. But the Hussite doctrines never penetrated over the frontiers of Bohemia; they were, in fact, a sort of national reaction against German domination. The Germans regarded the Hussites with aversion, and a devastating war was for some time carried on between them. At that time Bohemia was superior to Germany in literary culture. The university of Prague, the earliest in the empire, was founded in 1350, and in 1408 is said to have contained 30,000 students and 200 professors. Of the students about 4000 were Germans, who sided with the Pope; and when Huss was appointed rector, they quitted Prague and established the University of Leipsic (1409).

The reforming party in the Council of Constance was principally led by the French ecclesiastics, among whom three names are conspicuous above the rest: those of Gerson, Nicholas de Clémangis, Rector of the University of Paris, and Peter d'Ailly, Cardinal-Archbishop of Cambray. Clémangis had written before 1413 his little work *De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*, which Michelet likens to

[78] Turner, *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 125.

[79] Palacky, *Gesch. von Böhmen*, B. iii. S. 275.

[80] *Ibid.* p. 278.

Luther's *Captivity of Babylon*.[81] The object of these reformers, however, was merely to establish an ecclesiastical oligarchy in place of the absolute power of the Pope. They could never pardon Huss his attacks upon the hierarchy. They were his bitterest enemies; and it was for these attacks, not for their imputed heresies, that Huss and Jerome of Prague died. A deep blush mantled on the cheeks of Sigismund when Huss, with a steadfast look, reminded him of the imperial safe-conduct[82]; but the feeling was transient, and the reformer was left to his fate. This judicial murder produced a reproachful letter to the Council signed by no fewer than 452 Bohemian nobles; to which the Fathers answered by summoning the subscribers before them, and on their non-appearance denouncing them as heretics. It is a proof to what an extent the Hussite doctrines had spread in Bohemia that the name of *Bohemian* became synonymous with *heretic*. The internal dissensions of the Hussites themselves alone prevented the establishment of the Reformation in that country. The tenets of the moderate party, called *Calixtines* or *Utraquists*, and subsequently the *Prague Party*, had been publicly adopted by the University of Prague; but, as commonly happens in all great revolutions, whether political or religious, their cause was injured by various extreme sects of desperate and dreaming fanatics, who produced the disorders which proved fatal to the cause.

The heaviest complaints made against Rome at the Council of Constance were those of the English and the Germans. The latter, however, suffered most from Papal extortions; and they handed in a long list of grievances, which is important as displaying the state of the German Church at that time, and shows that Germany was ripe for a reformation.[83] The council, as the organ of the Holy Ghost, deposed John XXIII. (May 29th, 1415), and elected in his stead Cardinal Otho di Colonna, who assumed the name of Martin V. England took a great part in this affair. There was at this time a close connexion between the English Crown and the Church. John was in the custody of the Cardinal of Winchester, uncle of Henry V., and the new Pope was under the King of England's thumb.[84] The Emperor Sigismund and the Germans had made a stipulation before Martin's election that he should reform the Church; but he

[81] *Hist. de France*, t. vi. p. 204.

[82] Mladenowic, in *Op. Hussi*, ap. Palacky, B. iii. S. 364. The tradition seems to have reached the ears of Charles V., who, when requested to order the arrest of Luther at Worms, is said to have replied, "No, I will not blush like my predecessor Sigismund."—*Ibid.*

[83] The paper is published in Von der Hardt's *Acts of the Council of Constance*.

[84] See Rymer, t. ix. p. 540. an. 1418; Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. vi. p. 348.

afterwards put off this engagement with the approbation of the council. In conformity with the resolution of that assembly he convoked a Council at Pavia, which was transferred to Siena on account of the plague, but nothing important was transacted in it. The Council which he summoned to Basle, and which met in 1433, after his death, had more results. Eugenius IV., who now occupied the Papal chair, had attempted, but without success, to divert it to some Italian city.

The opposition to the Pope at the council of Basle was conducted by two remarkable men, both of whom, however, subsequently changed their opinions: Nicholas of Cusa, or Cusanus, well known for his services to Greek classical learning and to German literature, and by Æneas Sylvius, whom we have already had occasion to mention. This synod reasserted the decree of Constance, that the authority of a general council is superior to that of the Pope. When Eugenius, on pretence of negotiating with the Greeks, summoned another Council at Ferrara, thus virtually abrogating that of Basle, the latter declared the Pope's Bull for that purpose null and void, suspended the Pope himself in its thirty-first sitting (January 24, 1438), declared the Council of Ferrara a mere conventiculum, and cited the members to appear at Basle.[85] In June 1439, the latter Council condemned and deposed the Pope, and afterwards elected as his successor Amadeus VIII., Duke of Savoy (November 17). Amadeus, though no ecclesiastic, had the odour of sanctity. He was Dean of the Knights of St. Maurice of Ripaille, a convent which he had founded near Thonon, on the southern shore of Lake Leman, and to which he had retired after the death of his wife in 1434. In this retreat, he repeated the canonical prayers seven times a day: but it is said that, instead of roots and spring water, the hermits of Ripaille enjoyed the best wine and the best viands that could be procured; whence the popular proverb *faire ripaille*, to denote a life of ease and dissipation.[86] Amadeus accepted the tiara, and under the title of Felix V. lived some years in Papal splendour at Basle, Lausanne, and Geneva, and nominated during his pontificate twenty-three cardinals. He was as good as the average of Popes; indeed, a great deal better than many of his successors. He was not, however, recognised by the more important Christian kingdoms; and when the Council was dissolved

[85] The council of Ferrara, however, transferred to Florence on account of the plague, actually effected a sort of union with the Emperor Palæologus (1439). Cardinal Bessarion was a prominent figure in this transaction. See Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 99.

[86] See Monstrelet, liv. ii. c. 168.

in 1449, Felix renounced the tiara with more resignation than had been displayed by his priestly rivals. The Council was overthrown through the treachery of Æneas Sylvius, who made peace between Eugenius and the Emperor. Its object, like that of Constance, had been to establish in the Church a sort of republican hierarchy.

These disputes were not without advantage to the churches of France and Germany, and especially to the former. The *Pragmatic Sanction* of St. Louis, which protected his subjects from the oppression of Rome, was renewed and confirmed by the *États Généraux*, or states of the kingdom, which met at Bourges in 1438. The chief objects of this ecclesiastical charter were, to subject the Popes to periodical general councils; to suppress annates, reserves, and other payments which drew so much French money to Rome, and to secure to chapters and religious communities the free election of bishops, abbots, and priors. The right of the prince to address his recommendations to the electors was recognised, a *veto* only being reserved to the Pope, in case of unworthiness or abuse. In the early ages, these recommendations were in fact equivalent to commands; but after the establishment of the Pragmatic Sanction, the election became tolerably free. Appeals to Rome were forbidden, except in certain special cases. Priests living in open concubinage, who were very numerous, were subjected to the loss of a quarter of their incomes. Without, however, any regard to the substance of the Pragmatic Sanction, the mere promulgation by a royal ordinance of the decrees of the Council was an important fact, as establishing the right of the civil power to controul the decisions of the Church. The Pragmatic Sanction secured the rights and liberties of the Gallican church. Louis XI. when Dauphin assured Pius II. that he would abolish it, and when reminded of his promise after he had ascended the throne, issued a decree to that effect, but sent secret instructions to his attorney general to prevent its registration. The sanction, however, was modified in the reign of Francis I., as there will be occasion to relate in the sequel.

The Germans presented to the Council of Basle, as they had to that of Constance, a long list of grievances. The Papal power and its consequent abuses had made greater progress in that country than in any other, having been supported by the electors and princes as a counter-balance to that of the Emperor. In spite of the councils, the authority of the Pope stood very high in Germany down to the time of the Reformation; it had gained great strength after Æneas Sylvius, the crafty and able minister of that weak

Prince Frederick III., became Pope Pius II. The diets were now called Royal and Papal, or Papal and Imperial days; the Papal legates appeared in them as in Sigismund's days, and sometimes opened them.[87] The attempt to make a stand, during the Council of Basle, against the encroachments of Rome, had proved of little avail. In 1439, a German diet assembled at Mentz, and, like the French *états* at Bourges in the preceding year, adopted the reformatory resolutions of the council, twenty-six in number; making only those alterations which the peculiar situation of Germany required. They did not, however, like the French, make any practical application of the resolutions, and thus derived no benefit from them. The only result was the theoretical recognition of the superiority of a council over the Pope.

About eight years afterwards, indeed, a sort of agreement, called the Roman Concordat, was established between Germany and Pope Eugenius (1447); but Æneas Sylvius, at that time Frederick III.'s minister, and a secret tool of the Pope, took care that the Germans should derive little or no benefit from it. Under Pope Nicholas V. a new concordat, called the Concordat of Vienna, was agreed upon, February 17th 1448, in which even the advantages of the Roman Concordat were altogether withdrawn. This instrument was kept very secret, and till the middle of the eighteenth century was called the *Aschaffenburg Concordat*, on the supposition that it had been concluded there. This agreement continued to govern the German Church. Towards the close of the century, however, opposition to the Papacy reappeared, occasioned principally by the great sums remitted to Rome. The Mentz Pallium, for example, cost 20,000 *gulden*, and might perhaps be renewed every four or five years. The annual sum drawn by Rome was estimated at 300,000 *gulden*, without reckoning costs of suits at Rome, rents of prebends, &c.[88]

During the Council of Basle, England and Burgundy sided with the Pope. The former country, as we have seen[89], had already emancipated herself from the more flagrant abuses of the Roman tyranny. Castile, in the earlier ages of the monarchy, was nearly independent of the Papal See, till Alphonso X. (1252-1284), by publishing a code of law which incorporated great part of the Decretals, established the jurisdiction of Rome.[90] The benefices of Castile soon became filled with Italians, whilst Aragon and Navarre offered in this respect a favourable contrast. The

[87] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 252.
[88] Ranke, *loc. cit.*
[89] Above, p. 327.
[90] Marina, ap. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 254.

Castilian *Cortes*, however, made a stand against Rome in the reign of Henry IV. (1473), and Isabella subsequently maintained a more independent attitude. By a concordat of 1482, Sixtus IV. conceded to the Spanish sovereigns the right of nominating to the higher ecclesiastical dignities, though the Holy See still collated to the inferior ones, which were frequently bestowed on improper persons. Isabella sometimes obtained indulgences conferring the right of presentation for a limited period.[91] In Italy, Venice asserted her independence of the Papal power, and frequently opposed to it either the authority of the Patriarch of Aquileia or that of a general council; while in Florence, the Medici commonly obeyed the Pope only so far as they chose.[92]

The attempt to reform the Church *within* the Church had proved a failure; nothing could be effectual but a reformation *from without*, accompanied with a purification of her doctrines. The Councils of Constance and Basle were little more than a struggle for wealth and power between the Pope and clergy. With regard to their spiritual prerogatives the Popes came out victorious from the contest. In January 1460, Pius II. published a Bull condemning all appeals to a council[93]; and half a century later (1512), the noted Dominican monk, Thomas of Gaëta, declared the Church a born slave that could do nothing even against the worst Pope but pray for him.[94] He little dreamt that a great part of the Church was then on the eve of emancipation.

The members partook of the corruption of the head. The vices and profligacy of the clergy had long been notorious, and were denounced even by those who regarded with indulgence the abuses of the Papacy. Constance, at the time of the council, was filled with hundreds of players and jugglers; the handsomest courtesans of Italy there vied with one another in pride and extravagance. Nor were these amusements intended only for the knights, barons, and tradespeople who flocked thither in great numbers, but also for the assembled fathers.[95] In a sermon delivered before the council at Siena—an adjournment of those of Constance and Pavia—the preacher, after a severe denunciation of clerical vices, added: "The bishops are more voluptuous than Epicureans, and settle over the bottle the authority of the Pope and of the council."[96] Yet this preacher was no reformer. He denounces the heathen philosophy

[91] Prescott, *Ferd. & Isab.* vol. iii. p. 414. Cf. pt. i. ch. vi.

[92] See Ant. Gallus in Muratori, *SS.* t. xxiii. p. 282.

[93] Raynaldus, t. x. p. 222.

[94] *De Auctoritate Papæ et Concilii*, in Raynaldus, 1512, t. xi. p. 612.

[95] Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, S. 206.

[96] L'Enfant, *Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites, &c.*, ap. Martin, t. vi. p. 327.

as the source of all heresies, imputes the Bohemian revolt to Plato and Aristotle, and traces to the same source the fatalists who then abounded in Italy. The ignorance and profligacy of ecclesiastics were the constant theme of the writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but on this head we shall content ourselves with a few documentary proofs. In England, the priests petitioned parliament in 1449 to be pardoned for all rapes committed before June *next*, as well as to be excused from all forfeitures for taking excessive salaries, provided they paid the king a noble (6*s.* 8*d.*) for every priest in the kingdom. The petition was granted, and the statute made accordingly.[97] In 1455, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued an order denouncing the vices of his clergy, their gluttony, drunkenness, fornication, ignorance, pursuit of worldly lucre, &c. It appears from a decree of the 11th session of the Council of Lateran, that some ecclesiastics derived an income from the stews[98]; and Innocent VIII. found it necessary to renew by a Bull, published in April 1488, the constitution of Pius II., forbidding priests to keep butcheries, taverns, gaming-houses and brothels, and to be the go-betweens of courtesans.[99] It would be easy, were it necessary, to multiply this sort of evidence.

In Italy the vices of the Church had produced a wide-spread atheism. The higher classes were almost universally sceptics, fatalists, and Epicureans, and the most consummate infidels were to be found among the clergy themselves. Scepticism was so general that the Council of Lateran thought it necessary to decree, in its eighth session, that the soul of man is not only immortal, but also distinct in each individual, and not a portion of one and the same soul.[100] Erasmus knew of his own knowledge that at Rome the most horrible blasphemies were uttered by the priests, and sometimes in the very act of saying mass; and he relates, among other things, an attempt made to prove to him, out of Pliny, that there is no difference between the souls of beasts and men.[101] Such of the Italian ecclesiastics as were scholars prided themselves on the purity of their Latin style, which they were fearful of corrupting by a study of the Bible. They altered the language of Scripture to that of Livy or Cicero; Jehovah became Jupiter Optimus Maximus; Christ, Apollo or Æsculapius; the Virgin Mary, Diana.[102] Cardinal John de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., was not only a Platonist, but

[97] *Rolls of Parl.* vol. v. p. 123, and Statutes, vol. i. p. 352; ap. Turner, *Hist. of England*, vol. v.

[98] Labbé, *Concilia*, t. xiv. p. 302.

[99] Raynald. *An.* 1488, § 21. t. xi. p. 159 sq.

[100] Labbé, *Concilia*, t. xiv. p. 187.

[101] See Burigny, *Vie d'Erasme*, t. i. p. 148.

[102] See a specimen given by Erasmus in his *Ciceronianus*, Op. t. i. p. 995, ed. Leyden, 1703.

if he had any religion at all, rather a pagan than a Christian, and he seems to have inoculated the Romans with his own opinions; for on the breaking out of a pestilence at Rome during the pontificate of his successor Adrian, a bullock was sacrificed on the ancient forum, with heathen rites, conducted by a Greek named Demetrius, to the great satisfaction of the people.[103] This very laxity of belief had, however, produced a sort of liberality. The Jews, who had been driven from other countries, were tolerated at Rome [104]; and while Ferdinand the Catholic was burning heretics by thousands, no *auto. dá fé* was beheld in Italy. The College of Cardinals could assist at and enjoy the representation of Macchiavelli's comedy of *Mandragola*, a bitter satire upon the clergy. With all its vices and corruption, the Roman Court, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, was the meeting-place of all the distinguished men of Europe, and must be regarded as the centre of European civilisation, as well as in a great degree of European politics. The Popes viewed without apprehension opinions which they shared themselves; for in Italy, learning and philosophy had produced only atheism and indifference, and it was not indifference and atheism that the Church had reason to fear. She was ignorant that, beyond the Alps, the same causes had produced a race of men whose acquirements were directed to trace to the fountain-head the origin and progress of their faith, and to examine the foundations on which was erected the vast superstructure of Papal power and usurpation. To the efforts of these men we must now advert.

From the fifth century to the fifteenth education, as well as learning, was in the hands of the clergy, and the development of European intellect was essentially theological. In most monasteries heathen authors were forbidden; it was only the Benedictines, which order was fortunately the most numerous, that read and copied secular books, and to them we principally owe what we possess of Roman literature. It must be remembered, however, that if the monks copied, they also destroyed; and before the use of paper was known, would often rub out a Livy or a Tacitus, in order to fill the parchment with their own absurdities.

From this theological character of learning arose the scholastic philosophy, the aim of which was to uphold the dogmas of the Church by a subtle and elaborate logic, and to command, by perplexing, the reason of mankind. The foundation of all this logic —the postulates from which it started—were the dogmas of the

[103] Paul. Jovius, *Histor.* lib. xxi.
[104] Osorio, *Hist. of Emanuel the Great*, vol. i. p. 27 (Gibbs' transl.).

Fathers, collected by Peter Lombard in his *Liber Sententiarum*, which formed the great arsenal of theological weapons. It was founded, therefore, on *authority*. Nobody would have thought of questioning these postulates; and hence the scholastic philosophy was calculated to enslave the intellect, to bind it down to forms, and to prevent all original research. The result of the scholastic system was an intellectual condition approaching to fatuity. "It cannot be denied," observes Ranke, "that however ingenious, varied, and profound are the productions of the middle ages, they are founded on a fantastic view of the world little answering to the realities of things. Had the Church subsisted in full and conscious power, she would have perpetuated this state of the human intellect."[105] Fooldom stands out the prominent object of observation and ridicule in the literature which preceded the Reformation. The number of attacks on folly and fools is surprising. The *Ship of Fools* of Sebastian Brandt was imitated in England by Walter Mapes and Nigel Wireker. The *Speculum Stultorum* of the latter was printed more than half a dozen times before the end of the 15th century.[106] Among writers of the same kind were Hammerlein, Michel Ménot, Geiler von Kaisenberg, Hans Rosenblüt, and others, especially Erasmus, whose Μωρίας Ἐγκώμιον, or *Praise of Folly*, was adorned with wood-cuts by Hans Holbein; among which was one representing the Pope with his triple crown. Thus ridicule became one of the instruments of the Reformation. Ancient paganism had fallen before it through the attacks of Lucian, the Voltaire of antiquity, and it helped to destroy the paganism of modern Rome.

The revival of classical learning promoted, no doubt, the advent of the Reformation, though one of its first effects was to produce a race of pedants who caught the form rather than the spirit of antiquity. The results of the art of printing were also slow. At first it helped both parties, the friends and the enemies of light; the mystic and scholastic writers were multiplied *ad infinitum*, and for one Tacitus the libraries were inundated with copies of Duns Scotus and St. Thomas Aquinas. But towards the end of the 15th century the press began to tell on the other side, for common sense, though tardily, will at last prevail. Among the earliest who attacked the abuses of Rome was Nicholas Krebs, called also Cusanus (born 1401), who first demonstrated the spuriousness of the Decretals of Isidore of Seville. In his *Conjectura de novis-*

[105] *Popes*, vol. i. p. 61 (Mrs. Austin's transl.). Some grand exceptions stand out amidst the general darkness, as Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and a few others.

[106] Henke ap. Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. iii. p. 147.

simis Temporibus Cusanus foretold the Reformation, and by his tergiversation at the Council of Basle did what in him lay to falsify his own prediction. Laurentius Valla, who flourished about the same time, in his declamation against the donation of Constantine, attacked in a tone as violent as Luther's the corruption of the clergy and the temporal power of the Pope. But by far the greatest of all the classical philologists who took up their pens against the abuses of the Church was Erasmus. His edition of the Greek Testament, the first that appeared from the press (1516), served to harbinger the Reformation. In the *Paraclesis*, or Exhortation, prefixed to it, he expresses a hope that the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles may be read in their native tongues by Scotch and Irish, Turks and Saracens; but, though he could express this noble wish in his study and rail at monkish abuses, he was not disposed to attempt a reformation of them at the expense of his life or even of his personal comfort. He was the man of speculation, not of action; and his selfish and somewhat sensual nature excludes him from that class of men whose intrepidity has rendered them the benefactors of their kind.

Such men at best only prepared the ground for the Reformation; the seed was sown by other labourers. Such especially were the restorers of Hebrew learning and of the study of the Old Testament. The Old Covenant was destined again to produce the New, or at all events to restore its purity and banish the idolatry of Rome. For many ages God the Father had not even had an altar. He was regarded as Jewish; and one of the characteristics of the middle ages was hatred of the unbaptized, whether Mahometan or Jew. The importance, however, attached by the early Reformers to the Hebrew Scriptures contributed to give the Reformation an occasional air of gloomy fanaticism.

John of Wesel was one of the earliest restorers of Hebrew learning, whose treatise against Indulgences, published in 1450, handles the subject in a more exhaustive and uncompromising manner than even the Theses of Luther.[107] That prodigy of learning, Pico di Mirandola, was deep in Hebrew lore. Of all books he preferred the *Cabbala*, on which he published a treatise in 1488. His tract, entitled *Adversus eos qui aliquot ejus Propositiones theologicas carpebant*, addressed to his friend Lorenzo de' Medici, contains many principles of the subsequent reformers. Reuchlin, the pupil of Wesel and friend of Pico, was another distinguished Hebraist. It was in 1484, after the banishment of the Jews from

[107] See Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reform.* S. 283 f.

Spain, and when they began to appear in the cities of the north, that Reuchlin published his book *De Verbo mirifico*, to show that the Jews alone had known the word of God. His literary quarrel with the monks of Cologne, in which he succeeded in rescuing piles of Hebrew literature from the flames to which they had been condemned by the Dominicans, is one of the most striking events that harbingered the Reformation (1509). Ulrich von Hutten lent the aid of his humour. His bantering *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*, which, in spite, or rather perhaps in consequence, of their bad Latin and palpable absurdities, were at first supposed by the monks themselves to proceed from their friends, served to cover them with ineffaceable ridicule.[108] Reuchlin was supported more or less openly by the Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, as well as by the turbulent knights of the Rhine, who had been accustomed to pillage the Jews; and thirty-five imperial cities wrote to the Pope in his favour.

Such is a faint sketch of the three great social revolutions which were in progress at the beginning of the 16th century. Science, literature, and art partook the movement. The revival of ancient learning would have been worthless had it produced merely a host of imitators; but original writers now sprang up who may be placed beside the classics rather as their rivals than their pupils. Italy, the cradle of modern European civilisation, had felt and transmitted the influence of ancient genius a century or two before: and to her former great triumvirate of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, she might now add the names of Pulci, Boiardo, and Ariosto. In the same period Italian art attained its highest perfection. The hand of Raffaelle gave to painting consummate grace and majesty, while Michael Angelo Buonaroti reached the sublime in all the sister arts of sculpture, painting, and architecture.

It must not be supposed, however, that this intellectual advancement was universal. It was confined to a few favoured countries, and even in those was underlaid with a thick substratum of popular ignorance and barbarism. In some parts of Europe heathenism still lingered, and in Lithuania the ancient serpent worship prevailed till late in the fifteenth century.[109] It was thought that the powers of nature might be overcome by enchantment, or propitiated by sacrifice. Hence a firm belief prevailed in witches and sorcerers,

[108] For an account of Reuchlin's controversy, see Von der Hardt, *Hist. Lit. Ref.* pars ii.; and Meiner's *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Männer*. The *Epistolæ obsc. Virorum* were published by Aldus in 1515, with the usual papal privilege and exemption from piracy for ten years. See Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 33.

[109] Æneas Sylvius, *De Europa*, c. 26.

and those who had attained any unusual proficiency in literature or science ran the risk of being included in the latter category. Nor was this ignorance and superstition confined to the lower classes. Gilles de Retz, a Marshal of France, assisted by an Italian and an English sorcerer, was in the habit of sacrificing infants to the infernal dæmons, for the purpose of obtaining gold, science, and power. He was burnt for sorcery, in 1440, when the bones of 140 children were found in his castles.[110] In 1460, a penitentiary of the Pope, who had become Dean of Arras, from his hatred of literature burnt a member of a literary club as a sorcerer; which proceeding, however, together with other barbarities of the same kind, are said to have had the effect, by the disgust they produced, of banishing the inquisition from France.[111] The belief in astrology and alchemy was universal. In 1456, King Henry VI., with the sanction of his parliament, gave a commission to three "philosophers" to transmute baser metals into gold and silver; and in the following year he announced to the people, that by means of the *stone* he should soon be enabled to pay all his debts. Nor was his successor, Edward IV., exempt from the same credulity.[112] As late as 1512 Juan Ponce de Leon undertook a voyage to the West Indies, for the purpose of discovering a miraculous fountain, whose waters were said to restore all the vigour and beauty of youth.

[110] Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. v. p. 208 sqq.

[111] Idem. *Renaissance*, ciii.; Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vi. p. 519.

[112] Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 252 sqq.; Rymer, t. xi. p. 68, 128, 240, &c.

CHAPTER II.

THE choice of the conclave which assembled after the obsequies of Pope Julius II. had been performed fell on Cardinal John de' Medici, the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who assumed the name of Leo X. By creed a deist, Lorenzo had regarded the Church merely as a source for his son of lucrative emoluments, and dignities which might one day be crowned with the tiara. Leo, who was in his thirty-eighth year at the time of his election, was still only a deacon, and had to be ordained a priest before his coronation could be performed; yet, besides some minor preferments, he enjoyed six rectories, fifteen abbacies, one priory, and one archbishopric; all of which had been procured for him, before he had completed his seventeenth year, through his father's influence with Louis XI. of France and Popes Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. Innocent, although he had solemnly promised at his election not to bestow the purple on any body under thirty years of age, had made John a cardinal in his thirteenth year. In the house of his father, who was surrounded by men of kindred tastes and sentiments, the youthful cardinal had imbibed a fine taste in ancient and profane literature, but very little respect for the doctrines of the church. Amidst an extensive collection of the rarest specimens of art and *virtù*, he had become a first-rate connoisseur in such subjects; while the splendour of the Medicean palace and of the fêtes and exhibitions in which Florence was unrivalled, had imbued him with that love of show and magnificence which characterised his pontificate. During his exile from Florence, he had relieved the tedium of banishment, and improved his acquaintance with mankind, by visiting most of the principal cities in Germany, Belgium, and France. Besides his accomplishments, Leo possessed the gentlest temper, the most winning manners. It was probably to these qualities, or the reputation of them, that he owed his election; though some have ascribed it to a fistula with which he was at that time afflicted, and which seemed to promise another speedy vacancy of the Papal throne. The cardinals had had enough of two ferocious Popes, one of whom had endangered their lives by

the dagger or the bowl, the other by leading them up to the cannon's mouth.[1]

Leo, even before he left the conclave, signalised his literary tastes by naming as his secretaries two celebrated writers, Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleto. The approach of the holy week had compelled him to celebrate his coronation in a slight and hasty manner, and it was therefore repeated a few weeks later when he took possession of St. John Lateran, the peculiar bishopric of the Popes. The day selected for the ceremony was the anniversary of the battle of Ravenna (April 13th), and Leo figured in the procession on the same white charger which he had ridden on that occasion. The standard of the Church was borne by Alphonso of Ferrara, while Julius de' Medici carried that of the Knights of Rhodes. This splendid spectacle, with the accompanying fêtes, cost 100,000 florins. Leo soon betrayed an indecent haste to enrich and advance his family and friends. His cousin Julius was immediately created Archbishop of Florence, and received soon after a cardinal's hat and the legation of Bologna. Innocent Cibò and three other nephews of Leo, together with Bernard di Bibbiena, his secretary, and Lorenzo Pucci, an adherent of the Medici family, were also speedily invested with the purple.

The policy of Leo at first seemed undecided. He appeared willing to put an end to the hostilities with France, and he earnestly dissuaded Louis XII. from a fresh enterprise which he was contemplating for the recovery of the Milanese. But though Louis would willingly have abandoned his Council of Pisa, now transferred to Lyon, his heart was set on the Italian expedition; and it was with the view of releasing for it his troops on the Spanish frontier that he had concluded with Ferdinand the truce already mentioned, which, however, did not regard Italy. A little previously (March 24th, 1513) he had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Venetians, who had been alienated from the Holy League by the arrogant pretensions of Maximilian; ceding to the republic Mantua, whose marquis he sacrificed, in return for the Cremonese and the Ghiara d'Adda. On the other hand, Maximilian's daughter, Margaret, concluded at Mechlin, April 5th, a counter-treaty in the

[1] The chief authorities for the Life of Leo X. are, the biography of P. Jovius, and the Diary of Peter de Grassis, master of the ceremonies to the Roman court. Jovius, though patronised by Leo X., as well as by his successors, Adrian VII. and Clement VII., tells, nevertheless, some home truths respecting those pontiffs. Among modern Lives of Leo may be mentioned Fabroni's, in Latin, published at Pisa in 1797, and Roscoe's well-known work; than which last, however, Niccolini's *Vita di Leon X.* is reckoned more trustworthy. See Lord Broughton's *Italy*, vol. i. p. 253.

names of the Emperor, the Catholic King, the King of England, and the Pope, the parties to which not only agreed to pursue the war against the French in Italy, but also to make each a separate attack on France. Henry VIII. was to invade Normandy, Picardy and Guienne; Ferdinand, Bearn and Languedoc; the Pope, Provence and Dauphiné; while Maximilian was to penetrate through Burgundy into the interior of France. But Henry VIII., who wished to wipe out the disgrace of the preceding year, was the only party who entered with sincerity into this treaty. Ferdinand, as we have seen, had already made a truce with France, which, with his usual duplicity, he carefully concealed; and when called on to ratify the treaty of Mechlin, he declined to do so on the ground that his minister had exceeded his instructions. Leo X., besides his vacillating policy at this time, had not the slightest intention to undertake so distant an expedition; and Maximilian was induced to join the league only for the sake of 100,000 gold ducats which the English King engaged to pay to him.

Louis XII. resolved to hasten his attempt for the recovery of Milan before Henry should be ready for his projected invasion of France. The campaign that followed is one of the most extraordinary on record. In the course of a few weeks the Milanese was won and lost. Early in May a large French army, under La Tremouille and Marshal Trivulzio, crossed the Alps and entered Piedmont by way of Susa. Cardona, the Spanish general, retired on their approach, and took up a position near Piacenza; the Swiss, not being strong enough to oppose the advance of the French, also retreated upon Novara; while the Italians, disgusted with the brutality and avidity of that people, as well as by Maximilian Sforza's want of spirit and capacity, rose on every side and welcomed the French, whom they had murdered by thousands only the year before. Sforza found it necessary to take refuge in the Swiss camp, and immediately on his departure the French flag was hoisted at Milan. Meanwhile Genoa was attacked by a French squadron — the partisans of the Adorni and Fieschi rose, drove out the Doge Giano Fregoso, and restored the city to the sovereignty of France. The Venetians, on their side, had advanced to the Adda; and thus the whole of Lombardy, except Novara and Como, was reduced in the short space of three weeks.

The French, however, were destined to be deprived of their conquest as speedily as they had made it. The Swiss considered it a point of honour to maintain Sforza in the duchy to which they had restored him; and Leo X., alarmed at the reappearance of the French in Italy, assisted the Swiss with money, but secretly,

in order not to break with Louis.[2] La Tremouille and Trivulzio had laid siege to Novara, when the approach of a fresh army from Switzerland compelled them to raise it, and to retire towards Trecase, a village three miles off. But after the junction of these reinforcements the Swiss resolved on assuming the offensive. Before day-break on the 6th of June, and covered by a wood which lay between them and the enemy, they advanced in silence upon his camp, and seizing, after a murderous struggle, the French artillery, an arm with which they themselves were unprovided, they turned it upon the French ranks. The victory was complete. In less than two hours a large and well-organised army, commanded by generals of renown, was completely beaten by a body of infantry unsupported by cavalry or guns. The only part of the *gendarmerie* in the French ranks which did its duty was the Walloons under Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon. His two sons, Jametz and Fleuranges, had fallen covered with wounds, when Bouillon, by a desperate charge, recovered their bodies, and bore them off on the necks of his men's horses. Fleuranges, so well known by his name of *Le jeune Aventureux*, and by his Memoirs, one of the most original productions of that period, almost miraculously survived; though he had received no fewer than forty-six wounds! This battle decided the fate of Italy. The French army was completely demoralised; after the passage of the Sesia, it is said that not a single cavalier retained his lance. They hastened to recross the Alps; and the inconstant Lombards were now obliged to intreat the mercy of the victorious Swiss, by whom they were amerced in heavy fines.

After the defeat of the French, Cardona began to gather the fruits of a victory whose dangers he had not shared. Pescara was despatched with 3000 foot to levy a fine upon the Genoese; and, although there was no declared war between Spain and Venice, Cardona proceeded to occupy Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, and other places which the Venetians had abandoned, and which now felt the effects of Spanish avarice and ferocity. At the instance of Cardinal Gurk, the Emperor's lieutenant in Italy, who gave Cardona a reinforcement of Germans, that general, after an abortive attempt on Padua, crossed the Brenta, burnt Mestre, Marghera, and Fusine, and advancing to the shore of the Lagoon, insulted Venice by a distant cannonade. He then retired to Verona, after defeating with great loss the Venetian general Alviano, who had issued from Padua to intercept his march (October 7th 1513).

[2] Muratori, *Ann.* t. x. p. 85.

Meanwhile Louis XII. had need of all his forces to defend his own dominions. Louis had endeavoured to avert the English invasion by means of his ally, the Scottish King, James IV.; to whose gallantry also the French Queen Anne had appealed, as her knight and champion, according to the romantic ideas of that age. James sent some ships to the aid of France, and threatened to invade England with a large army; but he was only preparing his own destruction. The Scots were overthrown by the Earl of Surrey in the decisive battle of Flodden, in which their King was slain (September 9th); nor did his unfortunate attempt arrest for a moment the English preparations against France. The war, however, had gone at first in favour of the French. The English admiral, the gallant Sir Edward Howard, was repulsed and killed in an attempt to cut some French galleys out of the port of Conquet (April 25th 1513); and Préjean de Bidoulx, the French commander, venturing out of harbour, made a descent upon the coast of Sussex. He was, however, repulsed, and could not prevent the passage of an English army to Calais. With a portion of this force the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert laid siege to Terouenne, in Artois (June 17th). King Henry himself with the main body of his army landed at Calais, June 30th; but it was not till August 1st that he began his march to Terouenne. Whilst he lay encamped before that place, he was joined by the Emperor Maximilian with a small body of cavalry. That needy sovereign, unable to discharge the obligations he had incurred by the treaty of Mechlin, was willing to make some amends by personal service; and he scrupled not to degrade the majesty of the empire by declaring himself the soldier of the English King, and receiving as such a stipend of 100 crowns a day. The youthful Henry, however, bowed to the superior experience of his "soldier," and Maximilian in reality directed the operations of the campaign. Terouenne made an obstinate defence. It was relieved by some Albanese Stradiots in the service of France, who penetrated to the town, bearing provisions and ammunition on their horses' necks.[3] But the campaign was decided in a singular manner. The French *gendarmerie*, while retiring from a skirmish with the English and German cavalry, perceiving on the hill of Guinegate two large bodies of infantry and some batteries of guns, were seized with a panic, clapped spurs to their horses, and never turned their heads till they gained their camp at Blangi (August 16th). Hence the

[3] Some captured Stradiots were brought in for the inspection of Henry VIII. They had short stirrups, beaver hats, small spears, and swords like Turkish scimitars. Hall, p. 543, ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 119.

French themselves gave to this affair the name of the *Battle of the Spurs*. Few French were killed, but many of their most distinguished captains were made prisoners; and among them the Duke of Longueville, grandson of the famous Dunois.

Terouenne now surrendered and was rased to the ground. The alarm was great at Paris. Louis XII., who was laid up with the gout, caused himself to be carried in a litter to Amiens, to concert measures for the defence of the Somme. But instead of pushing on to Paris, Henry, at the instigation of the Emperor, invested Tournay, a town very conveniently situated for Maximilian, but the possession of which could neither be of any service to the English, nor contribute much to the success of the war. Tournay surrendered after a short siege (September 24th), and was retained by Henry; to the mortification of the Emperor, who departed before the end of the month. But Margaret, with her nephew Charles, repaired to Tournay, and dissipated in some degree by her arts and flattery the clouds which had begun to rise in Henry's mind. The match between Charles and Henry's sister Mary was confirmed; and the English King agreed to advance 200,000 gold crowns for the preservation of their common conquests till the following summer, when, as Ferdinand's truce with Louis would have expired, a combined attack was to be made on France by that monarch, Maximilian, and Henry. After making this arrangement, Henry returned home (October 21st).

While these things were passing in the north of France, Maximilian, relying on the strength of the English exchequer, had hired a large body of Swiss, as well as Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg with a few thousand cavalry, to invade Burgundy. This force marched straight upon Dijon, into which town La Tremouille, then governor of Burgundy, had thrown himself. Unable to meet the Swiss in the field, La Tremouille attacked them by their weak point, their love of money; and by a treaty which he concluded with their commander, Jacob von Wattenwyl, avoyer of Bern, he agreed that Louis XII. should abandon the Council of Pisa, withdraw his pretensions to the Milanese, restore to the Roman See and to the German Empire all that had been wrested from them, and engage to enlist no troops in Switzerland without the consent of all the cantons. Such extravagant concessions were evidently made only to be disavowed[4]; yet the Swiss did not stop to enquire what powers La Tremouille and Wattenwyl had to conclude a

[4] Michelet characterises this treaty as "*le mensonge* par lequel La Tremouille, sans pudeur, attrape les Suisses qui nous allaient prendre Dijon."—*Renaissance*, p. 184.

treaty which regulated the fate not merely of Dijon and Burgundy, but of all Christendom. Of the stipulated sum, La Tremouille could pay down only 20,000 crowns; and he gave as hostages for the remainder the mayor and four of the richest citizens of Dijon, together with his own nephew, De Mezières. Yet he advised Louis not to ratify the treaty, and to leave these hostages to their fate! The astonishment and indignation were universal. Maximilian and Henry VIII. denounced the Swiss as villains and traitors, and they were not better received at home; while Louis XII. was at first inclined to put La Tremouille on his trial. At length, however, he accepted the excuses of his general, and paid the Swiss 50,000 crowns as an instalment.

Thus were terminated the eventful campaigns of 1513. Before the end of the year Louis XII. reconciled himself with the Pope, and by a treaty signed at the abbey of Corbey[5], October 26th, he agreed to renounce the Council of Pisa and acknowledge that of the Lateran; before which assembly his envoys formally made their submission, December 31st, when Leo remitted all the ecclesiastical censures fulminated by his predecessor against France. The coalition, no longer animated by the impetuous spirit of Julius II., was now evidently falling to pieces; and Louis, to further his views upon Milan, sought the friendship of the Emperor and of the King of Spain. Maximilian was conciliated by the offer of Louis's second daughter, Renée, for one of his grandsons, either the Archduke Charles or Ferdinand, to whom Renée was to bring as her portion the French claims on Lombardy. The death of Louis's consort, Anne of Brittany (January 1514), who had employed herself in affecting this arrangement, opened up new bases for negociation. Ferdinand now offered Louis, in his own name and that of Maximilian, the hand either of Margaret, governess of the Netherlands, or of Eleonora of Austria, sister of Charles and Ferdinand. Louis, who was very desirous of an heir, selected Eleonora, and a general truce for a year was provisionally signed, March 13th, with the view of preparing a regular treaty.

The death of the French queen removed the only obstacle which had delayed the marriage of the Princess Claude and Francis of Angoulême, whose nuptials were solemnised a few months after (May 18th 1514). Louis now invested them with the duchy of Brittany without opposition from the States, although, by the marriage contract of Louis and Anne, Brittany should have fallen to their second child Renée; and thus, after a temporary separation

[5] Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 175.

till the death of Louis, that province was finally united to the crown of France.

The war continued in Italy in 1514, but its operations are not worthy to be detailed. Cardona and the Imperial generals resumed hostilities against the Venetians, and the ferocious Frangipani devastated the Friuli and the March of Treviso, inflicting great loss and misery on the inhabitants, but contributing nothing to the issue of the war. The French were driven from the few remaining places which they held in Italy. The citadels of Milan and Cremona capitulated in June; and on the 26th of August, the fortress of *La Lanterna* at Genoa, though deemed impregnable, was compelled to surrender. During this period the policy of Leo X. was vacillating and difficult of explanation, except that he followed wherever self-interest led. Leo had as much ambition as Julius II., but without the same elevation of view or frankness of character. If he aimed like his predecessor at extending the dominion of the Church, it was only that he might enrich his family with the spoils; if he entertained the project of freeing Italy from the barbarians, it was only in order that its various states might be united under the sovereignty of the House of Medici. He pursued these schemes with the greatest duplicity, courting and betraying all parties in turn. Leo was much alarmed at the projected marriage between the Archduke Charles and Renée of France, which at no distant period would have cemented France, Spain, Austria, and the Netherlands into one colossal power; and he used every exertion to prevent its accomplishment. The dissatisfaction of Henry VIII. with the same project, which involved a breach of the contract between Charles and Henry's sister Mary, afforded Leo the means of frustrating it. The scheme of an alliance between France and England appears to have originated at Rome between the Pope and the English ambassador Bambridge, Cardinal-Archbishop of York[6]; and it was forwarded in England by Wolsey, now rapidly rising in his master's favour, and already Bishop of Lincoln and Tournay. Communications were opened between the French and English courts through the Duke of Longueville, who had remained a prisoner in England since the Battle of the Spurs. Wolsey, who facilitated the negociations by persuading Henry to relax his pretensions, except in the case of his own See of Tournay, was rewarded with the Archbishopric of York on the death of Bambridge, who had been poisoned by a servant, July 14th. The Duke of Longueville proposed a marriage between Louis XII. and

[6] See Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. ii. p. 312 (ed. 1827).

the Princess Mary; and Henry VIII., burning to revenge himself on his father-in-law, by whom he had been so often duped, listened eagerly to the proposal. Louis XII. on his side readily entered into a scheme which, while it relieved him from a formidable attack, secured him a youthful and charming bride. He consented to abandon Tournay; and on the 7th August, 1514, three treaties[7] were signed at London. The first of these was an alliance, offensive and defensive, between England and France; the second stipulated a marriage between Louis XII. and the Princess Mary, who was to bring a dowry of 400,000 crowns; and by the third Louis engaged to pay Henry 100,000 gold crowns annually for a term of ten years, in satisfaction of the arrears of the debt of Charles VIII. to Henry VII. The previous negociations between Louis, Ferdinand, and Maximilian were thus upset, and Renée subsequently married Ercole II., Duke of Ferrara. Longueville espoused Mary at Greenwich by procuration for his master, August 13th; and on the ninth of October, Louis solemnised his nuptials in person at Abbeville, whence the new Queen of France was conducted with great pomp to the palace of the Tournelles at Paris.

Louis being thus freed from a dangerous enemy, his scheme for the recovery of the Milanese began to revive, and he talked of another expedition into Italy in the following spring. But this he was not destined to accomplish. Although only fifty-three years of age, his feeble health had long compelled him to observe a strict regimen, which was completely disturbed by the round of pleasure and dissipation into which his marriage with a youthful, lively, and handsome princess had plunged him. The King's dinner, usually served at eight in the morning, was deferred till noon, and instead of retiring to rest at six in the evening, he was frequently kept up till past midnight. The levity of Mary's conduct found a severe censor in the Princess Claude. All her suite were sent back to England[8], except a few confidential attendants, among whom was Anne Boleyn, the future wife of Henry VIII.; nor does the English monarch appear to have resented the proceeding. Louis's altered way of life soon undermined his constitution, and he was seized with a dysentery, which carried him off January 1st 1515. He died regretted by the French people; and on the whole he deserved their love, for his rule had been mild and paternal, and no King since St. Louis had manifested so much sympathy for his poorer subjects. Yet his foreign policy was not only injudicious but also frequently culpable. He betrayed most of his allies, and

[7] Rymer, t. xiii. p. 413, 423, 430.

[8] Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, vol. i. p. 115 (1st series).

he gave many proofs of cruelty in his Italian wars, and especially in his treatment of the Duke of Milan. Louis XII. was the first King of France who caused his bust to be engraved upon the coin, whence these pieces obtained the name of *testons*[9] (testers).

The death of Louis thwarted some ambitious projects of Pope Leo X., who had hoped, with the assistance of that monarch, to establish his brother Julian in the kingdom of Naples, as well as to add to the Florentine dominion of his nephew Lorenzo, Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Reggio, and perhaps all the Ferrarese; thus uniting nearly all Italy under the sway of the House of Medici.[10] When the sinking health of Louis frustrated all expectations of assistance from that quarter, Leo turned his thoughts towards the realising of some part of his schemes by the aid of Ferdinand of Aragon and the Emperor. With this view he sent Bembo to Venice in December 1514, to detach if possible that republic from the French alliance and reconcile her with the Emperor; but the Venetians rejected the proposed conditions, and remained faithful to France. At the same time Leo concluded a separate treaty with the Swiss, whose confederacy had this year been completed by the accession of Appenzell.

Such was the state of Italian affairs when the Duke of Angoulême succeeded to the French throne with the title of Francis I. Born at Cognac, September 12th 1494, Francis was now in his twenty-first year, but in appearance and manner seemed four or five years older. Handsome, of a tall and graceful figure, he excelled in all martial exercises, while a natural elegance of manner recommended him to the fair sex. From his tutor, Arthur Gouffier of Boisy, a nobleman who had imbibed in Italy a love then rare for literature and art, Francis had derived a certain respect for learning, which he manifested by patronising its professors, although his own reading was mostly confined to romances of chivalry. Indeed all his qualities were showy and superficial: his ruling characteristics were sensuality and a levity amounting to caprice; yet being brave, talkative, libertine, the French nation saw and loved in him her own image, and fancied that she was about to have a sovereign of distinguished greatness.

After the death of Louis XII., Mary declared that there was no prospect of her giving birth to an heir of the French monarchy, and Francis entered upon an inheritance which, according to the scandalous chronicles of the time, he had himself put to hazard by his attempts on the Queen's virtue. Mary shortly after married

[9] From *tête*, a head.

[10] See Paruta, *Storia Veneta*, lib. ii. p. 135 (ed. 1718).

the handsome and accomplished Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, her professed admirer, who had accompanied her to France, though not named among the embassy. Francis affected great indignation at this match, though in his heart perhaps not displeased at it, since it prevented the English princess from contracting a marriage which might have been disadvantageous to France: he even interceded with Henry in favour of the indiscreet lovers, and the English King forgave without much difficulty the temerity of his favourite Brandon.

With the accession of Francis I. began in fact the reign of his mother, Louisa of Savoy, to whom, in his pursuit of pleasure, he readily abandoned the cares of government. One of his first acts was to create Louisa Duchess of Angoulême and Anjou, and to invest her with some of the prerogatives of royalty. Although but forty years of age, she was already in the twentieth year of her widowhood; and as during the reign of Anne of Brittany she had been kept at a distance from the court, she now resolved to compensate herself for the privations which she had endured. Her warm temper and propensity to gallantry are acknowledged by the gravest writers of the times [11], and she saw without displeasure the same disposition in her son, whose dissipations might serve to give her a firmer hold of power. Anne of Brittany was the first Queen of France who surrounded herself with the daughters of the nobility; but under her auspices the court had been a school even of an austere and repulsive virtue. Louisa, in whose eyes the manners of the previous reign were an odious restraint, retained, but perverted, the custom; the court became a scene of licence and debauchery; and it is from this time that we must date the influence of women in the political affairs of France, a characteristic almost peculiar to that nation.

Antony Duprat, first president of the Parliament of Paris, foreseeing probably the future greatness of Louisa, had attached himself to her in her retirement, and after the accession of Francis his fidelity was rewarded with the Chancellorship. Talented but arbitrary, the grand idea of Duprat's life was to render the royal authority absolute. About the same time, the office of Constable, vacant since the death of John de Bourbon in 1488, was bestowed on Charles de Bourbon, who was reputed to enjoy a place in the affections of Louisa.

The middle and lower classes of the French people looked back with regret to the economical government of Louis XII.; but the

[11] Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, liv. vi. ch. 11 (t. i. p. 559 sq. ed. 1723); Belcarius, liv. xvii. p. 509.

accession of Fancis I. was hailed with joy by the higher orders, who hoped to profit by his very faults and vices. The reign of a prince, young, gay, fond of pleasure, ambitious of military glory, promised amusement and dissipation at home, enterprise and promotion abroad. The Italian claims formed part of the dowry which Claude had brought to Francis, who, after the death of his father-in-law, assumed the title of Duke of Milan, and determined to carry out Louis's projected enterprise upon that state. The army was put on a new footing; every *lance garnie* was increased from six to eight horsemen, and a large number of lansquenets were engaged under the command of Charles d'Egmont, Duke of Gelderland, and the La Marcks. The engagement in the service of France of Pedro Navarro, the celebrated Spanish commander and engineer, was an acquisition almost equal to an army. After the battle of Ravenna, the Viceroy Cardona had ruined Navarro's reputation with Ferdinand by imputing to him the loss of a field from which he had himself disgracefully fled; Ferdinand refused to pay Navarro's ransom, who had remained a prisoner in France, and who, by birth a Basque, was easily induced to throw up his allegiance to the King of Aragon. In the Cevennes and the Pyrenees he now raised a large body of men, whom he organised after the model of the redoubtable Spanish infantry.

With a view to his Italian expedition, and the safety of his own dominions during his absence, Francis concluded treaties with various powers. The Archduke Charles of Austria, now fifteen years of age, had just assumed the government of the Netherlands in place of his aunt Margaret. Charles, aware of the hostile feelings which his maternal grandfather Ferdinand entertained towards him, readily entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Francis (March 1515), which was to be strengthened by a projected marriage between him and Renée, sister of the French King's consort. Charles, although he enumerated in this treaty his grandfather Ferdinand among his allies, engaged not to lend him any aid against France, unless he terminated within six months his differences with the French court respecting Navarre, by restoring John d'Albret to the throne of that country.[12] Francis also renewed, April 5th, the treaty of Louis XII. with Henry VIII., stipulating, however, that Milan and Genoa should not be reckoned among the allies of England; and he was careful to assume in the instrument the titles of Duke of Milan and Lord of Genoa.[13] He

[12] Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 199. It is characteristic of the pedantry of the age, that in the preamble to the treaty the two princes quote Aristotle in support of their views.

[13] *Ibid.* p. 204.

also endeavoured to effect with the Spanish King a renewal of the treaty of Orthes; but Ferdinand refused his consent unless Italy were now included in it, and Francis of course rejected a condition which would have defeated his darling project. Ferdinand now despatched ambassadors into Switzerland, who, in conjunction with those of the Emperor and the Duke of Milan, and aided by the Cardinal of Sion and the anti-Gallican party among the Swiss, effected a renewal of the coalition between the Cantons and those powers. In vain Francis endeavoured to propitiate the Swiss, who insisted on the fulfilment of the whole treaty of Dijon; and in order to divert the French attack on Milan, they even promised to invade Burgundy and Dauphiné, whilst Ferdinand entered Guienne. The Venetians remained faithful to the French alliance; but the negotiations with the Pope did not lead to any satisfactory result, although Leo was now connected with the royal family of France. In February 1515 a marriage between Julian de' Medici and Philiberta of Savoy, sister of Francis's mother, had been celebrated at Rome with great pomp and splendid fêtes, which were repeated at Turin. Yet all that could be obtained from Leo was a promise of neutrality; in spite of which he joined in July the Swiss coalition, which guaranteed Milan to Maximilian Sforza. The French King was more fortunate in his negociations with Octavian Fregoso, Doge of Genoa, who engaged to abdicate as soon as the French army should have passed the Alps; stipulating, however, for the Genoese the restoration of their privileges, and for himself the Government of Genoa, the order of St. Michael, a company of *gens-d'armes*, and a large pension.

The French army had assembled at Lyon by the middle of July, whence Francis issued an ordinance constituting his mother Regent of the kingdom during his absence. The French cavalry consisted of 2500 lances, and 1500 Albanian light horse, besides the King's household and numerous volunteers; the infantry amounted to 40,000 men, of which more than half were lansquenets; the artillery numbered seventy-two large guns, and 300 smaller ones, and there was a body of 2500 pioneers. The Swiss had occupied the passes of Mont Cenis and Mont Genèvre, then deemed the only practicable routes across the Alps; a body of 10,000 more was at Susa, and the rest of their army was cantoned at Coni, Saluzzo, and Pignerol. At Saluzzo they had been joined by Prosper Colonna with a chosen body of Papal cavalry. The main body of the Roman and Florentine army, under Julian de' Medici, were by order of the Pope advancing very slowly by Modena and Parma, watching the turn of events.

The immense amphitheatre of gigantic mountains which separates Italy from the rest of Europe, and which was so long regarded by the Italians as marking the boundary between barbarism and civilisation, has never proved an effectual barrier against the lust of conquest. The passage of the Alps by immense hosts has, from the earliest periods down to modern times, presented some of the most remarkable episodes in the history of war; and of all that are recorded, perhaps none is more extraordinary than that now effected by the generals of Francis. As it was impossible to force a passage over Monts Cenis and Genèvre, and as the Cornice Road between the Maritime Alps and the sea, besides a great loss of time, would have ultimately presented the same difficulties, Trivulzio, Lautrec, and Navarro, guided by chamois hunters and the shepherds of the Alps, explored a new route from Embrun by the valley of Barcelonette to Argentière and the sources of the Stura. A path hardly to be traversed by a pedestrian was, by the daring ingenuity of Navarro, made practicable for artillery. Enormous masses of rock were blown up with gunpowder; bridges were thrown across unfathomable abysses; heavy guns were hoisted immense heights, and swung with ropes from peak to peak. On the fifth day, the army with its artillery stood on the plains of Saluzzo, before the enemy were aware that it had begun to scale the mountains. The French had carried with them only a few days' provisions, so that if the Swiss had known their route, and blockaded the passage, which was easy enough to do, the whole French army must have been inevitably starved among the mountains.[14] Meanwhile a small division, composed chiefly of cavalry, under the renowned generals La Palisse, Bayard, Humbercourt, and d'Aubigny, had penetrated more to the north by Briançon, Sestrières, and Rocca Sparviera, in the direction of Villa Franca, over paths never before trodden by horses. So unexpected was their appearance that Prosper Colonna, who was dining in full security at Villa Franca, was captured, together with 700 of his men, without striking a blow. The Swiss retired in consternation on Novara and Milan; the main French army advanced by Turin and Vercelli, while a corps of 8000 detached to the south, recovered without bloodshed Genoa and all the district south of the Po.

The Swiss now found the whole burthen of the war thrown upon

[14] The commissariat department was in those days ill understood. Thus it was reckoned the chief safeguard of France against the Spaniards, that they could not victual their army sufficiently to pass the Pyrenees. Macchiavelli, *Ritratti di Francia*, Op. t. iv. p. 139.

them; for the Spanish general Cardona was kept in check near Verona by Alviano and the Venetians, while the Papal and Florentine army did not stir. Having retired to Gallerate, they began to listen to the counsels of three of their leaders, who were in the interest of France; and in spite of all the attempts of the Cardinal of Sion to prevent it, they entered into a treaty with Francis. The French King engaged to pay the 400,000 crowns stipulated by the treaty of Dijon, and 300,000 more for the places which the Swiss had seized in Italy; to bestow on Maximilian Sforza the Duchy of Nemours in place of that of Milan, together with a pension, a company of *gens-d'armes*, and the hand of a French princess; while the Swiss were to take service under the French crown, on the terms which had been rejected by Louis XII. The cantons of Solothurn, Freiburg and Bern, and the Upper Valais, assented to this arrangement, but the rest determined to fight for Sforza. Francis borrowed from his nobles and generals all the ready money and plate they could spare, in order to seal the treaty by paying a first instalment. Meanwhile, however, another Swiss army of more than 20,000 men, under Rosch, burgomaster of Zurich, arrived from Bellinzona, and gave a decided superiority to the Swiss arms. The new comers were indignant at a treaty which deprived them of their hopes of plunder, and they easily persuaded the greater part of their countrymen to enter into their views. In all haste they marched upon Buffaloro to seize the French money which had been forwarded to Lautrec at that place, and he had the greatest difficulty in saving it from their grasp. After this disappointment, the Swiss occupied Milan. Francis with his army was at the village of Marignano, or Malegnano, only about ten miles off; Alviano and the Venetians had advanced by forced marches to Lodi, and thus held Cardona and Lorenzo de' Medici in check, who had effected a junction at Piacenza. Every thing promised a campaign on a grand scale; but the impetuous ardour of the Swiss, who had now been rejoined by Cardinal Sion, brought matters to a speedy issue. On the 13th of September, after a violent and almost frantic address from the cardinal, the redoubtable horns of Uri and Unterwald resounded through the streets of Milan; and though the day was far spent, the Swiss marched out by the Porta Romana to give battle. As their columns advanced along the high road, flanked on each side by a ditch, the French artillery made large gaps in their ranks, which were instantly filled up. When the alarm was given, Francis was about to sit down to table, and he immediately rushed out to place

himself at the head of his guard. The Swiss penetrated to the French artillery and captured several batteries. The battle raged till near midnight, when the moon having gone down and left all in darkness, the French and Swiss battalions bivouacked intermingled. Francis slept on a gun-carriage. At daybreak, he rallied his scattered divisions by trumpet signals, when about 20,000 lansquenets and all his *gendarmerie* gathered round him. The Swiss renewed the attack with vigour, and the fortune of the day still hung trembling in the balance, when about nine o'clock Alviano appeared on the field with a small body of Venetians. At the cry of "St. Mark!" the Swiss, fancying that the whole Venetian army was upon them, began to retire, but in such admirable order that the French were fain to leave them unmolested. The slaughter had been great on both sides. The veteran Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen general engagements, observed that what he had hitherto seen had been mere child's play, but that this was a battle of giants. Bayard had displayed his accustomed valour. After the victory, Francis insisted on receiving the order of knighthood from his hand, than which no worthier could have bestowed it.

The battle of Marignano subsequently formed the main stock of Francis I.'s military renown; yet, with the exception of personal valour, we should look in vain for the foundation of it. So far from directing any of the movements, it is plain, from his boastful letter to his mother, that he had no conception of what was going on around him. He had not advanced beyond the tactics of Agincourt; he thought that the *knights* had done it all, not the infantry and artillery.[15]

The Cardinal of Sion in vain attempted to persuade the Swiss to defend Milan; the day after the battle they commenced their homeward march, leaving only 1500 of their number to hold the citadel for Sforza. The cardinal fled into Austria. The citadel was taken October 4th, through the effects of a mine directed by Navarro. Sforza now abdicated the duchy in favour of Francis I., and retired into France, where a pension of 30,000 crowns was assigned to him; and he is said to have rejoiced at being delivered from the insolence of the Swiss, the exactions of the Emperor, and the impositions of the Spaniards. He died forgotten at Paris in 1530.

[15] Francis's letter, which is very incorrect, is in Gaillard, *Hist. de François I.* t. iv. p. 390. Michelet characterises it as the letter of a "garçon de 20 ans, qui ne se contient pas dans sa joie et croit avoir tout fait."—*Renaissance*, p. 283. For this campaign see Guicciardini, lib. xii.; Belcarius, lib. xv. p. 439 sqq.; the *Mémoires* of Martin du Bellai, and those of Fleurange and the Loyal Serviteur.

Francis seemed now in a position to prosecute with success his other claims in Italy; but he had as little idea of making use of his victory as he had of the manner in which it had been gained. The Italian republicans were the natural allies of France, and with the aid of Venice and Florence, Naples might easily have been conquered. But Francis's chivalrous notions led him to despise the Florentines and Venetians as a mob of *roturiers* enriched by commerce; Louisa had a poor ambition of allying herself with the Medici, the oppressors of Florentine liberty; and Duprat, who, it is said, entertained the notion of receiving the tonsure and obtaining a cardinal's hat, was also disposed to court Leo X. Francis blindly followed the guidance of his mother and her counsellor; and thus the policy of Louis XII. and d'Amboise was revived, and Italy was sacrificed to the Medici, as it had been before to the Borgias.

The victory of Marignano had struck Leo with consternation; the safety of the Papal army was compromised, and he immediately sought to rescue it by opening negociations. By flattery, dissimulation, and the arts of intrigue, backed by the favour of the queen-mother, Leo contrived to impose upon Francis, in the midst of his glory, conditions which might have appeared hard even after a defeat. In October, only a month after the battle of Marignano, a defensive alliance was concluded at Viterbo between the Pope and the French King. Francis guaranteed all the dominions which Leo now held or might hereafter recover, made over to him Bologna, and engaged to support Julian and Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence, and to grant them titles and pensions in France. Leo, in return, merely undertook to support Francis in the Duchy of Milan, which he already held by conquest, to recall the Papal troops serving against Venice, to restore Parma and Piacenza to Milan, and Modena and Reggio to the Duke of Ferrara. Cardona, who would have had to sustain the first attack of the victorious French, obtained permission to be included in the treaty, and to retire to Naples with his army through the States of the Church.

The alliance was ratified in December, at a personal interview between Leo and Francis at Bologna. The negociations were preceded by fêtes and rejoicings and by the splendid ceremonials of the Romish Church, in which Francis demeaned himself as the servant and vassal of the Pontiff, supporting his train, and presenting him the water and napkin when he communicated; while Leo forbore to show the least token of respect, lest the vicar of Christ should seem to do homage to a temporal sovereign. But if Leo thus insisted in public on his spiritual

privileges, he won the King in their more familiar intercourse by his urbanity and seductive manners. He persuaded Francis to connive at his seizing the Duchy of Urbino for his nephew Lorenzo; and after the death of Julian de' Medici, in March 1516, who, out of gratitude for former services during his exile, endeavoured to protect the reigning Duke, Urbino was made over to Lorenzo.

The arbitrary proceedings of Leo about this time engendered a conspiracy in the College of Cardinals itself. Cardinal Alphonso Petrucci, in revenge for the expulsion of his brother Borghese from Siena, incited three or four of his brother cardinals to join him in a plot to assassinate the Pope. The conspiracy was fortunately discovered, and Leo at first seemed inclined to pardon the guilty parties; but suddenly changing his mind, to the consternation of the sacred college, deprived Cardinals Petrucci, Bandinello, De' Sauli, and Raphael Riario, of their dignities and preferments, and handed them over to the secular arm. Petrucci was beheaded in prison the following night; the rest purchased their lives and the restoration of their dignities with a large sum of money. Leo incurred such odium by these proceedings, that he found it necessary to surround himself with guards even during the performance of mass; and in order to neutralise the adverse party in the consistory, he created in a single day no fewer than thirty-one cardinals. By this measure he also replenished the Roman treasury, as many of the hats were sold.[16]

Besides the affair of the Duchy of Urbino, Leo while at Bologna also persuaded Francis to postpone his expedition to Naples till the death of Ferdinand of Aragon; an event which, from the state of that monarch's health, could not be far distant. Nor did he forget the interests of the Romish Church. Duprat was induced to enter into a CONCORDAT, by which some of the most important articles of the Pragmatic Sanction were revoked and the rights of the Gallican Church bartered away. The demand for periodical councils was abandoned, and annates were tacitly restored to the Pope; who, on the other hand, invested the French King with the right, before belonging to chapters and communities, of nominating to bishoprics, abbacies, and priories; as well as, with a few exceptions, the power of deciding, without appeal to Rome, all ecclesiastical suits. Thus, as Mézerai observes, a whimsical change was made between the Papal and Royal functions; the Pope abandoning his spiritual privileges to a temporal

[16] Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

prince in return for certain worldly advantages. The negociations were long protracted, and the Concordat[17], which was highly unpopular in France, was not signed till August 18th 1516. The abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction was proclaimed in the Council of Lateran; which servile assembly, consisting almost entirely of Italian prelates, who did no more than register the Pope's decisions, was soon afterwards dissolved (March 16th 1517).

Francis showed a better policy in conciliating the Swiss than in his negociations with the Pope. He offered them the same terms as he had proposed before his victory; engaged to ratify the treaty of Dijon, and promised pensions to the heads of the Cantons; while all he asked in return was permission to levy troops in Switzerland. A treaty of peace and alliance was signed at Geneva with eight of the Cantons, November 7th 1515, which in the following year was acceded to by the rest. The alliance, however, was not to extend to any attack on the Pope, the Emperor, the Austrian dominions, Savoy, Würtemberg, the House of Medici, Florence, or M. de Vergier, Marshal of Burgundy. The Swiss retained Bellinzona and the county of Arona.

Having thus placed his affairs in Italy on what he deemed a favourable footing, Francis, after disbanding the greater part of his army, and appointing Bourbon governor of the Milanese, returned to France early in February 1516. His success had filled the Catholic King, who trembled for the safety of his Neapolitan dominions, with rage, jealousy, and alarm; and under the influence of these feelings he had immediately endeavoured to form a league with his son-in-law, Henry VIII., and with the Emperor Maximilian against Francis. Maximilian was enticed with a large sum of money, with which he was to prepare an expedition against the Milanese; and Henry, though he had had such signal proofs of Ferdinand's duplicity, was persuaded by Wolsey to join the alliance. Henry, who was probably jealous of the brilliant success of the French monarch, had some grounds of complaint against Francis for supporting Albany as Regent of Scotland, in opposition to Henry's sister Margaret, the Queen Dowager; and Wolsey, with an eye to his own interest, fomented the passions which rankled in his sovereign's breast. Wolsey owed, indeed, to the French monarch the cardinal's hat which had been recently bestowed upon him (September 10th 1515), with the title of St^a. Cecilia trans Tiberim; but the grateful return expected for it, in the surrender of the See of Tournay, might be evaded by a breach

[17] In Labbæus, *Concilia*, t. xiv. p. 358; and in Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 229.

with France; and there was also another prospect of advantage which determined Wolsey in the same policy. Leo X. had taken a secret part in the negociations just mentioned, with the view of instating Francesco Sforza, younger brother of the abdicated Duke Maximilian, in the Duchy of Milan, instead of the French King; on the accomplishment of which, Francesco had engaged to bestow on Wolsey a pension of 10,000 ducats.[18] The cardinal seems to have had no difficult game with his master; for so great was Henry's credulity that the Emperor is said to have extracted considerable sums from him on pretence of investing him with the Duchy of Milan, and even resigning to him the Imperial crown.[19]

But in the midst of Ferdinand's schemes, an event occurred which had been foreseen by everybody but himself. On the 23rd of January, 1516, he expired in a small house belonging to the friars of Guadalupe, at the village of Madrigalejo, near Truxillo, through which he was passing on his way to Seville. His leading characteristics were avarice, perfidy, and ingratitude. His cold and cautious temper enabled him to become an adept in dissimulation; and it is said that, by whatever feelings he was agitated, his countenance never betrayed the emotions of his mind. His treacheries were generally perpetrated under the hypocritical pretence of religion: and amongst them the worst is perhaps that by which he deceived his relative, Frederick of Naples.[20] Ferdinand was, however, in some respects a great prince, and must at least be admitted to have been the most successful one of his age. To his policy, assisted by some fortunate events, must be ascribed the origin of the power and greatness of the Spanish monarchy; though the measures which he took to establish them broke at the same time all spirit of enterprise in the people and prepared their eventual decline. Ferdinand's enterprises had been on so extensive a scale, in comparison with his scanty revenues, that in spite of all his economy, or rather niggardliness, he scarce left enough to defray his funeral expenses. By his marriage with Germaine de Foix, he had had a son, who, however, lived only a few hours. Con-

[18] Rymer, t. xiii. p. 525.

[19] Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* (in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 25 sq.).

[20] Mr. Prescott, in a parallel which he draws between Ferdinand and Louis XII. in this affair, endeavours to prove the French king as bad as the Spanish; forgetting that Louis was acting as an open enemy in the prosecution of what he considered a just claim; while Ferdinand got possession of Frederick's fortresses under professions of a perfidious friendship. See *Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. iii. p. 366. Mr. Prescott's view of Ferdinand's character, drawn from Spanish sources, is altogether too favourable. Voltaire, with his usual felicity, observes of that monarch: "*On l'appelait en Espagne*, le sage, le prudent; *en Italie*, le pieux; *en France et à Londres*, le perfide."—*Essai sur les Mœurs*, ch. 114.

salvo de Cordova had expired a little before his master, at the age of sixty-two (December 2nd 1515).

The death of Ferdinand led Francis to resume his design of conquering Naples; in which, as Leo X. had advised him to postpone the enterprise till after that event, he fully expected the assistance of the Pontiff. But, while he was meditating this expedition, an unexpected descent of the Emperor Maximilian caused him to tremble for the safety of the Milanese itself.

While the French were overrunning Lombardy, Maximilian had been intent in Germany upon one of those matrimonial speculations by which the fortunes of the House of Austria were proverbially so much better advanced than by its arms.[21] It will be recollected that by the peace of Presburg in 1491, Maximilian obtained, besides a considerable sum of money, the eventual succession to the throne of Hungary. In September 1502, King Wladislaus had married Anne of Foix, great-niece of Louis XI.; by whom, in the following year, he had a daughter, Anne, and in 1506 a son, who received the name of Louis, in honour of Louis XII., the near relative of the Queen. The birth of this prince made Maximilian doubt the results of his compact with the Hungarian King, although he procured it to be ratified afresh by the diet; and he began to entertain the project of securing the succession for his house by a double marriage between two of his grandchildren and Louis and Anne, the son and daughter of Wladislaus. The scheme was opposed by Sigismund I., King of Poland, the younger brother of Wladislaus; and in order to overcome his opposition, Maximilian allied himself with the Teutonic Knights, with Vasili Ivanovitch, Grand Duke of Muscovy, and with Christian II., King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, to whom he gave in marriage his granddaughter Isabella. Sigismund, alarmed at this formidable combination, withdrew his opposition; in 1514 the long-protracted negociations were brought to a happy termination; and in July of the following year, Wladislaus and Sigismund repaired to Vienna, when the youthful Louis was betrothed to Maximilian's granddaughter Mary. At the same time a marriage was agreed upon between Anne, the daughter of Wladislaus, and one of Maximilian's grandsons, which was eventually consummated in 1521 by the union of Ferdinand and Anne.

Having completed these arrangements, Maximilian at length

[21] According to the well-known distich attributed, though perhaps without sufficient grounds, to King Matthias Corvinus:—

"Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube;
Nam quæ Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus."

turned his attention to the affairs of Italy; and before the end of 1515 he raised, with the money received from Ferdinand of Aragon and Henry VIII., a large army of Swiss, German, and Spanish troops, with which he entered Italy in March 1516. At this unexpected apparition, Lautrec, abandoning successively the lines of the Mincio, the Oglio, and the Adda, sought safety behind the walls of Milan; where the alarm was so great that Bourbon, despairing of the defence of the suburbs, ordered them to be burnt; an act long remembered with indignation by the inhabitants. Leo X. now again began to trim. He neglected to succour the French, as stipulated by the Treaty of Bologna; nay, he even despatched Cardinal da Bibbiena as legate to the Emperor, and instructed his general, Mark Antony Colonna, to join the Imperial army. The success of Maximilian seemed certain. As he approached Milan, 13,000 Swiss in Bourbon's army refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen; the Constable was forced to dismiss them, and Maximilian was so elated that he assumed all the airs of a conqueror, and threatened to destroy Milan. But his good fortune vanished as suddenly as it had been achieved. His exchequer was exhausted, the pay of his Swiss in arrear, and one morning their colonel, Staffler, entered the Emperor's chamber while he was in bed, and insolently demanded the money. In vain Maximilian resorted to threats, promises, entreaties; Staffler told him bluntly that, if the money was not forthcoming, he and his men should pass over to the service of Bourbon. The Emperor was thunderstruck. All his danger at once stared him in the face, and rising in a hurry, he hastened to the quarters of his German troops: but not deeming himself secure there, he started for Trent, pretending that he was to receive there 80,000 crowns, and hoping by this pretext to conceal what was in reality a flight. The Germans, after waiting in vain for his return, made a precipitate retreat; while the Swiss disbanded, and compensated themselves for the loss of their pay by sacking Lodi and other towns. Such was the ridiculous end of this apparently formidable descent. Maximilian became the laughing-stock of Europe, and never again appeared at the head of an army. No sooner did the tide turn than the Pope began again to veer, and affected a zeal to fulfil the Treaty of Bologna; but Francis, then intent upon the Concordat, winked at his conduct, and did not suffer it to interrupt the negociations.

The demise of King Ferdinand brought a new actor on the political scene, and altered for a while the policy of Europe. His grandson and successor, the Archduke Charles, son of Philip the Fair and Joanna of Spain, had just completed his sixteenth year, having

been born at Ghent, February 24th 1500. Maximilian, his paternal grandfather, had intrusted the early education of Charles to Adrian, Dean of Louvain, who, though the son of a tapestry weaver, had risen to that station by his learning and abilities. Charles, however, seems to have profited little by Adrian's teaching. Although docile and submissive, he displayed in his youth but little quickness of apprehension, and is said never to have acquired a mastery of the Latin tongue. His qualities were such as ripen slowly. Even his bodily development was tardy; and it was observed that he did not begin to get a beard and put on the appearance of a man till his twenty-first year.[22] In M. de Chièvres, of the family of Croï, a practical man of the world, Charles found a more congenial tutor than in the learned and pious Adrian. Chièvres, who set but small value on book learning, encouraged his pupil's love for the chase; but, at the same time, instructed him in history and the art of government, and endeavoured to fit him for an active part in life. Charles showed more facility in acquiring the modern than the ancient languages; and besides Flemish, his native tongue, is said to have understood German, French, Italian, and Spanish. It may be suspected, however, that his acquaintance with most of these was but superficial. He commonly wrote in French, but of a very barbarous kind. In his aunt Margaret, the Governess of the Netherlands, Charles found another admirable instructress for a politician, and his early accession to the government of that country formed, in fact, the completion of his education. Chièvres made him read all the state papers and correspondence, and report upon them to the council; and he thus glided, by imperceptible degrees, from the lessons of political conduct to the actual cares of government.[23]

Ferdinand had regarded his grandson Charles with aversion, as a rival who would one day deprive him of Castile; and he had even made a will by which he bequeathed the government of Castile and Aragon, during Charles's absence, to Ferdinand, the younger brother of that prince; an arrangement by which Ferdinand, who had been educated in Spain, and was present on the spot, might have been enabled to seize the crown, had he been so inclined. Ximenes, however, persuaded the Aragonese monarch to revoke this will, and to make another, only a few hours before his death, by which Aragon and the Two Sicilies were settled on his daughter Joanna and her heirs; while the administration of Castile was

[22] Peter Martyr, *Epist.* 734.

[23] The more private life and character of Charles have been described by M. Pichot, *Charles Quint, Chronique de sa Vie intérieure et de sa Vie politique.*

entrusted to Ximenes during Charles's absence, and that of Aragon to Alphonso, Archbishop of Saragossa, Ferdinand's natural son. Charles, on his side, was not unaware of his grandfather's enmity towards him. He regarded Ferdinand as an enemy who would exclude him from his lawful inheritance; and a few months before that monarch's death, he had despatched his former tutor, Adrian, into Spain, ostensibly as an ambassador, but with powers to assume the office of Regent immediately on Ferdinand's demise. A misunderstanding consequently arose between Ximenes and Adrian, which, however, was arranged by the former allowing Adrian to share the regency with him, though the real authority was engrossed by Ximenes. The monk, indeed, though now near eighty years of age, was the only person capable of exercising it with vigour and effect; and the conjuncture required all his energy and ability. The Castilian grandees heard with indignation that Charles had assumed the title of King as soon as the news of Ferdinand's death arrived in Brussels; for although his mother Joanna was still confined in the castle of Tordesillas, her mental incapacity, however obvious, had never been declared by any public act. But Ximenes, in spite of the murmurs and cabals of the nobles, caused Charles to be proclaimed at Madrid, which, under his administration, had become the seat of government, and the other towns, whose privileges Ximenes had favoured by way of counterpoise to the power of the grandees, followed the example. In Aragon, where the Archbishop Alphonso ruled with a weaker hand, Charles was indeed acknowledged as the lawful heir, but did not obtain the regal title till after his arrival in Spain. Ximenes also displayed his vigorous policy in the measures he adopted for retaining Navarre in obedience. The death of Ferdinand encouraged John d'Albret to attempt the recovery of his kingdom; but he was defeated by the Spanish general Vilalva, and compelled to a precipitate retreat (March 25th 1516). As the Navarrese had manifested their affection for the House of Albret, Ximenes, with great harshness and cruelty, caused their castles, towns, and villages, to the number of near 2000, to be dismantled and burnt; Pampeluna alone, and a few places on the Ebro, were preserved as fortresses, and the rest of the country was reduced almost to a desert. John d'Albret died in the following June.

Yet the power of Charles, however extensive, seemed to rest on insecure foundations. Discontent still lurked among the Castilian nobles; the Spanish possessions in Africa had been endangered by a victory of the celebrated pirate Haroudji Barbarossa; Navarre and the Netherlands were both exposed to the attacks of the French,

and the hostility of that nation would render Charles's contemplated journey to Spain both difficult and hazardous. All these were motives for courting the alliance of Francis I.; nor did this monarch repulse the overtures made to him. Francis found that he could not rely on Leo, nor consequently on Tuscany, in his projected expedition to Naples; and as he had not yet succeeded in effecting a treaty with the whole of the Swiss cantons, his Milanese possessions were still exposed to danger from that quarter. Such being the situation of the two monarchs, a treaty was effected between them at Noyon, August 13th 1516, which, according to the practice of those times, was strengthened by a marriage contract. Although by a preceding treaty Charles was already engaged to Renée, second daughter of Louis XII., he now contracted to espouse Louisa, the infant daughter of Francis, when she should attain the age of twelve years, receiving as her dowry the French claims upon Naples; in consideration of which Charles was to pay 100,000 gold crowns annually till the marriage was consummated, and half that sum so long as there was no issue by it. Francis reserved the right of assisting the Venetians against the Emperor; and, what was of more importance to Charles, of succouring the Queen of Navarre and her children, if Charles failed to do her justice within eight months.[24] At this period the two youthful monarchs appeared to be on the best possible terms; they vied with each other in marks of friendship and esteem; they exchanged the collars of their orders; Charles, who was a few years younger than the French King, addressed him as "my good father," and Francis returned the endearing appellation of "my good son."

By the treaty of Noyon the Netherlands were also protected against the terrible incursions of Charles, Duke of Gelderland, and the piracies of his worthy associate, De Groote Pier, or Big Peter, which inflicted great damage on the maritime commerce of Flanders. Henry of Nassau, Stadtholder of Holland, had long maintained an arduous struggle against these enemies; but after the treaty of Noyon, Francis mediated a truce of six months, and the Duke of Gelderland restored a portion of Friesland that he had overrun, on receiving a payment of 100,000 gold crowns. Henry of Nassau had won the favour of Francis during the negociations at Noyon; and he was now allowed to espouse Claude, sister of Philibert of Orange and Châlons, and heiress of that sovereign House; who, as possessing large estates in Burgundy, could not marry without the consent of Francis, her feudal lord.

The treaty of Noyon was soon followed by the peace of Brussels,

[24] Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 224.

between the Emperor on one side, and the French King and the Venetians on the other (Dec. 4th 1516). Maximilian had now begun to perceive the hopeless nature of his contest with the republic of Venice; the offer of 200,000 ducats was an irresistible attraction to his poverty, and he resigned all his conquests with the exception of a few places in the Friuli and on the borders of the Tyrol. An end was thus put to the wars which had arisen out of the League of Cambray, and for a few years Europe enjoyed an unwonted tranquillity. Venice had recovered almost all the places which had been ravished from her, and to all appearance came out of the contest without material damage. But her decline had already begun. The places restored to her, exhausted of their wealth and population, required large sums to be laid out upon them; to meet the expenses of the war, the public revenues had been mortgaged for a long period; the dignities of the state had been sold to the highest bidders, and a crowd of public servants had thus intruded themselves who had no other recommendation than their money. At the same time the commerce of the republic was rapidly falling off through the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese, while another blow had been struck at it by the short-sighted and grasping policy of the Spanish ministers. A Venetian fleet had coasted every year the shores of the Mediterranean, and after touching at Syracuse and other Sicilian ports, proceeded to Tripoli, Tunis, Oran, and other places in Africa, where the manufactures of Europe were exchanged for the gold dust of the Moors; with which the Venetians proceeded to the ports of Spain, and purchased cargoes of silk, wool, and corn. The ministers of Charles raised the duty on these exports, as well as on all articles brought by the Venetians, to twenty per cent., or double the former rate, expecting by this method to increase their revenue in proportion; but its only effect was to annihilate the trade, and to deal a severe blow to the commerce and agriculture of Spain.

More than eighteen months elapsed after the death of Ferdinand before Charles determined on taking possession of his Spanish dominions. At the instance of Adrian he had, indeed, despatched a second and a third minister into that country, to share the government of Ximenes, who, however, continued to assert his superiority, and frustrated all their attempts to overthrow him. Yet, even under his vigilant administration, abuses crept in. The most considerable offices in Church and State were sold by the Flemish counsellors, and large remittances of Spanish gold found their way to the Netherlands. The Flemings regarded Spain as their *Indies*, and plundered it, much as the Spaniards themselves plundered the

New World. Charles's delay in proceeding to Spain was occasioned by the selfish policy of Chièvres and his other ministers, who were unwilling to see the seat of government transferred to a foreign country; and the youthful monarch naturally listened with deference to the advice of his former tutor. Ximenes, on the other hand, was urgent in his entreaties that Charles should appear among his Spanish subjects; and at last, on the 17th of September 1517, he landed at Villaviciosa, in the Asturias, accompanied by a large train of Flemish nobles. Charles, with his sister Eleonora, hastened to pay a visit to their unfortunate mother at Tordesillas, when Joanna's joy at the unexpected sight of her children is said for a moment to have overcome her dreadful malady. A different treatment was reserved for the great cardinal and minister. Ximenes hastened to meet his master, but the exertion proved too much for his strength; he was seized with a fever, which compelled him to stop at the Franciscan monastery of Aguilera, near the town of Aranda. His characteristic boldness did not forsake him with his health. In common with the whole Spanish nation, he viewed with regret the influence acquired over the young king by his Flemish courtiers; and he addressed a letter to that monarch from his sick bed, in which he entreated Charles to dismiss them, and to grant him an interview at Aranda. But the Spanish grandees united with the Flemings to thwart the vigorous minister, whom they all alike detested. By their advice Ximenes was treated with a studied neglect, and Charles was persuaded to send him a letter, which, though couched in cold and formal expressions of regard, was in fact a virtual dismissal. The aged prelate was thanked for all his past services, and a personal interview appointed for receiving the benefit of his counsels; "after which he would be allowed to retire to his benefice, and seek from heaven that reward which heaven alone could adequately bestow." [25]

It may be too much to say with some historians that this letter was the immediate cause of the cardinal's death, yet it probably had an injurious effect on a constitution already enfeebled by age and sickness. He expired soon afterwards (Nov. 8th 1517), in the 81st year of his age. The despotic government of Ximenes, supported by military force and by the terrors of the inquisition, had been completely successful in upholding the royal prerogative; he avoided assembling the *Cortès*, and his regency must be regarded as having initiated that repressive and hard-hearted despotism which characterised the rule of the Austrian house in Spain. During the eleven years that he had presided over the tribunal

[25] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.* vol. iii. p. 393.

of the inquisition, Ximenes had condemned to the stake 2,536 persons, and 51,167 to smaller punishments.[26]

Charles, the first of that name in Spain, soon afterwards made his public entry into Valladolid. The *Cortès* of Castile discovered great unwillingness to acknowledge him as king; they refused to grant him that title except in conjunction with his mother Joanna, and on condition that her name should take precedence of his in all public acts; and they stipulated that if at any time she should recover her reason, her claim to the throne should entirely supersede that of her son. On the other hand, they displayed great liberality in voting Charles the hitherto unheard of sum of 600,000 ducats. The Aragonese proved still more intractable than the Castilians. After long delays, and with much difficulty, they at length, indeed, acknowledged the title of Charles on the same conditions as the Castilians, but they voted him only a third as much money. They had profited by the example of the Castilians; and by seeing their liberality abused by the rapacity of the Flemish courtiers. Such was the avarice of those foreigners that they are said to have remitted to the Netherlands, in the short space of ten months, the enormous sum of more than a million ducats, acquired by their venality and extortion. The Spaniards were still more disgusted by seeing all the highest posts of honour assigned to Flemings. William de Croï, a nephew of Chièvres, already Archbishop of Cambray, was appointed, though not of canonical age, to the Archbishopric of Toledo, the primacy of Castile, vacant by the death of Ximenes; while the chancellorship, which had been filled by the same eminent man, was given to Sauvage, another Fleming, and other appointments of a like nature followed. The pride of the Castilians was stung by these injuries and oppressions. The leading cities, though unsupported by the nobility, formed a league to defend their rights, and laid before the King a remonstrance in which they complained of the favour shown to foreigners, the increase of taxes, and the export of the coin. Charles neglected their complaints; but through this league was laid the foundation of the Junta, or union of the cities of Castile, which well nigh succeeded in overthrowing the monarchy. Thus by an impolitic conduct forced upon him by his ministers, and which nothing but his youth and inexperience can excuse, did Charles alienate for a time the hearts of his new subjects, and deprive himself of that weight which their cordial affection and assistance would have given him in the affairs of Europe.

[26] Llorente, *Hist. Crit. de la Inquisicion*, cap. 10, art. 5, and cap. 46. Cf. M'Crie, *Ref. in Spain*, p. 111.

In the general tranquillity enjoyed by Europe at this period, public attention was chiefly directed to the movements of the Turks, whose history we must here briefly resume.

The peace concluded between Venice and Bajazet II. in 1502 [27], remained undisturbed during the life of that Sultan. The Venetians, occupied with the wars which ensued upon the League of Cambray, submitted, in one or two instances somewhat ignominiously, to the dictation of Bajazet; and as Wladislaus, King of Hungary, had also been careful to maintain his truce with the Porte, the Sultan, being thus delivered from all anxiety on the side of Europe, directed his arms towards the East, and succeeded in subduing Caramania. But the reign of Bajazet was disturbed by the revolt of his youngest son Selim, the darling of the Janissaries; and in 1512 Selim compelled his father to renounce in his favour the throne which Bajazet had destined for his favourite son Achmet. The dethroned Sultan determined to retire to Demitoca, his birthplace; but on the third day of his journey thither he died of poison, administered to him by a Jewish physician at the instigation of Selim.[28] Achmet, who endeavoured to assert his claim by arms, was defeated, captured, and executed; and Selim, that he might have no rival near the throne, also put to death his younger brother Korkud, and caused five of his nephews to be slain before his eyes at Prusa. The years from 1514 to 1516 were employed by Selim in conquering northern Mesopotamia and a considerable part of Persia. He next reduced Syria, and turned his arms against Egypt, where the Mamaluke dynasty had been established since the middle of the 13th century.[29] Tumanbeg, the Sultan of the Mamalukes, was subdued in the spring of 1517, and put to death at Cairo, April 17th, by command of Selim. The Sultan spent the summer in Egypt in regulating the affairs of his new conquest; and after passing the winter in Damascus, he returned, in August 1518, after an absence of two years, to Adrianople, when he began to direct his attention to the affairs of Europe.

The rapidity and magnitude of these conquests naturally attracted the attention and excited the alarm of the European potentates. Venice and Hungary, the states more immediately exposed to the fury of the Turkish arms, had deemed it prudent to conciliate the friendship of the Porte; and both Wladislaus, King of

[27] See above, p. 245.

[28] Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 565.

[29] The word *Mamaluke* signifies in Arabic *slave*. The Mamalukes were originally slaves trained up to war by the Ayoubite dynasty in Egypt, which they at length overthrew in 1250. There were two dynasties of Mamaluke Sovereigns, that of the *Baharites*, Turks, or Tartars of Kipzak, and that of the *Borgites*, which overthrew the former in 1382. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lix.

Hungary, and the Government of Venice had, at Selim's accession, renewed the peace which they had entered into with his father. The Venetians, ever alive to the interests of their commerce, congratulated Selim after his conquest of Egypt, a country so important to their trade with the Indies, endeavoured to obtain from its new ruler the confirmation of their ancient privileges, and transferred to him the tribute of 8000 ducats, which they had before paid to the Sultan of Egypt, for the possession of Cyprus. On these terms the peace was confirmed, September 17th 1517, and was not disturbed during Selim's lifetime.

Hungary also escaped any serious attack, though subject to a constant border warfare. King Wladislaus had expired March 13th 1516. Large in person, phlegmatic and melancholy in temperament, in mind so simple and candid that he would believe no ill of anybody, in temper so compassionate and humane that he could with difficulty be persuaded to sign a death warrant, assiduous in his devotions, but incapable of any active exertion—Wladislaus was one of those characters that might adorn private life, but are totally unfitted for the throne. Under his feeble sway, the nobles acted as they pleased; the revenues of the kingdom, which under King Matthias had amounted to 800,000 ducats, gradually sunk to a quarter of that sum; and such was the poverty in which he left the royal household, that there was not money enough to defray the expenses of the kitchen. Thus, during the long minority of Louis II., who was only ten years of age at the time of his father's death, the way was prepared for those calamities which we shall presently have to relate. The diet of Tolna observed in their resolutions, 1518, that arms and laws are necessary to a state, but that neither laws nor arms were to be found in Hungary.[30] Indeed the country at this time seems to have been almost in a state of barbarism. In 1514, a dangerous peasant war, similar to those of Germany, had broken out, headed by a Szekler named Dosa, which, after the spilling of much blood, was put down; and Dosa being captured, a council of war, held by Zapolya, decreed that a striking example should be made of him and his followers. Forty of the latter were kept a fortnight without food, when only nine remained alive; these were let loose upon Dosa, who was seated upon a red-hot iron throne, while an iron crown and sceptre in the same state were thrust upon him, and his flesh was torn with red-hot pincers. The famished wretches were now compelled to eat his flesh, or were sabred if they refused; while Dosa exclaimed, "Eat, ye hounds that I have myself brought

[30] Katona, t. xix. p. 89.

up!" Nothing can absolve Zapolya from this devilish act of cannibalism.[31] At a subsequent diet, the peasantry were reduced to a state of slavery, and became *adscripti glebæ*, or serfs attached to the soil, were compelled to pay heavy taxes to their masters, and were forbidden the use of arms, under penalty of losing the right hand. The consequences of these cruel laws were not removed till the reign of Maria Theresa in 1764.[32] John Zapolya, Count of Zips, the perpetrator of the barbarous deed just related, was son of the Palatine Stephen Zapolya, and had been appointed Voyvode[33] of Transylvania in 1510, at the age of twenty-three. The House of Zapolya, which took its name from a village near Poschega in Slavonia, had risen to great eminence under King Matthias. It was chiefly through its influence that Wladislaus had been seated on the throne, and hence it not only enjoyed a great share of power, but even cherished pretensions to the succession. After the death of Wladislaus, John Zapolya attempted to obtain the office of *Gubernator* from the nobles assembled in the field of Rakos, the place where the diets were held; but the attempt was frustrated, and he himself was obliged to fly for his life. It was now resolved that the young King Louis should conduct the affairs of the kingdom, with the assistance of the whole Hungarian Council: an arrangement attended with the most disastrous results, as the oligarchs of all parties who thus stepped into power sought only to enrich themselves at the expense of the state, and kept the young King as poor and as powerless as they could. Thus Hungary, by its misgovernment and dissensions, subsequently became an easy prey to the Turks.

The peasant war in Hungary just recorded had been fomented by an injudicious step on the part of Pope Leo X. That Pontiff had, like his predecessors, professed a zeal against the Infidels; and though he could provide Wladislaus with no funds for a Turkish war, he authorised the preaching of a crusade in Hungary. A disorderly mob of 80,000 peasants was thus collected; who being without discipline and provisions, at the instigation of the lower clergy attacked the estates of the nobles. In spite of his ill success, Leo resumed the subject with Francis I. during the conferences at Bologna; and the French King appears, from a letter which he addressed to the King of Navarre, to have entered

[31] Engel, *Gesch. des ungarisch. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 170 ff.

[32] Engel, *ibid.* S. 173 and 301.

[33] *Voivoda* or *Voyevodo*, literally, *leader in war*, from *voi*, war; a title equivalent to the German *Herzog*, or duke. Sir J. Wilkinson's *Dalmatia*, vol. 1. p. 26.

zealously into the Pope's views.[34] Nothing, however, was done, and the matter seems to have remained in abeyance till the treaty at Cambray, March 11th 1517, between the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain. During these negociations the conquest and partition of Greece, and the recovery of the Holy Land, were discussed by the three contracting powers; which scheme was to be kept secret from the rest of Europe, and especially from the Pope. Maximilian, however, revealed the proceedings of the congress to Leo and to Henry VIII. Leo, who was alarmed at the rapid conquests of Selim, or pretended to be so in order the better to promote his mercenary designs, decreed a war against the Infidels in the last session of the Lateran Council (March 16th), and obtained the grant of a tithe on all ecclesiastical property in Europe for the purpose of defraying the expenses[35]; and he published a Bull enjoining all Christian princes to observe a five years' truce. But though the Pope put on every appearance of earnestness, nothing resulted from these measures but a profitable compact between himself and the French king. Leo granted to Francis all the proceeds of the tithe in his dominions, and all the contributions of his subjects towards the crusade, while Francis in return cancelled the Pope's written engagement to restore Modena and Reggio to the Duke of Ferrara.[36] Nevertheless Leo published the crusade after a solemn procession, in which he himself walked bare-footed, and performed a high mass in the church of St^a. Maria in Minerva. The scheme met with no better success in other countries. Maximilian, indeed, embraced it with his usual ardour for new enterprises, and Leo flattered his vanity by appointing him generalissimo of the Christian army, sending him a consecrated hat and sword, and declaring the kingdom of the East an Imperial fief; whereupon Maximilian, who already in imagination beheld himself enthroned at Constantinople, caused a medal to be struck on which he was designated as Emperor of the East and West. He could not, however, inspire the German states with his own enthusiasm. They answered his appeal with remonstrances against Papal exactions, and applauded a treatise of Hutten, in which the Pope was denounced as a far more dangerous enemy to Christendom than the Turk.[37] When the grant by the Lateran Council of an ecclesiastical tithe was published in England, an oath was tendered to the Papal collector that he would make no

[34] See the *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, edited by M. Charrière, t. i. Introd. p. cxxviii. sqq. (in the *Doc. Inédits*).

[35] See *Négociations, &c.* t. i. p. 21 sqq.; Martin, t. vii. p. 488.

[36] Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xiii.

[37] Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. iii. App. clxxviii.

remittances to Rome[38]; and in Spain, the clergy availing themselves of the discontent and tumults which prevailed, positively refused to obey the Pope's mandate. In this want of zeal among the Christian nations, it was fortunate that Selim's attention was engrossed by his Eastern provinces, and the revolts of his unruly Janissaries. His last enterprise was directed against Rhodes; but he was not destined to accomplish it. Flying from Constantinople to avoid the plague, he was seized with that malady at Tschorli, and expired, September 21st 1520. The fame of this great conqueror is sullied by acts of the most impious cruelty. He is even said to have contemplated the murder of his son and successor Solyman, for fear of experiencing at his hands the fate which he had himself inflicted on his father.

In pursuance of his pacific policy at this period, and also with the design of recovering Tournai, Francis courted the alliance of Henry VIII. With this view he withdrew the Duke of Albany from Scotland, and despatched the Admiral Bonnivet into England with letters to Wolsey, in which the French monarch seemed to pour out his whole soul, styling the Cardinal his lord, his father, and his friend. Each letter was accompanied with a present, besides which a large pension was settled on the English minister. Wolsey was not insensible to addresses which flattered at once his avarice and his vanity. He persuaded his master to restore Tournai, but on payment of 600,000 crowns in twelve years; and on these terms a treaty was executed at London in October 1518.[39] It included a marriage contract between the Dauphin Francis and Mary the Princess Royal of England, both recently born infants; which, however, was soon voided by the death of the Dauphin.

It was at this period, also, that a marriage whose results were destined to be so disastrous to France, was contracted between the Pope's nephew Lorenzo, now Duke of Urbino, and head of the Florentine Republic, and Madelaine de la Tour, daughter of John Count of Boulogne and Auvergne, of the royal blood of France through her mother Joanna. In April 1518, the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp at Paris, and on the return of the wedded pair to Florence the *fêtes* were renewed during a whole week. But their happiness was destined to be of short duration. Lorenzo expired within a year, it is said of a malady contracted at Paris by his licentious amours on the very eve of his marriage. He was the last legitimate descendant of Cosmo the Great. His consort

[38] Rymer, t. xiii. p. 536.

[39] Rymer, t. xiii. p. 642.

had expired only a few days before in giving birth to a daughter, afterwards the celebrated Catherine de' Medici. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici now became for a while the ruler of Florence; but the greater part of the Duchy of Urbino was annexed to the States of the Church.

The Emperor Maximilian had expired a few months before. Although only fifty-nine years of age, he had long anticipated his dissolution, and during the last four years of his life, is said never to have travelled without his coffin and shroud. In these circumstances he was naturally anxious to secure the Imperial Crown for his grandson Charles; and in 1518 he obtained the consent of the majority of the electors to the Roman crown being bestowed on that prince. The electors of Tréves and Saxony alone opposed the project, on the ground, that as Maximilian had never received the Imperial Crown, he was himself still King of the Romans, and that consequently Charles could not assume a dignity that was not vacant. To obviate this objection, Maximilian pressed Leo to send the golden crown to Vienna; but this plan was defeated by the intrigues of the French court. Francis, who intended to become a candidate for the Imperial crown, intreated the Pope not to commit himself by such an act; and while these negociations were pending, Maximilian died at Wels, in Upper Austria, January 12th 1519, either from having fatigued himself too much in hunting or from the effects of over-indulgence at table.

In his more private capacity, Maximilian had many good and amiable qualities. Of a middle size and well-knit frame, he excelled in bodily exercises and feats of arms, and on more than one occasion he slew his adversary with his own hand. His eyes were blue, his nose aquiline, his mouth small, the expression of his countenance animated and manly, his manners frank and dignified. His chivalrous qualities endeared him to the German knighthood; his affability to the citizens, in whose festivities he frequently partook; while the addition of a certain tinge of romance rendered him irresistible with the fair sex. He was versed in several languages, a patron of literature, and himself an author; but the memoirs which he has left of himself, as the *Weiss Kunig* (White King) and in the *Theuerdank*, are written in so far-fetched and enigmatical a style as to be of little value as materials for history.[40] Although no general, he was well acquainted with the details of military service, and was the founder of the lansquenets. In short,

[40] On this subject see Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschicht-schreiber*, S. 141.

he was a brave soldier and a good-tempered man; but here his praise must end. As a politician he was vacillating and irresolute; so full of levity and restlessness that he would quit the most important enterprise for a hunting-party; so governed by the caprices of imagination, that he would form a thousand schemes which he as readily abandoned.[41] By his reckless expenditure and extravagant projects, he was often reduced to ridiculous straits; and it was a common saying that he never signed a treaty without expecting a pecuniary consideration.[42] His chief aim was the aggrandisement of his family; and though he achieved little or nothing by his arms, he founded, through his own marriage and those of his son and grandsons, the future greatness of the House of Austria.

Three candidates for the imperial crown appeared in the field: the Kings of Spain, France, and England. Francis I. was now at the height of his reputation. His enterprises had hitherto been crowned with success, the popular test of ability, and the world accordingly gave him credit for a political wisdom which he was far from possessing. He appears to have gained three or four of the Electors by the lavish distribution of his money, which his agent, Bonnivet, was obliged to carry through Germany on the backs of horses; for the Fuggers, the rich bankers of Augsburg, were in the interest of Charles, and refused to give the French any accommodation. But the bought votes of these venal Electors could not be depended on, some of whom sold themselves more than once to different parties. The infamy of Albert, Elector of Mentz, in these transactions, was particularly notorious.

The chances of Henry VIII. were throughout but slender. Henry's hopes, like those of Francis, were chiefly founded on the corruptibility of the Electors, and on the expectation that both his rivals, from the very magnitude of their power, might be deemed ineligible. Of the three candidates, the claims of Charles seemed the best founded and the most deserving of success. The House of Austria had already furnished six emperors, of whom the last three had reigned eighty years, as if by an hereditary succession. Charles's Austrian possessions made him a German prince, and from their situation, constituted him the natural protector of Germany against the Turks. The previous canvass of Maximilian had been of some service to his cause, and all these advantages he

[41] "Stà sempre in continue agitazioni d'animo e di corpo, ma spesso disfà la sera quello conclude la mattina."—Machiavelli, *Discorso sopra le cose di Alamagna e sopra l'Imperatore*, Op. t. iv. p. 175.

[42] From his poverty, the Italians gave him the nickname of *Massimiliano poco danari*, or "Maximilian small-cash."

seconded, like his competitors, by the free use of bribery. On the other hand, it was objected that, though Charles was a German prince, he had never resided in the country, and did not speak its language; that he had as yet given no proof of capacity, and that the magnitude of his dominions was not only calculated to fill the Germans with apprehension that he would be able to devote little time to the affairs of the empire, but also to inspire them with fears for their liberties. Indeed, at one time Charles's prospect of success appeared so doubtful that his aunt Margaret, whom he had reinstated in the government of the Netherlands, proposed to him that he should substitute his brother Ferdinand as a candidate; counsels which he at once rejected, though he promised to share the hereditary dominions with his brother, and at some future time to procure his election as King of the Romans.

Leo X., the weight of whose authority was sought both by Charles and Francis, though he seemed to favour each, desired the success of neither. He secretly advised the Electors to choose an emperor from among their own body; and as this seemed an easy solution of the difficulty, they unanimously offered the crown to Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. But Frederick magnanimously refused it, and succeeded in uniting the suffrages of the Electors in favour of Charles; principally on the ground that he was the sovereign best qualified to meet the great danger impending from the Turk. The election of Charles seems also to have been assisted by Francis von Sickingen and Casimir von Brandenburg, who, as the day of election drew near, in order to frighten the Electors from choosing a foreigner, occupied the roads leading to Frankfort with 20,000 men.

The new Emperor, now in his twentieth year, assumed the title of Charles V. His well-set frame, of the middle size, his blue eyes, aquiline nose, and light complexion, recalled the lineaments of his grandfather Maximilian, but altered somewhat for the worse by the mixture of Spanish blood. His health was feeble, his countenance wore an air of sadness and dejection, his under lip hung down, and he spoke but little and with hesitation. He had as yet shown no symptoms of those talents and that force of character which he afterwards displayed; insomuch that the Spaniards, among whom he lived, deemed him to have inherited the intellectual weakness of his mother, which, however, was far from being the case. He was proclaimed as "Emperor Elect," the title borne by his grandfather, which he subsequently altered to that of "Emperor Elect of the Romans," a designation adopted by his successors, with the omission of the word "elect," down to

the dissolution of the empire.[43] After the election, at the instance of Frederick the Wise, a more rigorous capitulation than usual was extorted from the new Emperor, the enormous extent of whose power rendered the Electors jealous of their liberties.[44] The Elector Palatine was deputed by the college to carry these articles into Spain for Charles's signature, and to invite him into Germany. Between the death of Maximilian and the election of Charles, the Palatine and the ecclesiastical Electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Trèves had formed the Electoral Union of the Rhine for their common defence, and the preservation of the rights of the college.

The Pope and the Kings of France and England were all equally dissatisfied with the result of the election. Leo, however, put a good face upon the matter, and sought to retain some portion of his pretensions by gracefully conceding what he had no longer the power to hinder. He hastened to recognise Charles as Emperor Elect, and to dispense with a Constitution of Clement IV., which forbade the Kingdom of Naples to be united with the Imperial Crown; hoping that Charles in return would not withhold from him the homage prescribed by long-established custom. But the new Emperor manifested no inclination to gratify the pretensions of the Pontiff; and his example on this occasion had the effect of abrogating the usage.[45]

Charles's Spanish subjects loudly expressed their dissatisfaction at his acceptance of the Imperial Crown, which was tendered to him at Barcelona by the Palatine and a solemn embassy, November 30, 1519. They complained that his new dignity would not only require his frequent absence from Spain, but would also drain it of men and money in the political quarrels of Germany and Italy. Nor was their discontent confined to murmurs. Several Castilian cities drew up a remonstrance against Charles quitting the kingdom, and serious disturbances broke out in Valencia, where the nobles had joined the burgesses in organising a *Hermandad* or armed brotherhood. The citizens of Valladolid, the usual place for holding the *Cortès*, were conspicuously refractory; and Charles therefore summoned that assembly to meet at Compostella in Gallicia, as he was in want of a fresh donative, in order to appear in Germany with adequate splendour. At this affront the citizens

[43] Muratori, *Ann.* t. x. p. 125; Henke, ap. Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. iii. p. 387, note. For Charles's election, see Goldasti, *Polit. Imper.* and the *Acta Electionis Caroli V^ti.* in Freher, *Germ. Rer. SS.* vol. iii. Cf. Ranke, *Zur Kritik*, under *Sleidan; Négociations entre la France et la Maison d'Autriche*, t. ii., published by M. Leglay in the *Documens Inédits;* an important source for the first thirty years of the sixteenth century.

[44] See Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 298 sqq.

[45] Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 116.

of Valladolid rose in arms, and would have massacred the Flemings had not Charles and his courtiers contrived to escape in a violent storm. Toledo sent deputies to Compostella only to protest against the legality of the assembly; Salamanca refused the oath of fidelity; Madrid, Cordova, and other places protested against the donative. Fortunately for Charles, the Castilian Grandees were alarmed at this new spirit of independence among the Commons, which, though now directed against the Sovereign, might one day be turned against themselves; and by their aid, together with the arts and bribes of the Court, a majority of the *Cortès* was induced to vote a supply. They forced Charles, however, to exclude the Flemings from office; who indemnified themselves by selling the places which they could no longer hold, and the Spanish ducats continued to gravitate towards the Netherlands.

The impatience of Charles to receive his new crown induced him to leave his Spanish dominions even in this state of open discontent, which was still further increased by the unpopular appointment of Cardinal Adrian to the Regency of Castile. Charles embarked at Corunna, May 22nd 1520; and on the 26th he landed in England, having taken that country in his way on the pretext of paying a visit to his aunt Catharine, but in reality for the purpose of diverting Henry VIII. from forming any alliance with France. Henry, however, was then meditating the recovery of that kingdom, which he considered as his ancient patrimony; a scheme in which nobody could be of more use to him than the Emperor.[46] Charles gained Henry's minister, Wolsey, by large donations, and by dazzling him with the prospect of the tiara; and he now added a pension of 7000 ducats to one of 3000 livres, which he had settled on Wolsey on his accession to the Spanish throne. He could not, however, prevent an interview which had been already arranged between the French and English Kings for the 7th of June, and after a four days' stay in England he set sail for the Netherlands (May 30th).

Both the Emperor and the French King foresaw that a speedy breach between them was inevitable, and they were consequently both disposed to court the friendship of Henry VIII. Not only was the vanity of Francis deeply wounded by the ill-success of his competition for the empire, but he also viewed with alarm the enormous increase of Charles's power; and he entertained great hopes of forming an alliance with the English King, who had the same cause as himself for animosity against the Emperor. The circum-

[46] See the Letters of Pace and Wolsey, in *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 36, 46.

stances and the splendour of the meeting between the two monarchs at the camp of the cloth of gold, are so familiar from the descriptions in our English historians that we need not here dwell upon them.[47] Instead of proceeding to the Belgian capital, the wary Emperor had lingered at Gravelines, with the view of effacing by another meeting with Henry any impression that might be made upon him by his visit to Francis. After quitting Guines, the English King proceeded to Gravelines, and conducted Charles and his aunt Margaret back to Calais, where they passed some days together. Here Charles, who had further assured himself of the support of Wolsey by renewed promises of securing him the tiara, as well as by putting him in immediate possession of the episcopal revenues of Badajoz and Placentia in Spain, dexterously proposed that Henry should be the arbiter in any dispute that might arise between Francis and himself; and the English King readily fell in with a proposal which flattered his own favourite pretension of being the arbiter of Europe. It is said that an injudicious throw which the French King gave Henry in a wrestling match, diverted towards himself any ill feeling which the English Monarch might have harboured against the Emperor, and greatly facilitated the designs of Charles and Wolsey. On such trivial circumstances may the fate of kingdoms sometimes depend!

The Emperor's attention was next engrossed by his coronation. He was consecrated at Aix-la-Chapelle, October 23rd 1520, by the Archbishop of Cologne, and received the Roman Crown from the hands of the three spiritual Electors. In January 1521 he held his first diet at Worms. Here several princes and prelates were put under the ban of the empire for breaches of the *Landfriede*, or public peace; but the only case necessary to be noticed in this general history was that of the Duke of Würtemberg. Originally a county, Würtemberg had been erected into a duchy by the Emperor Maximilian in 1495, in favour of Count Eberhard the Elder, or the Bearded; to whose great nephew, Ulrich, it had now descended. This prince, whose chief characteristics were his sensuality and his enormous fatness, had excited a rebellion of the peasants by the irksome taxes which he had imposed in order to supply his extravagance; and in 1514 a war broke out which obtained the name of "The war of poor Conrad." Ulrich found

[47] By them it is commonly called the *field* of the cloth of gold, which is not very intelligible, and perhaps arose from substituting *champ* for *camp*. Martin du Bellay calls it "Le camp de drap d'or." The barbarian pomp and splendour of the interview appears to have been due to the bad taste of Henry. See Wingfield's Letter to Wolsey, April 18th 1520, in Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, vol. i. p. 167 (1st ser.).

it necessary to quell this dangerous insurrection by conciliating the aristocracy; and the Treaty of Tübingen, in July 1514, which may be called the first German constitution, continued to be the fundamental law of Würtemberg down to 1819. Its provisions show the despotic power of some of the princes in that age; as, for instance, that forbidding any body to be *hereafter* punished without a legal trial and verdict! Ulrich, however, evaded the treaty, and his government became more cruel and tyrannical than ever. During the interregnum which ensued on the death of Maximilian, he seized Reutlingen, a town belonging to the Suabian League, between which and his foresters a deadly feud had long existed. The forces of the League assembled under Duke William of Bavaria and George von Frunsberg, and expelled Ulrich from his dominions, which were taken possession of by the League as security for the expenses of the war (1519). In the following year the League, for a sum of 240,000 *gulden* handed over Würtemberg together with Ulrich's children, Christopher and Anne, to Ferdinand, who was then governing Austria for his brother Charles, the Emperor Elect. Ulrich in vain appealed for protection to the Swiss, among whom he had taken refuge; and he wandered about in exile from court to court. The Austrian Government, on taking possession of Würtemberg, confirmed the Treaty of Tübingen, but exercised many oppressions in order to raise the sum they had agreed to pay. Charles, after his arrival in Germany, treated Würtemberg as his own property. He put Ulrich under the ban of the empire, and heedless of the remonstrances raised on all sides, gave his dominions to Ferdinand, who some years later (1530) received the title of Duke of Würtemberg and Teck.

Several other important affairs were transacted at the Diet of Worms. The Imperial Chamber was reformed, the abuses of the lower courts were abolished, and a Council of Regency, consisting of a Lieutenant-General of the Empire and twenty-two assessors, was appointed to discharge the Emperor's functions during his absence from Germany. As the right of primogeniture did not yet exist in Austria, Charles, according to his promise, ceded the greater part of the Austrian territories to his brother Ferdinand; who subsequently (in 1540) obtained the complete and hereditary possession of the whole of them. The diet voted an army of 24,000 men to accompany Charles to Rome to receive the Imperial Crown; but on the express stipulation that these troops should be used for no other purpose than an escort, and to swell the pomp of his coronation.

The Diet of Worms, however, derives its chief importance from circumstances then considered as merely secondary; the affairs, namely, of the new heresy, and the appearance at Worms of Martin Luther. The Reformation had been going on some years in Germany; but as it had not till now become a political matter, we have hitherto abstained from adverting to it, in order to present in a connected form its progress to the reader.

CHAPTER III.

MARTIN LUTHER, the son of a poor miner, was born at Eisleben in Upper Saxony, November 10th 1483. In his fourteenth year his parents put him to school at Magdeburg; and so extreme was his poverty, that while imbibing the rudiments of that learning which enabled him to shake the Papal throne and deprive it of half its subjects, he was obliged to eke out a scanty subsistence by singing and begging from door to door. He subsequently attended another school at Eisenach, and in 1501 entered the University of Erfurt. Here his progress in learning was rapid, but at the same time marked by a vigorous originality of mind. He began to regard with contempt the scholastic philosophy which formed the staple education of the time; while the Bible, which he did not see till his twentieth year, made a deep impression on him. In 1505 he took his degree of Master in Philosophy. Symptoms of that morbid melancholy which often darkened the course of his future life had already begun to show themselves; which being increased by a severe illness and the death of a friend named Alexius, whom he tenderly loved, he resolved to renounce the world, and in 1507 entered a convent of Augustinian monks at Erfurt. Staupitz, Vicar-General of the order in that district, perceived and encouraged his merit; and in 1508 he was appointed Professor of Theology in the University of Wittenberg, then recently founded by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Here he also lectured on the writings of Aristotle, but was often bold enough to controvert the doctrines of that philosopher.

A short visit to Rome in 1510 on business connected with his order afforded Luther a glimpse of the state of religion and its professors in the capital of Christendom; and he used to say in after life that he would not have missed the sight for a thousand florins. Rome was then beginning to clothe herself in all the magnificence of modern art; the vast basilica of St. Peter's was rising from its foundations; Raphael and Michael Angelo were adorning her churches and palaces with their masterpieces: yet neither her treasures of modern art, nor the monuments of her former grandeur, seem to have excited any emotions of surprise or

delight in the mind of Luther, who had no eye for anything but the religious questions in which he was absorbed. He treasured up the impressions of wonder and disgust with which he beheld the lives of the clergy; at seeing the warlike pontiff Julius II. parading the streets on his white charger, and the priests performing with careless indifference and ill-concealed atheism the most sacred functions of their calling.[1] Thus forewarned against the abuses of the Church of Rome by ocular inspection as well as by his own study and the opinions of those learned and enlightened men who had begun to assail them, Luther needed only an adequate occasion to call him forth as a reformer; and this was afforded by the unblushing effrontery of the Romish priests in the traffic of indulgences. . .

INDULGENCES were at first merely a remission of punishments and expiations ordered by the Church, and in this view their origin is lost in the remotest antiquity. If a penitent showed symptoms of reformation, the severity of the enjoined penance might be mitigated, or its term shortened; and this was the harmless beginning of indulgence: but in process of time, what was at first applicable only to the excommunicated, came to be extended to those who had not incurred the censures of the Church. In this form, it was the crusades that gave the first great impulse to indulgences; Pope Urban II., in the Council of Clermont (1096), having promised plenary indulgences to all who took part in the first crusade. The benefit was afterwards extended to those who took arms against European heretics; and lastly, by Boniface VIII., in 1300, to those who celebrated the Jubilee at Rome.[2] But the chief sources of the abuse of indulgences were the doctrine of Purgatory, established in the tenth century, and the invention by Halesius in the thirteenth century of *the treasure of the Church* in the merits of the Redeemer, the saints, and martyrs, out of which the Church, and especially the Pope, its head, could impart to those who had fallen away from grace.

The doctrine of indulgences was erected into an article of faith by a Bull of Pope Clement VI., in 1343. In the earlier times, the privilege of granting these pardons was exercised with an endurable moderation. They could be dispensed by bishops as well as by the Pope; nor was a money payment always exacted for them, but some act of piety or penance, as the giving of alms, or a pilgrimage to

[1] For example, in consecrating the elements of the mass, some of them would mutter, very truly indeed, but with a disgraceful levity, *Panis es, panis manebis; vinum es, vinum manebis*, Melch. Adam, in *Vita Lutheri*, p. 104 (ed. 1653).

[2] Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, S. 260 ff.

Rome or to some holy shrine. But in process of time, when the income of the Roman See began to decline, through the causes enumerated in a former chapter, the Popes became more and more alive to the pecuniary profit that might be derived from the sale of indulgences, which, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, they had completely monopolised.[3] No pains were taken to conceal the fact that the sale of indulgences was regarded as one of the ordinary sources of the Papal revenue; nay, the traffic was considered so legitimate, that it was sometimes solicited from the Pope by temporal princes when they wanted to raise money for some purpose. Thus, Frederick III. of Saxony obtained the sale of indulgences from the Pope in order to erect a bridge over the Elbe at Torgau with the proceeds.[4] In 1508 Pope Julius II. opened a sale of indulgences in Hungary, but was moderate enough to take only one third of the produce for the building of St. Peters, leaving the remainder to defray the expenses of the Venetian war.[5] The trade became at length so profitable as to excite the envy of the civil magistrate, and induce him to claim a share of the profits. In 1500, the Imperial government would allow the Papal legate to issue indulgences in Germany only on condition of receiving a third of the produce. The Pope's agents openly disposed of the privilege by auction, and sometimes threw dice for it in taverns over their drink. The scandalous way in which the traffic was conducted had already occasioned great complaints in France, Portugal, and Spain, in which last country it had been opposed by Cardinal Ximenes himself, in 1513.[6] Germany was the chief place for this "fair of souls," where the produce was farmed by the Fuggers, the rich bankers of Augsburg, just as if it had been a tax on leather, or an excise upon wine. In vain had the practice been held up to ridicule before the time of Luther by the wits of Nuremberg, then the literary centre of Germany; the German money still flowed abundantly towards Rome, where it was called *Peccata Germanorum*, or the "sins of the Germans."

The extravagant expenditure of Leo X., who was reproached after his death with having spent the revenues of three Popes—namely, that of his predecessor Julius II., his own, and his successor's—led him to raise money in every possible way, without much regard to the dignity or interests of the Holy See. In the

[3] Each form of Indulgence had a price proportioned to its object and extent. See the Instruction of the Archb. of Mentz to the Sub-commissaries of Indulgence, ap. Merle d'Aubigné, liv. iii. ch. 1; Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 310.

[4] Löscher, *Reformations Acta*, B. i. S. 98.

[5] Engel, *Gesch. des ungarisch. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 143.

[6] Gomez, *Vita Ximenis*, in Schott, *Hispania illustrata*, t. i. p. 1065.

Concordat with Francis I. he had sacrificed the spiritual claims of the Church for the sake of worldly profit; he had endeavoured to extort large sums from Europe under the pretence of a crusade; and it is, therefore, no wonder that he should have been induced to push the lucrative and commodious trade of indulgences with more vigour than ever. Commissaries were appointed to collect the revenue arising from it, the chief of whom, Arcimboldi, a Milanese doctor of laws, and Papal prothonotary and referendary, had a commission extending over the greater part of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. It was in the first of these countries, however, that he was most successful. A Lubeck chronicle of the year 1516 complains bitterly of his ill-gotten gains, part of which he had laid out in silver kettles and frying-pans, a piece of luxury unheard of even among princes. He was accompanied by a man of business, named Anthony de Wele, who collected the cash and transmitted it to the bankers; but this factotum was strangled one night in a house of ill-fame at Lubeck, and his body thrown down a privy.[7]

It was, however, the proceedings under another commission, granted by the Pope to Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, and Primate of Germany, which brought the Pope's agents into collision with Luther. Albert was a young prelate fond of pomp and pleasure, and with a great taste for building; habits which had plunged him into debt, and had compelled him to borrow from the Fuggers 30,000 florins to pay the fees for his pallium; a sum which it was impossible to raise in his already well-drained diocese. To this needy prince one John Tetzel offered his services, a Dominican monk, and native of Leipsic, who had been already engaged in the traffic under Arcimboldi. Tetzel and his myrmidons were men notoriously infamous; they did not scruple to help themselves from what passed through their hands; and the Papal controller at Mentz refused to have anything to do with them. But Albert's need was pressing; Tetzel's merits as a clever and unscrupulous agent were great; he promised a goodly harvest, and a contrivance was adopted to prevent him from reaping more than his due share of it. The keys of the chests containing the contributions of the faithful were deposited in the hands of the Fuggers, in whose presence or that of their clerks the chests were to be opened; when, after deducting all expenses of collection, a portion of the proceeds was to be placed to the credit of the Pope, and the balance to that of the collectors. Tetzel's salary was eighty florins a month, with eight more for a servant, besides his pickings.

[7] Rathmann, *Gesch. v. Magdeburg*, B. iii. S. 302.

Albert's bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt were first selected as the scene of Tetzel's operations; where the pulpits were tuned, and the priests instructed to recommend the benefits which he offered. Tetzel went about in a coach with three horses provided for him by the Fuggers. When he entered a town the Papal Bull under which he acted was carried before him on a splendid cushion; then followed a procession of priests and monks, magistrates and burgesses, teachers and scholars; and the rear was brought up by a miscellaneous crowd, singing hymns, and carrying banners and wax tapers. In this way Tetzel proceeded to church. After service he opened his market, painted the torments of purgatory in the most glowing colours, expatiated on the virtue of indulgences, and inculcated that as soon as the price of one rang in the basin, the liberated soul ascended at once to heaven.[8] For those who were more anxious about their own state than that of their departed friends he had wares of another kind; pardons available for all possible or even impossible[9] sins, whether already perpetrated or to be committed hereafter: and these he is said to have dispensed without any reference to the irksome conditions of repentance and amendment prescribed by the Church.[10]

In the course of his trade Tetzel came to Jüterbock, a town near Wittenberg, and his proceedings were thus brought under the immediate notice of Luther. Nothing could be more calculated to excite the Augustinian monk's indignation than that justification, the precious reward only of a lively faith, should be procured for money! With characteristic vehemence he denounced indulgences from the pulpit, and positively refused absolution to those who bought them. In order to alarm him, Tetzel, who was a member of the Dominican Inquisition, caused fires to be frequently lighted in the market-place, as a hint of the fate which might overtake the opponents of the Pope and his indulgences. So far, however, from frightening Luther, this proceeding served only to animate his courage; and, on the 31st of October 1517, he posted on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg those memorable Theses, which, though even Luther himself had then no conception of it, were in

[8] —— "qui statim, ut jactus nummus in cistam tinnierit, evolare dicunt animam." — Luther, *Thesis* 27.

[9] "Etiam, ut aiunt, si per impossibile quis *matrem* Dei violasset, quin possit solvi."—Luther's *Briefe*, B. i. S. 68, De Wette.

[10] Some of these letters of indulgence have been preserved, and Von der Hardt has printed one in his *Hist. Lit. Ref.* pt. iv. p. 4. He has also given a cut of the case which contained it. There was attached to it by a silken cord a seal in red wax presenting the bust of St. Peter, holding a key in the right hand and a book in the left; below is the triple crown with two crossed keys, and the legend: "S. Fabrice S. Petri de Urbe," that is, the seal of the building of St. Peter's at Rome. Cf. Löscher, B. i. S. 378.

fact the commencement of the Reformation. On the following day he enclosed these Theses, which are ninety-five in number, to the Elector Albert with a letter.[11]

It was fortunate for Luther's cause that he lived under a prince like the Elector of Saxony. Frederick, indeed, was a devout catholic; he had made a pilgrimage to Palestine, and had filled All Saints' Church at Wittenberg with relics for which he had given large sums of money. His attention, however, was now entirely engrossed by his new university, and he was unwilling to offer up to men like Tetzel so great an ornament of it as Dr. Martin Luther, since whose appointment at Wittenberg the number of students had so wonderfully increased as to throw the universities of Erfurt and Leipsic quite into the shade. He was at variance, too, with the Elector Albert, and unwilling that he should extort the price of his pallium from Saxony; and he therefore suffered Luther to take his own way unmolested. Frederick was quite able to protect Luther. As one of the principal Electors he was completely master in his own dominions, and indeed throughout Germany he was as much respected as the Emperor; and Maximilian, besides his limited power, was deterred by his political views from taking any notice of the quarrel. Luther had thus full liberty to prepare the great movement that was to ensue, by those vigorous sermons and treatises which showed him so well qualified to become the leader of it.

The contempt entertained by Pope Leo X. for the whole affair was also favourable to Luther; for Frederick might not at first have been inclined to defend him against the Court of Rome. Towards the end of 1517 Tetzel caused counter theses to be drawn up by Wimpina, a celebrated theologian of that period, which he published at the university of Frankfort on the Oder. Silvester Prierias, prior of the Dominicans and major-duomo of the Papal palace, also published a reply, but so coarsely and unskilfully drawn up [12], that it did full as much harm to the cause of Rome as the attack of Luther. The Pope was indeed unfortunate in his advocates. Hochstraten, who had made himself ridiculous in his controversy with Reuchlin, also took part in the dispute, and earnestly pressed the Pope to commit Luther's writings to the

[11] These Theses will be found in Von der Hardt, *Hist. Lit. Ref.* pt. iv. p. 16, in Löscher, B. i. S. 438, ff., and in the Appendix to Ranke's *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (B. v. S. 170 ff.), printed verbatim from an original in the royal library at Berlin.

[12] Among other things Prierias said in his dedication, that he was very anxious to try whether this Martin had a nose of iron and a head of brass. Seckendorf, *Comm.* lib. i. § 16. The coarseness was not all on Luther's side.

flames. But Leo, who was entirely given up to classical, it might almost be said to pagan, tastes and predilections, and regarded with aversion all theological disputes, turned a deaf ear to the suggestion of the officious monk; nay, he even affected to praise Luther as a man of a fine genius, and to regard the whole affair as a mere envious quarrel of monks.[13] This last view was common enough in that age, and has since been frequently repeated, but without any adequate foundation. It was said that the Augustinians were offended at being deprived by the Dominicans of the profitable traffic in indulgences, and that they found a selfish champion in Luther; a charge, however, which is refuted not only by Luther's general character, but also by the fact that he was earnestly besought by the prior and sub-prior of his order to desist from his attacks upon indulgences, as calculated to bring upon the Augustinian order the suspicion of heresy.[14]

Luther, however, found a more formidable opponent in Dr. John Eck of Ingolstadt, a theologian of great learning and talent, with whom he had formerly been acquainted. In a book entitled *Obelisks* (*Obelisci*)[15], Eck pointed out the similarity between Luther's doctrines and those of the Bohemian heretics; and as the very name of Hussite was detested in Germany, this caused many to keep aloof who would otherwise have been disposed to join Luther. Luther's answer to this treatise, entitled *Asterisks*, contained such stinging remarks on Eck's learning and talents, that the latter never rested till he had engaged the Pope in the matter. Luther was encouraged by George Spalatinus, a man of great influence, who was at once the private secretary and the court preacher of the Elector Frederick: but above all he was supported by his principle that the Scriptures contain the sole rule of faith, and that their authority is far above that of all doctors of the Church, Papal Bulls, or even decrees of Councils. At the same time Luther's enthusiasm was tempered with an admirable discretion, and it was to the uncommon union of these qualities that he owed his subsequent success. Thus when, in March 1518, several copies of Tetzel's theses were brought to Wittenberg and publicly burnt by the students, Luther strongly expressed his disapprobation of that violent proceeding.

The Court of Rome at length became more sensible of the importance of Luther's innovations and in August 1518, he was

[13] Leo is reported to have said that "Frate Martino haveva un bellissimo ingegno, e che coteste erano invidie fratesche."—Bandello, ap. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. i. S. 30.

[14] Marheineke, *Gesch. der Deutschen Ref.* B. i. S. 66.

[15] That is, *Notes*, on Luther's Theses.

commanded either to recant, or to appear and answer for his opinions at Rome, where Silvester Prierias and the bishop Ghenucci di Arcoli had been appointed his judges. Luther had not as yet dreamt of throwing off his allegiance to the Roman See. In the preceding May he had addressed a letter to the Pope himself, stating his views in a firm but modest and respectful tone, and declaring that he could not retract them. The Elector Frederick, at the instance of the university of Wittenberg, which trembled for the life of its bold and distinguished professor, prohibited Luther's journey to Rome, and expressed his opinion that the question should be decided in Germany by impartial judges. Leo consented to send a legate to Augsburg to determine the cause, and selected for that purpose Cardinal Thomas di Vio, better known by the name of Cajetanus, derived from his native city of Gaeta; a prelate of such liberal opinions as even to have incurred a suspicion of heresy. His instructions were that if Luther recanted, he was to be pardoned; if he persisted in his opinions, he was to be imprisoned till further orders; and if these proceedings did not produce the desired effect, then Luther and his followers were to be excommunicated, and Saxony placed under an interdict. Thus the whole question was prejudged, and Luther's writings were regarded as containing their own condemnation.

Luther set out for Augsburg on foot provided with several letters of recommendation from the Elector, and a safe conduct from the Emperor Maximilian. The latter, though averse to Luther's heresies, seems to have regarded him as a person who might be useful in his quarrels with the Pope, and had recommended him to Frederick as one of whom there might some time or other be need.[16] Luther appeared before the cardinal for the first time, October 12th, at whose feet he fell; but it was soon apparent that no agreement could be expected. The cardinal and Luther started from opposite premises. Deep in the traditionary lore of the Church, Cajetanus drew all his arguments from the schoolmen, which the Wittenberg professor answered by appealing to the Scriptures; and thus the more they discussed the matter the wider and the more irreconcilable became their divergence. Luther's offer to appeal to the universities of Basle, Freiburg, Louvain, and Paris, was regarded as an additional insult to the infallible Church. Cajetanus, who had at first behaved with great moderation and politeness, grew warm, demanded an unconditional retraction, forbade Luther again to appear before him till he was

[16] Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 86 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

prepared to make it, and threatened him with the censures of the Church. The fate of Huss stared Luther in the face, and he determined to fly. His patron Staupitz procured him a horse, and on the 20th of October, Langemantel, a magistrate of Augsburg, caused a postern in the walls to be opened for him before day had well dawned. Enveloped in his monk's frock, so inconvenient for an equestrian, Luther rode that day between thirty and forty miles without drawing bridle, and then, weary and almost fainting, sunk to sleep on a heap of straw. On the following day he resumed his journey, and reached Wittenberg in safety on the 31st of October, the anniversary of the publication of his Theses.

Cajetanus now wrote to the Elector Frederick complaining of Luther's refractory departure from Augsburg, and requiring either that he should be sent to Rome or at least be banished from Saxony. Frederick was long undecided as to the course he should pursue, and so uncertain were Luther's prospects that he made preparations for his departure, and even took leave of the community in a farewell sermon. He resolved to proceed to France, erroneously thinking, because the University of Paris had frequently opposed the Pope, that he should find safety in that country. At length, just on the eve of his departure, he received an intimation from Frederick that he might remain at Wittenberg. Before the close of the year he gained a fresh accession of strength by the arrival of Melanchthon, a pupil of Reuchlin, who had obtained the appointment of Professor of Greek in the university.

Frederick offered a fresh disputation at Wittenberg; but Leo X. adopted a course more consonant with the pretensions of an infallible Church by issuing a Bull dated November 9th 1518, which, without adverting to Luther or his opinions, explained and enforced the received doctrine of indulgences. It failed, however, to produce the desired effect; for though Luther had often protested his readiness to bow to the decision of the Holy See, and had even left behind him at Augsburg an appeal to the Pope when he should be better informed, he rejected the Bull and appealed to a general council. Leo now tried the effects of seduction. Carl Von Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, canon of Mentz, Trèves, and Meissen, and one of the Papal chamberlains, through whose influence, solicited by the University of Wittenberg, Leo's consent had been obtained to the hearing of Luther's cause at Augsburg instead of Rome, was despatched to the Elector Frederick with the present of a golden rose, and with instructions to put an end, as best he might, to the Lutheran schism. On his way through Germany, Miltitz soon perceived that three fourths of the people were in Luther's favour;

nor was his reception at the Saxon Court of a nature to afford much encouragement. Frederick did not seem particularly enchanted with the golden rose, although Leo had recommended it to him as usual in a letter describing how he had himself anointed it under his blessing with holy chrism, and sprinkled it with odoriferous musk, and pointing out how it was a gift of deep mystery bestowed only once a year on some distinguished prince who had deserved well of the Holy See.[17] Such were the toys devised by the Roman Court to seduce the political leaders of Europe. Frederick, however, declined the ceremony of receiving the rose at a public interview, and desired that it might be transmitted to him through an officer of his court; nay, he is even said to have treated the mysterious gift with a ridicule bordering on profanity. In fact, respect for ecclesiastical authority had sunk much lower in Germany than was dreamt of at Rome, and Miltitz found with astonishment that Tetzel could not quit the walls of Leipsic with safety.[18] Miltitz saw the necessity for conciliation. Having obtained an interview with Luther at Altenburg, Miltitz persuaded him to promise that he would be silent, provided a like restraint were placed upon his adversaries. On this occasion all theological disputes were avoided, for which, indeed, Miltitz would probably not have been qualified. Luther was even induced to address a letter to the Pope, dated from Altenburg, March 3rd 1519, in which, in humble terms, he expressed his regret that his motives should have been misinterpreted, and solemnly declared that he did not mean to dispute the power and authority of the Pope and the Church of Rome, which he considered superior to everything except Jesus Christ alone.[19] In the same letter, however, he plainly intimated that his writings and tenets had already spread so widely, and penetrated so deeply in Germany, that it would no longer be possible to revoke them.

On leaving Altenburg, Miltitz proceeded to pay a visit to Tetzel at Leipsic, and found him in the Pauline Convent, which he durst not quit for fear of the people. Here Miltitz upbraided him severely for his conduct in the sale of indulgences, which he said had caused all the evil consequences which followed, and so alarmed Tetzel with threats of calling him to an account, that his death, which took place soon after, was ascribed to fear and vexation. Miltitz then returned to Rome, flattering himself that he had settled this weighty business by his skilful conduct. But though he had achieved a temporary success, he was far from being a

[17] Seckendorf, *Comment.* § 47.
[18] Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 860 ff.
[19] Luther's *Briefe*, Th. ii. S. 233, De Wette.

discreet negociator. He frequently got fuddled with wine, when he would blab out secrets respecting the Pope and the Roman Curia that were very damaging, and that were subsequently made use of at the Diet of Worms.

The Emperor Maximilian was now dead, and the Elector Frederick had assumed the vicariat of that part of Germany which was governed by the Saxon law; a circumstance necessarily favourable to the Reformation, especially as the Pope, wishing to conciliate Frederick for the ensuing election, forbore to fulminate any sentence of excommunication against Luther. Charles's obligations to Frederick for the Imperial Crown also induced him to treat the Lutherans with forbearance for some time after his accession. Another motive disposed him the same way. We have seen that Ferdinand the Catholic had rendered the Spanish Inquisition an engine of government, detested by his subjects and regarded with a jealous eye by Rome. In the disturbances which took place in Spain after Charles's accession, the *Cortès* of Aragon had prevailed upon Leo X. to issue briefs, by which the constitution of that tribunal was greatly altered, and its proceedings brought nearer to the forms of common law; and Charles, annoyed by this circumstance, sent an Ambassador to Rome in the spring of 1520 to procure a revocation of the briefs. The affair of Luther was at that time occasioning much anxiety and debate in the Roman Consistory; and in a letter of May 12th, 1520, we find the ambassador advising his master to go into Germany and show some favour "to a certain Martin Luther," who by his discourses gave much trouble to the Roman Court; and this method of annoying and opposing the Pope was accordingly adopted by the Emperor.[20]

The truce effected by Miltitz lasted only a few months. It was broken by a disputation to which Dr. Eck challenged Bodenstein, a Leipsic professor, better known by the name of Carlstadt, and which was held in that town at the very time of the imperial election. It was permitted by Duke George of Saxony, a zealous opponent of the Lutherans, in whose dominions Leipsic lay, and who regularly attended. This disputation, in which Luther took part, began in the Pleissenburg, June 27th 1519, and lasted nineteen days. It had the usual fate of all such discussions, and served only still further to embroil the question. The animosity displayed on both sides was so great, that watchmen armed with partisans were stationed in the inns to prevent fights between the students attached to different sides; each party claimed the

[20] Llorente, *Hist. de la Inquisicion*, cap. xi. art. iv. § 16.

victory, and the students of Leipsic and Wittenberg came to blows about the conclusion, though the greater part of them had fallen asleep during the argument. In the opinion of the majority, however, Eck carried off the palm. He was precisely suited for such an arena; a big burly man with a stentorian voice, a prodigious memory, vast learning, great readiness, and an inexhaustible flow of words. Melanchthon admits the admiration which he excited[21], and on the whole, the discussion rather damaged Luther for a time. The Elector Frederick was somewhat shaken by a letter addressed to him by Eck, till he was reassured by another from Erasmus in favour of Luther.[22] Erasmus, who confesses that he had not read Luther's books, was induced to take his part from disgust at the cry raised against himself by the monk party.

The Leipsic disputation was preceded and followed by a host of controversies. The whole mind of Germany was in motion, and it was no longer with Luther alone that Rome had to contend. All the celebrated names in art and literature sided with the Reformation; Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, Melanchthon, Lucas Cranach, Albert Dürer, and others. Hans Sachs, the *Meister-sänger* of Nuremberg, composed in his honour the pretty song called "the Wittenberg Nightingale."[23] Silvester von Schaumburg and Franz von Sickingen invited Luther to their castles, in case he were driven from Saxony; and Schaumburg declared that a hundred more Franconian knights were ready to protect him. Luther, however, always protested his aversion to the use of physical force, and fortunately there was no occasion to resort to it, as the Elector Frederick became daily more convinced that his doctrines were founded in Scripture. In a letter which he addressed to the Papal court, April 1st 1520, Frederick in vain endeavoured to open its eyes to the new state of things in Germany, and pointed out that any attempt to put down Luther by mere force, and without refuting his doctrines, could end in nothing but disturbance and detriment to the authority of the Church.[24]

Meanwhile, Luther had made great strides in his opinions since the publication of his Theses. From a mere objector against indulgences, he had begun to impugn many of the principles of the Romish church; and so far from any longer recognising the paramount authority of the Pope, or even of a general council, he was now disposed to submit to no rule but the Bible. The more timid

[21] See his Letter to Œcolampadius in Jortin's *Erasmus*, App. No. xviii.

[22] See a passage in this letter, which is not inserted among those of Erasmus, in Seckendorf's *Comm. de Lutheran.* § 51.

[23] Hans Sachs, *Gedichte*, Th. ii. S. 139 (ed. 1810).

[24] Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 1666.

spirits were alarmed at his boldness, and even Frederick himself exhorted him to moderation. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that Luther sometimes damaged his cause by the intemperance of his language; an instance of which is afforded by the remarkable letter he addressed to Leo X., April 6th 1520, as a dedication to his treatise *De Libertate Christiana*, which is filled with the coarsest abuse of the Roman Court, while the Pope himself is treated with a sarcastic irony.[25] Allowance, however, must be made for the manners of the times. Luther, as a modern writer[26] has observed, was certainly well grounded in all the slang of Eisleben; but his rude and ponderous battle-axe cut the knot on which the more polished but feebler sword of Erasmus or Melanchthon would have failed to make an impression.

The letter just alluded to was, perhaps, the immediate cause of the famous Bull, "Exurge Domine," which Leo fulminated against Luther, June 15th 1520. The Bull, which is conceived in mild terms, condemned forty-one propositions extracted from Luther's works, allowed him sixty days to recant, invited him to Rome, if he pleased to come, under a safe conduct, and required him to cease from preaching and writing, and to burn his published treatises. If he did not conform within the above period, he was condemned as a notorious and irreclaimable heretic; all princes and magistrates were required to seize him and his adherents, and to send them to Rome; and all places that gave them shelter were threatened with an interdict.[27]

The Bull was forwarded to Archbishop Albert of Mentz; but in North Germany great difficulty was found in publishing it. The Germans were disgusted that Eck, who had been very officious in procuring the Bull, should be appointed as Papal legate to superintend the execution of it; a man who, besides being the personal enemy of Luther, was not of sufficient rank and consequence for such a post; and at Leipsic Eck found it necessary to take refuge in the same convent that had before protected Tetzel. The Emperor seized the opportunity to push his negociations respecting the Spanish Inquisition, and plainly told the Papal nuncio that he should be willing to gratify the Pope in the matter of the Bull, provided that His Holiness in return would desist from supporting his enemies. Leo accepted these conditions. The Grand Inqui-

[25] Roscoe has shown the true date of this letter to be April 6th, and that it consequently preceded the Papal Bull of excommunication. *Life of Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 17, note (ed. 1827).

[26] Schlosser, *Weltgesch.* B. xi. S. 337.

[27] The Bull is printed in extenso by Roscoe, *ibid.* App. No. clxxxiii. Cf. Raynald., *Ann. Eccl.* anno 1520, t. xii. p. 289.

sitor in Spain was instructed no longer to support the demands of the Aragonese *Cortès;* and at length, in January 1521, the Pope agreed to cancel the briefs which he had issued respecting the Inquisition.[28] Thus Charles's view of the great religious question which was agitating Germany, was made subservient to the interests of his government in Spain; whilst the Pope, on his side, was ready to sacrifice the Spaniards in order to crush an enemy in Germany.

The Bull was a poor, wordy composition, dark in its philosophy, obsolete in its theology, with magniloquent but unmeaning apostrophes to Peter, Paul, and all the saints. Hutten published it with notes and an appendix, in which he turned it into ridicule. Its effect upon Luther was to make him write more daringly. Almost simultaneously with the Bull had appeared his *Appeal to the Emperor and German Nobles* (June 23rd 1520), in which he rejected the notion that the priesthood is a distinct and privileged order in the state, and advocated the marriage of priests. In the course of the summer he published his treatise on the mass, and another on the Babylonish captivity of the Church. In these works he denied the sacrifice of the mass, censured the withholding of the cup, and reduced the seven sacraments of the Church to three—baptism, penance, and the Lord's Supper. Miltitz, who had not given up all hopes of mediation, had another interview with Luther at Lichtenberg, in the middle of October, and succeeded in persuading him again to write to the Pope. In this letter Luther, while protesting that he did not mean to say anything against the Pope's person, or the Catholic Church, gave vent to many coarse and unwelcome truths; and a little after he published his tract against the Bull of the Antichrist, in which he met the Pope with his own weapons, handing him over to Satan with his Bull, and all his decretals, in case he persisted in his wrath.

During this crisis of his history, Luther's fate entirely depended on the Elector Frederick. In the autumn the Papal legates, Aleander and Caraccioli, met that prince at Cologne, where he was awaiting the return of the Emperor from Aix-la-Chapelle, and, in conformity with a Papal brief with which they were provided, intreated him either to punish Luther himself or to send him a prisoner to Rome. On this occasion Frederick consulted Erasmus, who happened to be likewise at Cologne. Erasmus remained in his former favourable opinion of Luther; he censured indeed the violent language of that reformer, but admitted that he had laid his

[28] Pallavicini, *Ist. del Conc. di Trento* lib. i. c. 24; Llorente, *Hist. Crit. de la Inquisicion*, cap. xi. art. iv.

finger on many abuses. "Luther," he observed, "has erred in two things; in touching the crown of the Pontiff and the stomachs of the monks."[29] Frederick, in his answer to the legates, adopted the advice of Erasmus, which coincided entirely with his own opinion; he proposed that before Luther's books were burnt, he should first be judged by a council of learned and trustworthy men, and his doctrines condemned by the authority of Scripture. Luther continued to enjoy at Wittenberg all his former freedom, and proceeded to make still bolder attacks on the authority of the Pope. On the 17th of November he published a formal appeal against the Bull to a general council, which, besides being couched in terms of the most virulent abuse against the Pope, had been of itself declared an heretical act by Martin V. and Pius II. On December 10th Luther consummated his rebellion by taking that final step which rendered it impossible for him to recede. On the banks of the Elbe before the Elster Gate of Wittenberg, under an oak which has now disappeared through age, but whose place the piety of a later generation has supplied with another, Luther, in the presence of a large body of professors and students, solemnly committed with his own hands to the flames the Bull by which he had been condemned, together with the code of the canon law, and the writings of Eck and Emser, his opponents; at the same time exclaiming, "As thou hast vext the holy one of the Lord, so may the eternal fire vex and consume thee."[30]

On January 3rd 1521, Luther and his followers were solemnly excommunicated by Leo with bell, book, and candle, and an image of him, together with his writings, was committed to the flames; but the only feeling excited in Luther by this act was one of satisfaction at being delivered from the laws of his order and from obedience to the Pope. At the Diet of Worms which was held soon after, the Emperor having ordered that Luther's books should be delivered up to the magistrates to be burnt, the States represented to him the uselessness and impolicy of such a step, pointing out that the doctrines of Luther had already sunk deep into the hearts of the people; and they recommended that he should be summoned to Worms and interrogated whether he would recant without any disputation. But at the same time they demanded that the abuses of the See of Rome, by which the German nation was oppressed, should be reformed; and, as on some previous

[29] Sleidan, *Comm.* lib. ii. p. 48 sq. (ed. 1610).

[30] Marheineke, B. i. S. 195. Luther's enmity to the Canon Law arose from its extravagant propositions respecting the extent of the Papal power. The Jurists, however, continued to cling to it obstinately, and thus impeded the progress of the Reformation.

occasions, they handed in a list of 101 grievances, in which the tricks and maladministration of the Roman Court in general, and of Leo X. in particular, were denounced in the bitterest terms; so that the tone of the paper resembled the books of Hutten or Luther's *Appeal to the German Nobles*. Even George Duke of Saxony, a zealous champion of the Romish Church, submitted twelve particular complaints. Thus, on the eve of Luther's trial, all Germany recognised the necessity for a reformation, though their demands referred to matters of practice rather than of doctrine.

In compliance with the advice of the States, the Emperor issued a mandate, dated March 6th 1521, summoning Luther to appear at Worms within twenty-one days. It was accompanied with a safe conduct[31], and similar instruments were likewise granted by the princes through whose dominions Luther was to travel. A herald called "Germany" was appointed to escort him; and the Elector of Saxony instructed the Bailiff and Council of Wittenberg to provide him with a guard where necessary, and to take care that nothing disagreeable befell him on the way. Thus Luther, only a few years previously an obscure monk at Erfurt, had become by the boldness of his opinions an object of solicitude to all Europe. So great was the dread he had now begun to inspire at Rome, that the Pope, as if doubtful of the efficacy of his previous fulmination, included him in the Bull *In Cœna Domini*, ordinarily issued every Maunday Thursday, in which heretics of all sorts, as the Arnoldites, Wiclifites, and others, were comprehended.

Luther's journey was a kind of triumphal procession. He was accompanied by Justus Jonas, afterwards Provost of Wittenberg, by Nicholaus von Amsdorf, Peter von Schwaven, a Danish nobleman, and Jerome Schurf, a jurist of Wittenberg. The coach in which he travelled was presented to him by the town of Wittenberg. At Weimar, Duke John furnished him with money to defray his travelling expenses. But it was at Erfurt, the scene of his former cloister life, that his reception was particularly distinguished; where forty of the principal inhabitants on horseback, and a still larger number on foot, met him at a distance of nine or ten miles, and escorted him into the town. In spite, however, of his enthusiastic reception many trembled for his life; and at Oppenheim he received an admonition from his friend Spalatin not to proceed to Worms lest he should meet the fate of Huss. Luther replied in

[31] Both the Citation and the Safe Conduct are still extant; the former in the Rath's-Bibliothek at Leipsic; the latter in the library of Ober-Marschall von Wallenrodt at Königsberg.

his emphatic way: "Huss has been burnt, yet the truth has not been consumed with him: go I will, be there as many devils aiming at me as there are tiles upon the house-tops."[32] He arrived at Worms on the 16th of April. It was noon, and the inhabitants were at dinner; but when the watchman on the tower of the cathedral gave the signal with his trumpet, every body rushed out to see the famous monk. He sat in an open carriage in the habit of an Augustinian; before him rode the herald in his coat of arms displaying the imperial eagle; and in this way he was conducted to his lodgings by a large body of nobles, followed by a crowd of citizens.

In the afternoon of the following day, Luther was conducted into the presence of the Diet by Von Pappenheim, Hereditary Grand-marshal of the Empire, who walked before him, accompanied by the herald. As he was about to enter, the celebrated captain, George Frunsberg, tapped him on the shoulder, exclaiming: "Little monk, little monk, thou art doing a more daring thing than I or any other general e'er ventured on in the most desperate encounter. But if thou art confident in thy cause, go on in God's name, and be of good cheer, for He will not forsake thee."

Luther at first seemed overawed by the splendour and majesty of the assembly before which he appeared, and to cool observers, especially foreigners, his bearing did not answer the expectations formed of him. His voice was low and scarcely audible. He acknowledged being the author of the books whose titles were read to him, and on being asked whether he would retract them, he demanded time for consideration. Many thought he would recant. The impression which he made on the Emperor was far from favourable, and he remarked that he should not easily be converted by such a man. But Luther's hesitation and embarrassment were a mere temporary weakness. On the morrow he had recovered all his wonted confidence and courage; and though he admitted in his interrogation that he had written with unbecoming virulence, he refused to retract any of his opinions, unless refuted by the evidence of Scripture: adding, "I cannot make an unconditional surrender of my faith, either to the Pope, or to general councils, nor can I act against my conscience. I stand here ready to answer for my conduct, which I cannot alter. God help me, Amen."[33]

The Emperor delivered his written judgment, April 19th. Its purport was, that as the haughty doctrine of Luther struck a blow

[32] Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 2174; *Briefe*, B. ii. S. 139.

[33] Pallavicini, lib. i. c. 26; Luther, *Letter to Charles V.*, De Wette, Th. i. S. 590.

at all constituted authority, the Emperor, agreeably to his descent and his German feelings, would use all his endeavours to extirpate the heresy. He expressed his regret at having so long delayed this work. At present Luther might depart in virtue of his safe conduct, but in all other respects he would be treated as a heretic. It was now the duty of the States to come to a Christian resolution on the subject.[34]

Luther has himself given a detailed account of the proceedings at this Diet. A letter to Lucas Cranach is characteristic: "I thought," says Luther, "that his Imperial Majesty would have summoned half a hundred doctors, and so have confuted the monk; but all that passed was: 'Are these books thine?' 'Yes.' 'Wilt thou retract them?' 'No.' 'Then begone!' Oh, we blind Germans! how foolish we are to allow the Romanists to make such miserable fools and apes of us." [35]

The Emperor's decision was variously received. The zealous Roman Catholics praised it; among the majority it excited a great sympathy for Luther, and the deep impression his doctrines had made was unequivocally manifested. Unseemly placards were posted in the streets, such as—"Woe to the land whose King is a child!" while the threats of Hutten, Sickingen, and other friends of Luther, alarmed the opponents of the Reformation. "The Germans are everywhere so addicted to Luther," says Tunstall in a letter to Wolsey from Worms, "that rather than he shall be oppressed by the Pope's authority, a hundred thousand of the people will sacrifice their lives." [36] Attempts were privately made by some of the Electors to bring Luther to more moderate sentiments. To the Bishop of Trèves, who had asked him to point out some way in which the matter might be accommodated, he answered in the words of Gamaliel: "If it is the work of man, it will perish in a few years; but if it comes from God, you will not be able to prevail against it. I will rather yield up my body and life, than abandon God's true and manifest word." [37]

There were some, as the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, who proposed to violate Luther's safe-conduct; but this step was rejected by the Emperor, and by the majority of the princes. In fact, Louis, the Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, were on the point of declaring themselves in favour of the Reformation. Sickingen also was close at hand with a large force.

[34] Raynaldus, an. 1521; t. xii. p. 321; Seckendorf, §97; Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 485.

[35] Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 2320.

[36] Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 230 (ed. 1726).

[37] Luther, *Werke*, B. xv. S. 2317.

Charles V., towards the close of his life, during his retirement at Yuste, is said to have expressed regret at having observed Luther's safe-conduct[38]; but if he did so, he must have forgotten the circumstances attending the Diet. On the 26th of May, Luther was outlawed by an edict ante-dated on the 8th, in order that it might appear to have been sanctioned by the whole Diet, though passed in the Emperor's private apartments, after several of the electors and princes had departed. This famous decree, known as the EDICT OF WORMS, was drawn up by Aleander, the Papal Legate, and being filled with abuse of Luther, had more the form of a Papal Bull than an Imperial Edict.[39] It declared Luther a heretic, and ordained that whoever sheltered him, printed or published his books, or bought or read them, should incur the same penalty of outlawry. So great was Aleander's anxiety to get this document completed, that he brought it to the Emperor for signature on a Sunday, when he was in church with all his court.

Luther had quitted Worms on the 26th of April, and arrived safely at Eisenach, preaching once or twice by the way, though expressly forbidden to do so. He was everywhere well received, even at the abbeys in which he rested. At Altenstein he was suddenly surrounded by horsemen in disguise, who took him out of his carriage, and having placed him on horseback, led him through a wood for some hours, till at length, near midnight, they brought him to the Wartburg, a castle within a mile of Eisenach, and formerly the residence of the Landgraves of Thuringia. This friendly capture had been arranged with Luther by the Elector Frederick, who was apprehensive that when the ban of the Empire should be published, he might have some difficulty in sheltering the proscribed monk in his dominions. It was generally believed that Luther had been murdered, and for a long while nobody but Frederick knew what was become of him.

At the same time with the German Reformation, but quite independently of it, another was proceeding in Switzerland, conducted by Huldreich, or Ulrich, Zwingli. Of a poor but ancient family, Zwingli was born, January 1st 1484, at Wildenhausen in the county of Toggenburg, one of those elevated regions where fruit and vegetables refuse to grow, and where the green meadows are surrounded by bold and towering Alpine peaks. His father, who had been Ammann of the district, destined Ulrich, one of several sons, for the Church; and with this view he completed his education at

[38] Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, ap. Prescott, *Hist. of Philip II.* vol. i. p. 288. The anecdote is also at variance with another before told. See above, p. 330, note 82.

[39] Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 335 sqq.

Vienna and Basle. In 1506 he was appointed to the cure of Glarus, which he held ten years. Like Luther, Zwingli early formed the determination of taking the Scriptures for his only rule of faith, and, in order to read them in the original, learnt Greek without a master, copying with his own hand the whole of St. Paul's epistles in that language.[40] This period of his life was, however, diversified by participation in the warlike expeditions of his countrymen; he was present with his community at the battle of Marignano, and subsequently bound himself to the service of the Pope by accepting a pension. He now opposed all military service under the French flag, and being thus brought into collision with the higher classes, he found himself compelled temporarily to abandon his cure. At this period Theobald, Baron of Gherolds-Eck, offered him an asylum at Einsiedeln, the celebrated monastery of Schwytz, where the shrine of our Lady of the Hermits still attracts thousands of pilgrims; and in the autumn of 1516 he was installed in the curacy of Pfeffikon.

In 1518 Bernhardin Samson began to preach indulgences in Switzerland. This man was even more shameless than Tetzel. It was one of his boasts that, during eighteen years, his commission had brought into the Papal treasury as many hundred thousand ducats. Zwingli, like Luther, zealously denounced this traffic, denying the existence of purgatory, and consequently the utility of masses for the dead. It was in this year that he accepted the office of preacher at Zurich, one of the chief places in the Swiss Confederacy which declined the military service of France. Here he was assisted by Bullinger; and as the Bishop of Constance, in whose diocese Zurich lies, was also at that time an opponent of Papal abuses, though he afterwards combated the new doctrines, the Reformation began to spread apace in Switzerland.

Zwingli now opposed all foreign enlistment whatsoever, as well as that of France. In 1520 the town council of Zurich published its first reformatory edict, that nothing should be preached except what could be proved to be the word of God; but it was not till 1524 that they obtained sufficient strength and confidence to alter the outward forms of worship, to abolish images, processions, reliques, and other Popish usages, and to permit the celebration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds. In Switzerland, as in Germany, these reforms were the result of a more enlightened state of public opinion, to which the abode of Eras-

[40] This MS. is still extant in the library at Zurich.

mus at Basle had not a little contributed; and under these influences the Reformation soon spread to Schaffhausen, Basle, and Bern.

We cannot follow the Swiss Reformation step by step. It will suffice to say that by the year 1521 Zwingli's doctrines had been established not only in the cantons already mentioned, but had also taken root in Neufchâtel, the Pays de Vaud, Geneva, Solothurn, the Thurgau, Baden, St. Gallen, and other places. Zwingli was even a bolder innovator than Luther. It has been remarked that while Luther wished to retain in the Church all that is not expressly contrary to the Scripture, Zwingli aimed at abolishing all that cannot be supported by Scripture. Their views respecting the eucharist in particular were essentially different. Luther retained the Roman Catholic dogma of the real presence, though in a somewhat modified and indeed not very intelligible form — *consubstantiation* instead of *transubstantiation;* while Zwingli, like Carlstadt, interpreting the words of the institution figuratively, held that no change whatever took place in the elements, but that they were mere symbols to be taken in remembrance of Christ's death. This difference gave rise to a bitter controversy between the two reformers; and Luther, with his usual violence, denounced Zwingli and his followers with every mark of aversion as *Sacramentaries.* It will appear further on how this difference damaged the cause of the Reformation by preventing the union of the Swiss and German Churches; but we must here content ourselves with merely indicating these subjects of dispute, the detail of which belongs properly to ecclesiastical history.

Another great difference between Zwingli and Luther, which may perhaps be accounted for from the nature of the governments under which they lived, was that Zwingli extended his views to political as well as religious reform, while Luther disclaimed all interference in affairs of government. Zwingli wished to modify the constitution of the Swiss Confederacy; he did not decline an appeal to arms for such an object; and a premature and inconsiderate resort to them was the cause not only of his own death, but also of a reaction against the Reformation in Switzerland. We shall here mention by anticipation that the five Catholic cantons, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug, after the victory at Kappel and the death of Zwingli (October 1531), maintained the advantage which they had achieved; and after a war of less than two months, the articles of a peace signed at Häglingen, November 24th, rendered them supreme in the confederacy. Thus a stop was put to the further progress of the Reformation in

Switzerland, and even a Catholic reaction was partially effected.[41] But to return to the course of our history.

While Charles was taking possession of his new dignity, and putting in order the affairs of the German Empire, his Spanish dominions were in a state of open insurrection, the first symptoms of which, excited by the unconstitutional act of the *Cortès* assembled in Gallicia, had manifested themselves, as we have already observed, before his departure in 1520. Toledo first rose, just as Charles was quitting Spain, under the leadership of Don Juan de Padilla, eldest son of the Commendator of Castile, and Ferdinand d'Avalos, two nobles who now assumed the part of demagogues. The deputies who had voted the donative were either murdered or compelled to fly for their lives. Confederations were formed among the various towns, the chief of those implicated in the revolt being Toledo, Segovia, Zamora, Valladolid, Madrid, Burgos, Avila, Guadalaxaro, and Cuença. The Regent Adrian was led to suppose that he could put down the insurrection by making an example of Segovia, with which view he despatched Ronquillo thither early in June; but the Segovians being supported by the Toledans, the royal army was defeated. Antonio de Fonseca, the commander-in-chief, being despatched to Ronquillo's assistance, was refused admittance into Medina del Campo, whither he had gone in order to procure some artillery. Fonseca took the town by storm, and treated it with such cruelty as excited several other places to revolt that had hitherto remained faithful; while Fonseca's house at Toledo was rased to the ground by the infuriated populace. Adrian was so alarmed at these occurrences that he disclaimed the acts of Fonseca, who proceeded to the Emperor in Flanders. In July, deputies from the principle Castilian cities met in Avila; and having formed an association called the SANTA JUNTA, or Holy League, proceeded to deliberate concerning the proper methods of redressing the grievances of the nation. The Junta declared the authority of Adrian illegal, on the ground of his being a foreigner, and required him to resign it; while Padilla, by a sudden march, seized the person of Joanna at Tordesillas. The unfortunate queen displayed an interval of reason, during which she authorised Padilla to do all that was necessary for the safety of the kingdom; but she soon relapsed into her former imbecility, and could not be persuaded to sign any more papers. The Junta nevertheless carried on all their deliberations in her name; and Padilla, marching with a considerable army to Valladolid, seized the seals and

[41] The chief authorities for the Swiss Reformation are, Bullinger's *Reforma-tions-geschichte*, and Ruchat, *Hist. de la Réf. en Suisse.*

public archives, and formally deposed Adrian. Charles now issued from Germany circular letters addressed to the Castilian cities, making great concessions, which, however, were not deemed satisfactory by the Junta; who, conscious of their power, proceeded to draw up a remonstrance containing a long list of grievances. It is remarkable that these complaints very much resemble those subsequently urged by the Commons of England against the Stuarts, thus showing that Spain was then better prepared than any other nation in Europe to throw off feudal oppression and assert the principles of civil liberty. Among the most important of these demands are—that the King should not reside out of Spain, nor marry without the consent of the *Cortès;* that no foreigner should be capable of holding the regency or any other office in Church or State; that no foreign troops should be brought into the kingdom; that the *Cortès* should be held at least once in three years, whether summoned by the King or not, and various conditions were laid down to insure the respectability and independence of the members, especially that neither they nor any of their family should hold places or pensions from the King; that the judges should have fixed salaries, and not receive any part of the fines or forfeitures of persons condemned by them; that all the privileges enjoyed by the nobility, which were to the detriment of the Commons, should be revoked; that indulgences should not be preached or sold in the kingdom till the *Cortès* had examined and approved the reasons for publishing them, and that the profits should be strictly applied to the war against the Infidels; that all prelates should reside in their dioceses, at least six months in the year, &c. &c.

Charles having refused to receive the remonstrance, which was forwarded to him in Germany, the Junta proceeded to levy open war against him and the nobles; for the latter, who had at first sided with the Junta, finding their own privileges threatened as well as those of the King, began now to support the royal authority. The army of the Junta, which numbered about 20,000 men, was chiefly composed of mechanics and persons unacquainted with the use of arms; Padilla was set aside, and the command given to Don Pedro de Giron, a rash and inexperienced young nobleman, who had joined the malcontents out of private pique against the Emperor. On the other hand, Charles had authorised the Constable and the Admiral of Spain to assist Adrian, and they were joined by the Duke of Najera, the Viceroy of Navarre. Towards the end of November, Giron marched with about 11,000 men towards Rioseco in order to seize the Regent Adrian, who had retired

thither; but he was out-manœuvred by the Condé de Haro, the royal general, who, proceeding to Tordesillas, recaptured that place, together with the person of Joanna and the great seal, as well as many leaders of the Junta (Dec. 5th 1520). That party, however, was not discouraged, and they now appointed Padilla their general. But it was Padilla's wife, Doña Maria de Pacheco, a woman of high spirit and noble birth, who was in reality the soul of the league; and by her advice, all the costly plate and ornaments of the cathedral of Toledo were seized in order to raise money for the support of the army. It was evident, however, that the affairs of the Junta were declining. Neither Padilla nor the Council of Thirteen could succeed in preserving order; Spain became a wide scene of anarchy and confusion; and those who loved tranquillity, or had anything to lose, hastened to join the party of the King and the nobility. In the spring of 1521, Padilla attempted to form a junction with the French, who had invaded Navarre and advanced into Spain, a manœuvre which was prevented by the coming up of the royal army; and on the 23rd April 1521, Padilla being utterly defeated, and captured near Villalar, was executed on the following day, and met his fate with great fortitude and resolution. The Bishop of Zamora was captured on the same occasion, who was so zealous a revolutionist as to have organised a regiment of priests, which distinguished itself in the defence of Tordesillas. This defeat proved the ruin of the Junta. Valladolid and most of the other confederated towns now submitted, but Toledo, animated by the grief and courage of Padilla's widow, still held out; till at length the inhabitants, impatient of the long blockade, and despairing of all succour, surrendered the town. Doña Maria retired to the citadel and held it four months longer; but on the 10th Feb. 1522, she was compelled to surrender, and escaped in disguise to Portugal; after which tranquillity was re-established in Castile.

A still more violent insurrection had raged in Valencia, headed by an association calling itself the *Hermandad*, or Brotherhood; which, though without any leaders of note, contrived to maintain the war during the years 1520 and 1521. Their efforts, however, were directed, not against the prerogative of the King, but the power of the nobility, whom Charles left to fight their own battles. In Aragon the symptoms of insubordination were checked by the prudent conduct of the viceroy, Don Juan de Lanusa. Andalusia remained perfectly tranquil during these tumults. Had the various Spanish states united together, they might doubtless have enforced their own terms; but their different forms of government prevented them from joining in any common plan of reform; they still

regarded themselves as distinct kingdoms, and retained all their former national antipathies.

These commotions in Spain afforded the French the opportunity for invading Navarre, to which we have before alluded, and which was in fact one of the methods by which Francis gave vent to his ill humour at the loss of the empire. His competition with Charles for the Imperial Crown had been conducted apparently with the greatest good humour; and Francis had remarked in a playful tone to Charles's ambassadors — "We are two lovers who woo the same mistress; whichever she prefers the other must submit, and harbour no resentment." But in the bitterness of defeat all these generous feelings vanished. Francis now began to view the Spanish Monarch in a new light; he no longer regarded Charles as an equal and ally whose scattered dominions were insecure and in some degree at his mercy, and to whom therefore his friendship was necessary, but as a rival who had gained a marked superiority, and who by his elevation to the empire had not only acquired claims to some parts of the French dominions, but also the power of enforcing them. Pretexts for quarrelling were sufficiently abundant. Navarre was a bleeding wound in the side of Spain, which by the treaty of Noyon Francis had at any time a pretence for opening. The House of Austria had never digested the loss of Burgundy wrested from them by Louis XI.; Charles even thought more of it than of Germany, with whose language, feelings, and habits he was but little acquainted. In Italy, where Francis had neither received nor sought investiture of Milan from the Emperor, the old Imperial claims threatened to be a fertile cause of strife. It was plain that before long a war must ensue from the rivalship of two youthful and ambitious monarchs, whose growing disagreement was visible in all the transactions of the period. The wounded pride of Francis called loudly for revenge[42]; but there were many reasons which dissuaded him from seeking it by an open declaration of hostility. He trembled for the safety of his Italian conquests; he had no funds for carrying on an extensive war, except by the sacrifice of his magnificence and his pleasures; above all, he knew that if he declared war against the Emperor and the Pope, they would be immediately joined by the King of England. He therefore resolved to consult both his safety and his anger by adopting towards Charles a petty and underhand system

[42] The King's mother remarks, in a journal which she kept — "Pleut à Dieu que l'Empire eût plus longtemps vacqué, ou bien que pour jamais on l'eût laissé entre les mains de Jésus Christ, au quel il appartient, et non à aultre." (Petitot, t. xvi. p. 401.) A virtual condemnation of her own son for seeking it!

of annoyance, and with this view he had encouraged the Castilian communities in their rebellion, and endeavoured to raise a party against Charles among the electors of Germany [43]; his jealousy rendering him blind to the fact that such a course must inevitably kindle the war which it was so much his interest to avoid.

Francis had certainly colourable grounds for an invasion of Navarre, as Charles had neglected that stipulation of the treaty of Noyon by which he was bound to do the ex-king justice within six months. Both John d'Albret and his consort Catherine had died in 1516, and the sceptre of Navarre had devolved to their son, Henry II. The King's mistress, the beautiful Countess of Châteaubriand, of the House of Foix, whose family had reversionary claims to Navarre through their relationship to Henry II., also used her influence with Francis to induce him to invade Navarre; and he resolved to strike a blow which love and hatred combined to counsel. The Navarrese were favourable to the cause of their exiled monarch, and the citizens of Estella in particular invoked his presence in language which partook of Eastern poetry. "Do but show yourself, Sire," they wrote, "and you will behold the rocks, the mountains, and the trees arm themselves for your service." [44] Francis permitted Andrew de Foix, Lord of Esparre, the third brother of Madame de Châteaubriand, to levy a small army of 5000 or 6000 Gascons, with which, and 300 lances belonging to his eldest brother, M. de Lautrec, he entered Navarre. As Ximenès had rased nearly all the fortresses in that little kingdom, it was soon overrun; Pampeluna alone, animated by the courage of Ignatius Loyola, made a short resistance. To this siege the world owes the Order of the Jesuits. Loyola, whose leg had been shattered by a cannon ball, found consolation and amusement during his convalescence in reading the lives of the saints, and was thus thrown into that state of fanatical exaltation which led him to devote his future life to the service of the Papacy.

Lesparre was stimulated by his easy success to exceed the bounds of his commission, and instead of confining himself to the reduction of Navarre, to pass into Spain, where his attempt to form a junction with the malcontents under Padilla was defeated in the manner before related. At the invitation, however, of the heroine Doña Maria de Pacheco, he undertook the siege of Logroño, a frontier town of Old Castile, on the further side of the Ebro. All the pride of the Castilians was roused by this insult. Forgetting

[43] *Refutatio Apologiæ Dissuasoriæ*, in Goldasti, *Polit. Imp.* p. 870.

[44] *MSS. de Bethune*, ap. Gaillard, *Vie de François I.* t. ii. p. 103.

their complaints against Charles and his Regent Adrian, they flew to arms; Lesparre was obliged to raise the siege, and retreat towards Pampeluna; but being overtaken at Esquiros by the Spanish army under the Constable, the Admiral, and the Duke of Najera, was defeated and captured June 30th 1521, having received a wound in the action of which he shortly afterwards expired. Navarre was now recovered by the Spaniards as easily as it had been overrun by the French.

Francis adopted the same policy of petty intervention on his northern frontier. Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon and Lord of Sedan, long one of Charles's best friends, and who had helped his election to the empire, having a suit respecting a castle on the French frontiers, had taken offence at the Chancellor of Brabant entertaining an appeal from his courts, which he contended were independent; and Louis of Savoy, at an interview with the Duke at Romorantin, fomented his discontent and approved his projects of vengeance. The Parliament of Paris sent an officer to cite before them, not only the President and Attorney-General of Charles's supreme court, but even the Emperor himself, or rather, as the decree ran, the Count of Artois and Flanders; and the Duke of Bouillon was ridiculous enough to despatch a herald to the Diet at Worms to defy the Emperor before all his princes. With the connivance of the French Court, though contrary to an ostensible prohibition, De la Marck levied a small army in France, and together with his son Fleurange laid siege to Vireton, a town of Luxembourg. Henry VIII., at the request apparently of the Emperor, now interfered, and Bouillon, by order of Francis, raised the siege, March 22nd 1521.

Charles, however, was not inclined to let his insolence pass unpunished. The Imperial generals, the Count of Nassau, Sickingen, and Frunsberg, not only entered Bouillon's dominions, where they took and destroyed several places, but even crossed the French frontier and committed several acts of violence; and though, on the approach of a French army, Nassau granted Bouillon a truce of six weeks, yet hostilities still continued between the Imperialists and the French. Nassau, who had retired into Luxembourg, again entered France, captured Mouzon and laid siege to Mezières, which was valiantly defended by Bayard; but on the approach of the Duke of Alençon with his army, Nassau was again compelled to retire.

An open war seemed to be now impending between Francis and the Emperor, and in this state of things Henry VIII., assuming his favourite character, offered to mediate between them; a pro-

posal which, after some reluctance on the part of Francis, was accepted by both princes. Charles had no reason to object to such a course; he was assured of the support of Wolsey[45], and he was in intimate alliance with the Pope, whose legates were to be present at the discussions. After some delay the conference was fixed to be held at Calais on the 8th of August. But before proceeding to that matter, we must take a brief view of the affairs of Italy and the conduct of the Pope.

The thoughts of Leo were perpetually directed towards the temporal aggrandisement of his family. We have already seen how, with the connivance of the French King, he succeeded in wresting Urbino from La Rovere, and bestowing it on his nephew Lorenzo. Not content with withholding Modena and Reggio from Alphonso d'Este, he next designed to seize upon Ferrara itself. Having failed, in 1519, in an attempt to surprise that place, he endeavoured in the following year to obtain his end by treachery, and bribed Ridolfo Hello, a German captain in the service of Alphonso, to betray one of the gates to his forces. But Hello revealed the whole plot to his master; and Alphonso, though unwilling to take any public step in the matter, let the Pope[46] plainly see that he was aware of his designs. In 1520 Leo treacherously procured the destruction of the Lords of Perugia and Fermo. Perugia was governed by Gian Paolo Baglioni, a famous *condottiere*, who had made himself master of his native city. According to contemporary writers Baglioni was a monster steeped in every vice—a fact, however, which can hardly justify Leo's conduct; who having entrapped him to Rome under a promise of security, caused him on the following day after his arrival to be apprehended and tortured, when he is said to have confessed enormities that could not be expiated by a thousand deaths. However this may be, he was decapitated next day in the castle of St. Angelo, and the Pope seized his possessions. Ludovico Freducci of Fermo was attacked on similar pretexts by Giovanni de' Medici with an army of 5000 men, and was slain in attempting to escape. After these examples

[45] In the letter announcing the consent of the two monarchs to the conference (July 20th 1521), Wolsey observes: "whereof I truste good effecte shall ensue, as well to the pacificacion of the differencis betwene theym both, *as also for the straiter conjunction of your Grace and th' Emperour for ever.*" See *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 16.

[46] On this occasion Muratori (*Ann.* t. x. p. 130) charges Leo with a design to procure the assassination of the duke, for which he cites the authority of Guicciardini, then governor of Modena and Reggio for the Pope; and adds, that the historian himself was also innocently implicated in this dark piece of treachery. But, according to Roscoe, there is nothing in Guicciardini to justify this charge; nor can it be substantiated from the other authorities adduced by Muratori. See *Life of Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 305.

many of the smaller tyrants submitted; some of whom relying, like Baglioni, on Leo's good faith, were tried for their former conduct and executed. That most of them deserved their fate can hardly be doubted. The wretched state of morals among Italian princes may be inferred with safety from the possibility of such a book as Macchiavelli's *Principe* being written; but we can hardly applaud the conduct of the Pontiff in condemning those over whom he had no temporal jurisdiction merely in order to appropriate their possessions.

Leo seconded these acts of violence by the most treacherous and double-faced negociations. Early in 1521 he had entered into a treaty with Francis I., by which it was agreed that they should unite to drive the Spaniards out of Naples; in the accomplishment of which the town of Gaeta, with all the northern part of Campania Felix as far as the Garigliano, was to be ceded to the Church, the remainder of the kingdom being assigned to the second son of the French King; who, however, till he should attain his majority, was to be under the guardianship of an apostolic legate. Francis, either from negligence, fear of England, or suspicion of the Pope's sincerity, seems to have delayed the ratification of this treaty, and to have withheld the promised subsidies. Piqued by this conduct, as well as offended by the proceedings of Lautrec, who had succeeded Bourbon as Governor of the Milanese, and especially by his refusing to acknowledge the authority of Rome in the matter of benefices, Leo now secretly entered into an alliance with Charles V., on the basis of a counter-project for driving the French, instead of the Spaniards, from Italy. The chief articles were, that Francis Sforza, second son of Louis the Moor, who had been residing at Trent, should be installed in the Duchy of Milan; that Parma and Piacenza should be ceded to the Church, and that its claims on Ferrara should be supported by the Emperor; that the annual tribute paid by Naples to the Holy See should be augmented; that the Neapolitan Duchy of Cività di Penna should be conferred on Alessandro de' Medici[47], a child of nine, and a pension of 10,000 crowns on Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, secured on the revenues of the Archbishopric of Toledo, then vacant. The Pope on his side undertook to forward the claims of the Emperor upon Venice. This treaty, which was concluded while the Diet of Worms was sitting, bears the same date as the outlawry of Luther, or Edict of Worms (May 8th), and it can hardly be doubted that both were intimately connected. By the sixteenth article the

[47] Reputed the illegitimate son of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, but perhaps in reality the offspring of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici.

Emperor engaged to reduce to obedience the adversaries of the Apostolic throne, that is, Luther and his adherents, and to avenge all the injuries they had done it.[48]

After the conclusion of this treaty, the Pope and Emperor made attempts to gain partisans in the various Italian cities. Jerome Morone, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Milan, one of the numerous citizens whom the harshness of the French Government had compelled to quit their native country, proposed to Leo a scheme for attacking several places in the Milanese by means of malcontent exiles. The Pope adopted the project, and secretly advanced money for its execution; and when it proved abortive, he permitted the exiles to take refuge at Reggio. Charles and the Pope also supported the Adorni and Fieschi in a plan which they had formed to wrest Genoa from the Fregosi, who governed it for the French; and the Pope fitted out some galleys[49] for that purpose. But this scheme also was defeated by the vigilance of Octavian Fregoso. At this time, Odet de Foix, Sieur de Lautrec, the Governor of the Milanese, was absent in France, and had left the supreme command to his brother, the Marshal de Foix, commonly called M. de Lescun; who, hearing of the proceedings of the Pope, marched with some troops to Reggio, intending if possible to surprise the town, or at all events to demand an explanation. On his appearance before the place, Guicciardini, the Governor, gave him an audience outside the gates. Whilst they were conferring, Lescun's men attempted to force an entrance into the town; a skirmish ensued; blood was spilt on both sides; the French were repulsed, and Guicciardini detained Lescun to answer for his conduct, but dismissed him on the following day. Lescun subsequently despatched an envoy to the Pope to apologise for his conduct; but Leo, glad of so good an opportunity to throw off the mask, refused to hear the envoy, complained of the hostility of the French King, excommunicated Lescun as an impious invader of the territory of St. Peter, and publicly avowed in the Consistory the treaty which he had concluded with the Emperor.

Such was the position of affairs between the Pope, the Emperor, and the French King, when the appointed conference was held at Calais. It was managed on the part of Charles by the Count of Gattinara, a Piedmontese, for Chièvres had died at Worms in the preceding May; on the part of Francis, by the Chancellor Duprat. Wolsey was master of the situation, the arbiter whom both sides sought to gain. Duprat was assiduous in supplying all his wants,

[48] Dumont, t. iv. pt. iii., Supp. p. 96.

[49] Pace to Wolsey, July 20th 1521, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 12.

which the cardinal was not scrupulous in intimating: now providing him with a litter, as Wolsey complained of the fatigue of riding his mule; now sending far and wide for some better French wine than could be procured at Calais.[50] The cardinal, however, was already sold to the Emperor for the reversion of a more splendid prize than it was in the power of Francis to offer. Before the congress assembled, Henry VIII. and his minister had already made preparations for hostilities against Francis, by providing a body of 6000 archers, and devising plans for the destruction of the French fleet. Nay, so ardent was Wolsey in the cause, that though, as he says, "a spiritual man," and in general prone enough to assert the superiority of the toga over arms, yet he expressed his readiness to march with his cross at the head of the English troops.[51] He affected, however, the greatest impartiality, and declared that his only solicitude was to ascertain who had first broken the peace. To have effected a satisfactory mediation between the two Sovereigns would have been impossible. Each made claims which he knew the other would not grant — Francis demanding the restitution of Navarre and Naples; Charles requiring that Milan and Genoa should be evacuated, homage for Flanders remitted, and Burgundy restored! Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Wolsey's mediation only resulted in procuring a treaty for the suspension of hostilities between the French and Flemish vessels engaged in the herring fishery![52]

Technically speaking, Francis was certainly committed by Lesparre's invasion of Spain, of which the Emperor had complained before the opening of the conference, at the same time requiring Henry to declare against France as the first aggressor[53]; but, in any event, the result of the conference was predetermined. In fact, the Emperor himself, in a speech which he made to the people of Ghent, in July, had told them that "he would leave the French King in his shirt, or else HE should so leave him."[54] While the conference was going on, Wolsey, escorted by 400 horse, went in great state to Bruges to visit the Emperor, who received him like a sovereign prince. Here, in the name of his master, the cardinal

[50] *MSS. de Bethune*, ap. Gaillard, t. ii. p. 164 sq.

[51] See Pace's *Letters* to Wolsey, July 28th and August 1st, and Wolsey's to Henry VIII., August 4th. *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 23, 24, 27.

[52] This trade, however, was of great importance, especially to the Netherlanders, and the fishing season was now at hand. The power of Holland was founded on this trade, and according to a Dutch saying, Amsterdam was built on herring bones.

[53] Wolsey to King Henry VIII., July 1521. *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 17.

[54] Letter of Fitzwilliam to Henry VIII., August 2nd 1521. *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 83.

concluded with Charles a treaty, the chief purport of which was, that in the following year the Emperor should invade France on the south, and Henry on the north, each with an army of 40,000 men. At the same time a marriage was agreed on between the Emperor and Henry's daughter the Princess Mary, to be celebrated when the latter should have attained the age of ten. Mary was to have a dowry of 80,000*l.*, but from this sum was to be deducted all money owed by the Emperor to England. We have seen that Mary was already betrothed to the dauphin, and that the Emperor himself had engaged to marry Francis's daughter Charlotte. The treaty was to be kept profoundly secret till such time as Charles should visit England, on his return to Spain, when Henry was to declare war against France. The Pope was not idle during these negociations. He sanctioned the treaty (August 25th) by a *bene placitum;* and on the 4th September he issued a Bull of excommunication against Francis I., releasing his subjects from their allegiance. A treaty was also arranged at Bruges, between the Emperor, the King of England, and the Pope, which was ratified November 24th, at Calais. The Emperor and the King of England promised to support Leo, whose greatest care, it was affirmed, was for spiritual affairs, against the German and other heretics.[55] It was at this time that Henry VIII. published his book against Luther, which procured him the title of "Defender of the Faith."[56]

The motives of Wolsey in these negociations are sufficiently plain; those of his master are not so apparent, except that he was led by the cardinal, and probably entertained some vague idea of the conquest of France, to the sovereignty of which he pretended. Meanwhile the war went on. On the southern frontier of France the Admiral Bonnivet, and the Count de Guise, who had been despatched with an army to revenge the disaster of Lesparre, not only succeeded in recovering Basse Navarre, or that part of the kingdom north of the Pyrenees,— which the House of Albret did not again lose — but also took Fuentarabia. This news arrived before the conference at Calais was concluded. Charles V., supported by Henry VIII., immediately demanded the restoration of Fuentarabia, which opened to the French the road into Biscay; and on the refusal of Francis, the negociations terminated. In the north, Francis entered the Cambrésis at the head of his army in October, and on the 22nd came up with Nassau between Cambray

[55] Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 118.

[56] Wolsey's *Letter* to Henry VIII., from Bruges, August 24th. *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 43. Pace's *Letter* to Wolsey expressing the King's satisfaction at the Pope's acceptation of his book, Oct. 27th (1521), *ibid.* p. 78.

and Valenciennes; but with an hesitation quite unusual with him, and contrary to the advice of his best and most experienced captains, missed the opportunity of attacking the Imperialists at an advantage. The French, however, succeeded in capturing Hesdin, after which Francis retired to Amiens, and disbanded the greater part of his army. But this success was more than counterbalanced by the loss of Tournai, which surrendered to the Imperialists before the end of December, after a blockade of six months. During this period we find Wolsey, in his assumed character of a peaceful mediator, writing the most treacherous letter to Francis (October 20th), in order to deter him from a battle with the Emperor, the result of which the cardinal feared; and this in direct contravention of his master's advice to the Emperor, to provoke the French king to fight.[57] Wolsey had followed up this letter by sending an English embassy from Calais, at the head of which was the Lord Chamberlain, to Francis, then near Valenciennes, to persuade or threaten him into a truce. To this Francis would not consent; but the delay occasioned to him by this embassy arrested his operations, and probably cost him the loss of Tournai.[58]

Thus was opened that series of wars between the rival houses of France and Austria, which, with little intermission, lasted nearly two centuries, and which may be divided into two periods; namely, till the peace of Vervins, in 1598, and to the death of Louis XIV., in 1715.

The war, which was now fairly kindled, soon spread into Italy, where, as we have seen, hostile symptoms had already displayed themselves. The French policy in that country had been anything but wise or popular: the government was conducted with military harshness, and the Italians were made to feel that they were a conquered people. Lautrec, the eldest brother of Madame de Châteaubriand, a good soldier, but a man of cruel and inflexible character, conducted his viceroyalty on a system of terror; his own family, as well as the treasury, was enriched by confiscations and executions, and he is said to have banished half the principal inhabitants of the Milanese. Even the veteran marshal Trivulzio, a native of Milan, one of the first captains of the age, who had assisted the French in their enterprises in Italy ever since the days of Charles VIII., was treated with contumely by Lautrec, on account of his Guelf, or liberal, principles. At the age of eighty Trivulzio

[57] Pace's *Letter* to Wolsey, Oct. 15th, and Wolsey's *Letter* to Francis, Oct. 20th, apud Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 287.

[58] Wolsey's *Instructions* to the Earl of Worcester, the lord chamberlain, and others, *ibid.* p. 289.

crossed the Alps to lay his complaints at the feet of Francis I., but was denied an audience through the influence of the Countess of Châteaubriand. He died soon after in France.

But the French interests in Italy were as much damaged by intrigues at home as by bad policy abroad. The court was divided into two factions, each led by a woman: for the period had arrived when cabal and gallantry, female influence and the passions or caprices of mistresses, were to play so great a part in the affairs of France, to direct and often to damage her most important enterprises. At the head of one party was the King's mother, Louisa of Savoy, whose principal adherents were the Chancellor Duprat, the Constable Bonnivet, and René the Bastard of Savoy, Louisa's brother, for whom she wished to obtain the command in Italy. On the other side was the King's mistress, Madame de Châteaubriand, with Lautrec and her other brothers: but the credit of the countess was now beginning gradually to decline with the love of Francis. Lautrec had neglected to pay the queen-mother sufficient court: he had even had the audacity to speak too freely of her adventures of gallantry; and Louisa in her exasperation resolved to punish him, were it even at the expense of the interests and honour of France. When the cloud of war began to lower over Italy, Lautrec, who, as we have said, was in France, received orders to repair to his government; but he declared that he was in want of money to pay the troops, and refused to stir unless he was supplied with 400,000 crowns. The King and Semblançay, the minister of finance, promised on oath that the money should be remitted to him, and Lautrec departed. When, however, it was collected, Louisa seized it for her own use[59], thus gratifying at once her rapacity and her revenge. When in the following year Lautrec again returned to France after his defeat in Italy, and denied having received the money, Louisa's tool, Semblançay, to clear himself, accused her to the King. He was subsequently sacrificed to her vengeance, and executed on a false charge in 1527. The want of this money was the main cause that deprived the French of the Milanese.

The Papal and Imperial army, to which the influence of Leo added the troops of Florence, took the field in August 1521. This war is attributed by the historian Guicciardini, on the authority of Leo's relative, the Cardinal de' Medici, to the restless ambition of that Pontiff.[60] The Spanish troops were led by the Marquis of

[59] She had enormous pensions, and it is probable that she may have only exacted what she had strictly a claim to, but to the detriment of the military service (Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 154).

[60] *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xiv. *sub init.*

Pescara, the Papal army by Frederick Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, with Guicciardini as commissary-general; while the command in chief was entrusted to Prosper Colonna. The last, though an able general, was too slow and cautious in his movements; he lost a fortnight in waiting for reinforcements, and then, instead of marching upon Milan, laid siege to Parma, which he entered Sept. 1st. By the advance, however, of Lautrec on one side, and the Duke of Ferrara on the other, he was again obliged to retire on the Lenza, where he wasted another month, suspicious of the real intentions of the Pope. Leo had taken advantage of his treaty with Francis early in the year to procure the services of 6000 Swiss, whom the French permitted to pass through the Milanese, and he now procured additional reinforcements from Switzerland. That nation was not disposed to lose its mercenary traffic in blood by any declaration of neutrality. Although a diet convened at Lucerne at the beginning of August decided on assisting the French, the influence of the Cardinal of Sion prevailed in the cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, in favour of the Imperialists, and hence the number of Swiss in each army was nearly equal, or about 20,000. Having received some of these reinforcements, Colonna crossed the Po, Oct. 1st, and carried the war into the Cremonese, where Lautrec was posted. That general relied mainly on his Swiss, whom, however, he had disgusted by his hauteur, and still more by failing to pay their wages, which the peculation of Louisa had deprived him of the means of furnishing. The heads of the cantons, moreover, sensible of the infamy that would be incurred if the two bodies of Swiss should be engaged against each other, having sent orders to recall both, the Cardinal of Sion bribed the messengers who were to convey the order to the Imperial camp; and thus it was delivered only to the Swiss in the French service, whose discontent not only prompted them immediately to obey it, but even induced many to join the cardinal and the Imperialists. Lautrec, thus deserted, was obliged to shut himself up in Milan. Morone now sent a message to Colonna, that if a night attack were made on the town, the Ghibelines, or Imperial faction, would open one of the gates: Pescara advanced with the Spanish infantry, on the night of the 19th Nov., to the Porta Romana, through which he was admitted. Lautrec and his brother Lescun, thus taken by surprise, escaped the same night with the remnant of their army to Como, whence they proceeded to Lonato, in the territory of Brescia. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, whom Leo had despatched to the allied army in the character of Papal legate, entered Milan

with the victorious troops, and at Rome it was commonly believed that the duchy was destined for him; but for the present Morone was invested with the government, as lieutenant for Francesco Maria Sforza. The rest of the Lombard cities, except the citadel of Milan, the town of Cremona, and a few other places, eager to throw off the French yoke, now submitted to the Imperialists; and thus in a campaign of three months, the French lost nearly all the Milanese without a single pitched battle having been fought.

The schemes of Leo X. were thus entirely successful, and all his darling projects seemed on the point of accomplishment. Soon after the fall of Milan, Parma and Piacenza were occupied by the allies, which places conformably to the treaty with the Emperor, were to be made over to the Pope. The news of these successes reached Leo at his favourite villa Malliana. He was seized the same night with a slight illness, and immediately returned to Rome, where his symptoms grew worse; and on the 1st of December he expired so unexpectedly that there was not time to administer the viaticum.

Leo's constitution had been undermined by his voluptuous life; but the circumstances under which he died led to the suspicion of his having been poisoned. The day before he was taken ill, he complained of the wine which had been handed to him, and suspicion fell upon his cup-bearer, Bernardo Malaspina, who was arrested while going out of Rome with his dogs on the morning after his master's death. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici caused him to be released; not, however, on the ground of his innocence, but because he would have no inquiry made, "lest some great prince should be found mixed up in the matter, and he should thus acquire an implacable enemy." This dark insinuation, which is alleged by some high authorities[61], is sufficiently vague, and only indicates the cardinal's anxiety to avoid any step which might damage his prospect of the tiara.

Leo X. had nearly completed his forty-sixth year at the time of his decease[62], and had filled the Apostolic chair eight years, eight months, and nineteen days. In person he was tall and somewhat corpulent, but his limbs, though well formed, were rather too slender in proportion to his body. His complexion was florid, his head and features were large yet dignified, his eyes big, round, and prominent. In temper he was bland and easy, but indolent and

[61] Nardi, *Istor. Fiorent.* lib. vi. t. ii. p. 62 (ed. Flor. 1838). Paris de Grassis, ap. Raynald. *Ann. Eccl.* 1521, § 110, t. xii. p. 358; Guicciardini, lib. xiv. p. 208 (ed. Milan, 1803). Suspicion pointed to the King of France.

[62] He was born in Dec. 1475. See Roscoe, *Léo X.* vol. iv. p. 326. Cf. Nardi, *loc. cit.* p. 61.

luxurious; little attentive to appearances, so that, to the horror of his master of the ceremonies, he would ride out to enjoy his favourite diversion of hunting in boots, and without a surplice. He was a passionate lover of music, of which he was not only a connoisseur, but also a good performer himself; and as he was liberal, or rather prodigal, in rewarding the ministers of his pleasures, he would sometimes give 100 ducats to a musician who had sung with him. He delighted in the company of buffoons, was fond of games of chance or skill, and took an almost childish pleasure in splendid fêtes and pompous exhibitions. Although little versed in theology or sacred learning, one of his best traits was the liberal patronage which he afforded to literature and art. Thus his court exhibited a kind of intellectual sensuality, which, while it formed a striking contrast to the gross debauchery of that of Alexander VI., or the stern economy and martial bearing displayed by Julius II., was just as far removed from those qualities and virtues which might be expected to obtain the patronage and encouragement of a Christian Pontiff. Leo's political character, the chief traits of which are treachery and cruelty, may be gathered from the preceding narrative.

That such a Pope should not have been popular at Rome can only be accounted for by his extravagant expenditure, which involved him in debt and emptied the Roman treasury. In so low a state, indeed, were his finances, that it was necessary to use at his funeral the wax tapers which had already served at the obsequies of a cardinal.[63] Immediately after his death his character was assailed in the most scurrilous libels; nay, it was even debated in consistory whether his name should be expunged from the records of the Holy See.[64] Leo's prodigality, however, produced a sort of artificial prosperity at Rome, which under his pontificate was much enlarged and beautified.

[63] *Relatione* di Gradenigo, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 263 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

[64] Valerianus, *De Literatorum Infelicitate* ap. Roscoe, vol. iv. p. 352.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER IV.

IN the confusion of the interregnum which ensued upon Leo's death, Colonna was obliged to dismiss the greater part of the Swiss and German contingents in the Papal army for want of funds to pay them; the Florentine troops, who had no direct interest in the war, returned into Tuscany, while Giovanni de' Medici went over to the French with a well-disciplined corps of about 3000 foot and 200 horse, called from the colours which they bore the Black Band. Several of the Italian princes seized the opportunity to recover the dominions of which they had been deprived: Alfonso d'Este regained the greater part of his possessions; the expelled Duke of Urbino was received with enthusiasm by his former subjects, and similar revolutions occurred at Perugia, Rimini, and other places.

Meanwhile all eyes were directed towards Rome, where the conclave had assembled (December 27th) for the election of a new Pope. The contest lay between Giulio de' Medici and Soderini, also a Florentine, who was supported by the French interest. Charles V. did not, as it has been asserted, break his promise to Wolsey on this occasion; he recommended that cardinal to the sacred college, but perhaps without any very ardent wish for his success.[1] The votes in favour of Wolsey never amounted to twenty, while twenty-six, or those of two thirds of the thirty-eight cardinals assembled, were necessary to secure the election.[2] Giulio de' Medici was undoubtedly the candidate best qualified for the vacant throne. He belonged to one of the most powerful families in Italy; had presided in Leo's councils, and was intimately acquainted with his projects as well as with the views of the various European courts. The cardinals, however, were averse to the notion of the Papacy being converted into a family succession. The contest, which subjected the cardinals to the severest privations, and was conducted with the most violent and disgraceful altercations, had long seemed doubtful, when one of the conclave, some

[1] See the letters cited by Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 214.

[2] See Jonas Clark's (afterwards bishop of Bath) despatch to Wolsey, Jan. 15th 1522, MS. ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 216. In the same despatch (*ib.* p. 218) will be found some curious particulars of the way in which the conclave was conducted.

say Giulio de' Medici himself, suddenly and as if by mere chance named Adrian of Utrecht, the Regent of Spain, who was immediately elected (January 9th 1522). The cardinals themselves were, or affected to be, astonished at this decision of the Holy Ghost, the presumed director of the votes of the conclave; though Don John Manuel, the Imperial ambassador at Rome, had probably more to do with the matter. The election was so distasteful to the Roman populace, who feared that the Papal seat might be removed to Spain or Germany, that at first none of the cardinals dared leave his house.[3]

Early in the spring, both parties made preparations for resuming the war in Italy. The French affairs were not altogether desperate. Lautrec, as we have seen, still held several places, and René, the Bastard of Savoy, succeeded in raising 10,000 men in Switzerland, where the influence of the cardinal of Sion had declined in consequence of the trick he had played off. Lautrec, however, was still in want of money; for although Duprat had by the most unprecedented extortions, and by the sale of some of the royal domains, raised funds sufficient to support a brilliant army, the money was either dissipated by Francis among his mistresses, or diverted by the avarice of his mother. On the other side, Jerome Adorno and Frunsberg had with inconceivable rapidity led 5000 Germans through the Valteline to Milan, where Colonna and Pescara lay with the Imperial army. The French *gens d'armes* and Venetians under Lautrec, being joined by the Swiss reinforcements, that general crossed the Adda, March 1st 1522; and after an abortive attempt to relieve the citadel of Milan, laid siege to Pavia, which, however, the advance of Colonna obliged him to raise. As the Swiss began to grow clamorous for their pay, Lautrec directed his march upon Arona, whither some money had been sent. It was necessary, however, to dislodge Colonna from a position which he had taken up at a villa and park called the Bicocca, between Milan and Monza. As the position seemed almost impregnable, and the Imperial army was daily weakened by desertion, Lautrec wished to defer the attack; but the Swiss would listen to no arguments, and sent in their last demand in three words — *argent, congé, ou bataille* (pay, dismissal, or battle). Thus between two alternatives — for money he had none — Lautrec was obliged to order an assault (April 29th). It failed as he had anticipated, in spite of the most prudent arrangements. The Swiss being repulsed with great slaughter, refused to renew the attack in support of Lescun, who had assailed

[3] Clark's *Despatch, ibid.* p. 219.

the position on the opposite side. After this defeat matters appeared to be irretrievable: the Swiss having retired into their own country, Lautrec returned to France, leaving the defence of Lombardy to his brother. The task, however, was a hopeless one, and Lescun found himself obliged to enter into a capitulation with Colonna, May 26th, by which he agreed to evacuate the whole of Lombardy, with the exception of the citadels of Milan, Novara, and Cremona; after which, he also retired into France. Genoa fell into the hands of the Imperialists shortly afterwards, almost by an accident. Some Spanish and German soldiers having entered by a breach in the walls which they perceived to be undefended, the inhabitants were incited to rebel; Frégoso was deposed and imprisoned, and Antoniotto Adorno, who accompanied the Imperial army, made doge in his stead.[4] After these reverses, Francis I. abandoned for a while his designs upon Italy, being compelled indeed to defend his own frontiers against the combined attacks of Charles V. and Henry VIII.

During the events just narrated, the Emperor was still residing in Germany. Adrian's election to the Papacy, which obliged him to vacate the Regency of Spain, as well as the still unsettled state of that country, determined Charles to proceed thither; especially as he wished to visit England on his way, in order to reconcile himself with Wolsey, now smarting under his disappointment. During the six weeks which he spent in England, the Emperor courted the favour of Henry by the most respectful attentions, and succeeded in soothing Wolsey by fresh promises. He engaged to make good to the cardinal a pension of 12,000 livres, secured to him by the French King on the Bishopric of Tournai, of which the contemplated rupture with France would deprive him; nor did he neglect to render himself popular with the English people, whose confidence and good will he acquired by making the Earl of Surrey his High Admiral. During the Emperor's stay in England the agreement entered into between himself and Wolsey, the preceding year at Bruges, was formally ratified; and Henry declared war against France, May 29th 1522.

Although the ostensible pretext for this rupture was the refusal of Francis to accept the terms proposed at the conference of Calais, and to sequester Fuentarabia into the hands of the English, there were other grounds of complaint. Francis, aware of the English preparations, had suspended the payments which he had engaged to make; he had put an embargo on English ships, and had con-

[4] Varese, *Storia di Genova*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 281.

nived at the return of the Duke of Albany to Scotland in the preceding autumn; with the view that he should excite the Scots to make a diversion, which, however, proved a failure. When Henry remonstrated, the French King protested that he had not instigated Albany to this conduct; but Henry refused to believe him, and wrote him an insulting letter, in which he accused him of breach of faith.

As France was thus left to contend with the greatest and most formidable powers of Europe, it was fortunate for that country that its eastern frontier at least was secured by neutral states. The Swiss, who had renewed their alliance with France by the treaty of Lucerne, May 5th 1521, being unwilling that the county of Burgundy, or Franche Comté, which bordered on their own territories, and was at that time an appanage of Charles's Aunt Margaret, should become the seat of war, had procured a treaty to be executed between Francis and Margaret (July 8th 1522), guaranteeing that there should be no hostilities for three years between Franche Comté and the neighbouring provinces of France as far north as Mouzon sur Meuse. This treaty being continually renewed for more than a century, the two Burgundies enjoyed the advantage of peace and commerce during a long period of the struggle between France and the House of Austria, and preserved the French frontier on that side from attack. It was at present further covered by the neutral territories of Lorraine and Bar, as well as of Savoy, whose sovereign Charles III., the uncle of Francis, maintained a good understanding both with his nephew and the Emperor.

The war was begun in June on the part of the English by some descents on the maritime towns of France, in which Cherbourg and Morlaix were taken and plundered. Surrey, with the main body of the English army, then landed at Calais, and after an unsuccessful attempt upon Boulogne joined the Imperialists in the Netherlands, under the Count de Buren, and invaded Picardy. Little, however, was effected, although Francis had not yet assembled any formidable force. The siege of Hesdin, not a very strong place, occupied six weeks; and at the beginning of November, the English, after losing a great many men by dysentery, were compelled by the season to quit France. The French, by long experience, had learned the most effectual method of opposing them — by abstaining from pitched battles, defending their walled places, harassing convoys, and attacking advanced posts, they succeeded in wearing out the English.[5] On the

[5] It was to meet the expenses of this war that Francis, by an edict dated Sept. 29, 1522, created the first *Rentes Perpétuelles*, secured by the Hôtel de Ville at

Spanish frontier the campaign of 1522 was also favourable to the French, the Marshal de la Palisse having forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Fuentarabia.

The Emperor after his sojourn at the English Court set sail for Spain, and arrived at the port of Santander July 26th. As he had resolved to spend some years in Spain, and had now taken the reins of government into his own hands, he adopted such measures as were calculated to make him popular. With a wise humanity he refused to shed any more blood, though strongly advised to do so by his council; and on the 28th of October he published a general amnesty, from which only eighty persons were exempted, and even these he took no measures to apprehend. An officious courtier having offered to point out the retreat of one of them, Charles replied, "the man has now more cause to be afraid of me than I of him, and you would be better employed in telling him where I am than in acquainting me with his hiding-place." By conduct like this did Charles win back the hearts of his subjects. He humoured the pride of the Castilians; he applied himself to conform to the manners and to speak the language of the country; he appointed only natives to posts of trust and dignity, whether in church or state; and thus by securing the affections of the Spaniards, he at length acquired a more extensive authority over them than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors.[6] While, however, he rendered himself popular by his manners, he took care to enlarge and secure his power by abridging the liberties of the people. Instead of allowing the burgesses deputed to the *Cortès* to begin with their grievances and then grant a *servicio*, or supply, he reversed the practice—took the supply first, and then heard the grievances. He summoned these assemblies but seldom, and caused the three estates to meet in different places, in order to prevent them from combining together; nor would he allow them to debate except in the presence of a president appointed by himself. He introduced the practice of corruption by granting or promising favours to the deputies, so that a seat in the *Cortès* began in process of time to be looked upon as a profitable thing, and we find a deputy paying 14,000 ducats for one as early as 1534. After the year 1538, when the nobles were no longer summoned, and the *Cortès* were composed of burgesses alone, they were assembled every three years, and granted whatever was demanded.[7]

Paris. This was the origin of French *Rentiers*. The interest was *à denier douze*, or $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Sismondi, *Hist. des Franç.* t. xi. p. 248.

[6] Robertson, *Charles V.* book iii.

[7] Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker v. Süd-Europa*, B. i. S. 227.

But though the period of Charles's sojourn in Spain was in general characterised by a policy which tended to strengthen his government, it was also disfigured by his persecution of the Moors. In this respect the bigotry of Charles, one of the worst traits in his character, led him to follow in the steps of his predecessors. The unfortunate Moors found no safety but in flight; and it is calculated that by the year 1523, 5000 houses were deserted in Valencia alone. In 1525, at the instigation of Clement VII., Charles formed the wild and wicked project of compelling all the Moors in Spain to forswear their religion and adopt Christianity. Their mosques were shut up, the Koran was taken from them, all dealing with them was forbidden, and permission was given to capture and enslave those who were found wandering beyond their own villages. Those not baptized before the 8th of December were ordered to quit Spain by the 1st of January 1526; while, in order to prevent them from proceeding to Africa, Corunna was the only port at which they were allowed to embark. Thus the penalty of banishment was aggravated by compelling them to traverse the whole of Spain, amidst insults and injuries of every description. The unfortunate Moors offered 50,000 crowns for a respite of five years; an offer, however, which only led Charles to impose harsher terms; and he now ordered that those who were not baptized by the 15th of January should forfeit their goods and be sold into slavery. Driven to desperation, many took up arms, and obstinately defended themselves in the mountains of Valencia. At length, after a great slaughter, the rest, with the exception of about 100,000 who succeeded in escaping to Africa, submitted to the rite of baptism, with what sincerity it is needless to say. Even then, however, they were subjected to the greatest oppressions. They were required to lay aside their language and national dress before the expiration of ten years, and in short became little better than beasts of burthen in the service of the Spaniards. Subsequently, however, they purchased the privilege of retaining some of their customs with a payment of 80,000 ducats.

Charles, before landing in Spain, had appointed an interview with the late regent Adrian at Barcelona; but the latter, either ashamed of his misgovernment, or unwilling it should be supposed that the Emperor influenced his conduct as Pope, embarked for Italy as soon as he heard of Charles's arrival. It was not till the beginning of September 1522 that Adrian arrived in Rome to take possession of his new dignity; and during the interval the Papal government had been conducted by a triumvirate of

cardinals, renewed every month by lot. If the Romans regretted the elevation of Adrian at the time of his election, that ill impression was not removed, at least among the higher classes, when they beheld an humble and austere old man, unacquainted with the language or manners of Italy, ignorant of and averse to the policy of the Court of Rome, and so totally devoid of all taste for art that when shown the group of the Laocoon he turned away with horror, exclaiming, "These are pagan idols!" Adrian's phlegmatic temper, which was never agitated either by anger or joviality, and his parsimony, which was so great that he brought with him to Rome an old woman-servant, who continued as before to provide for the daily wants of his household, were not calculated to create a better feeling; in short, no more striking or more distasteful contrast could have been offered to those who had admired the warlike pomp of Julius II., or the more refined and elegant splendour of Leo X. A humility, however, which may almost be termed ostentatious, produced a great impression in Adrian's favour among the populace, who were inclined to reverence him when, after having come on foot to Rome, he put off his shoes and hose before entering the city, and passed through the streets barefooted and bare-legged towards his palace.[8]

If the wealthier and more educated Romans disliked the new Pope's manners, his actions disgusted them still more. He was very scrupulous in bestowing places. He even revoked some grants of spiritual dignities, and thus drew upon himself a host of the bittterest enemies. He found the Roman treasury exhausted through the extravagance of his predecessor, who had left a debt of 700,000 ducats[9], and was hence obliged to lay on new taxes, which made him very unpopular. He was almost constantly buried in his studies, during which he was inaccessible, so that business was procrastinated; and even those who obtained an audience were put off with a set phrase—*cogitabimus, videbimus* (we will think about it, we will see to it).[10] Being a foreigner, and having no family interests to serve, he was indifferent to the temporal aggrandisement of the Holy See and the intestine disputes of Italy, so that he was prepared to do justice to the potentates who had been despoiled by the ambition of Leo. He confirmed the Duke of Urbino in the dominions which he had

[8] Roper's *Life of More*, p. 17 (ed. 1716).

[9] T. Hannibal's *Letter* to Wolsey, MS. ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 220.

[10] See Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 93 sqq. (Mrs. Austin's translation.) The hatred with which Adrian inspired the Romans is described by the anonymous author of the *Conclave of Clement VII.*, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 266.

recovered, and restored to the Duke of Ferrara several places of which he had been deprived. His simple habits rendered him indifferent to wealth. Such of his friends and relations as came to Rome with the view of pushing their fortunes he sent back with the present of a woollen garment, and enough money to defray their travelling expenses. He looked with a calm and unruffled judgment on the abuses of the Church and of the Court of Rome, which he showed an inclination to reform; yet his scholastic education caused him to reject with aversion the doctrines of Luther, and disposed him to adopt the severest measures in order to repress them: for he belonged to those "Magistri Nostri" of Louvain who had so long opposed the rising literature and theology. The simplicity of Adrian's character was regarded by the subtle and designing politicians of Italy as the effect of inexperience and incapacity, and hence he became the butt on which the wits of the day exercised their talent for ridicule.

With regard to foreign politics the same dispositions rendered Adrian desirous of peace. He at first declared himself neutral, and persisted some time in that course, notwithstanding that his countryman Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, visited him at Rome in the hope of making him declare for the Emperor. He entertained the extravagant project, which could never have entered the head of any one but a monk unacquainted with mankind, of reconciling two jealous and rival princes, and inducing them to unite in a league against the Turks, who were now striking fresh terror into Europe by their conquests. But in order to put this subject in a clearer light before the reader we must revert for a moment to the Turkish history.

We have already recorded the death of Sultan Selim in September 1520. At that event the joy was great in Europe, for his son and successor, Solyman I.[11],—such was the erroneous opinion entertained of one of the greatest and most warlike of the Turkish Sultans,—passed for a mild and peaceable prince, who had neither the disposition nor the talent to carry on his father's plans of conquest. Solyman, who was in his government of Magnesia at the time of Selim's death, immediately hastened to Constantinople, and having no competitor, ascended the throne without opposition or disturbance. He conciliated the Janissaries by slightly increasing their daily pay as well as the donative, while he secured discipline and subordination by some wholesome examples of severity. Ghasali, governor of Syria, was the only one of the

[11] By some writers called Solyman II. But Solyman, son of Bajazet I., is not reckoned among the Turkish Sultans.

Sultan's officers who gave him any trouble, but his attempted insurrection was put down by a total defeat in February 1521, when, having fallen into Solyman's hands, he expiated his treason with his life. This example had its due weight with the Schah Ismaïl, and with Chairbeg, governor of Egypt, who abandoned the rebellion they had contemplated.

The tranquillity of the eastern provinces of his empire enabled Solyman to devote all his attention to the affairs of Europe, and during the whole of his reign the Osmanli power was directed towards the West. Venice, Hungary, and Rhodes were the points which chiefly claimed his attention. The conquest of Rhodes especially was the object nearest to his heart, and with the view of effecting it he desired to be at peace with Venice, in order that his fleet might undertake that enterprise without molestation. He therefore sent an ambassador to Venice to offer a renewal of the treaties which that republic had effected with his father Selim; and as the Venetians on their side were anxious to preserve their commercial privileges in Egypt, they readily listened to his proposals. Solyman would willingly have been at peace with the Hungarians also till the conquest of Rhodes had been effected, but this the relations between the two countries, and the continual border warfare, forbade The Turkish beys near the Hungarian frontier had flown to arms at the news of Selim's death, and had already captured several fortresses. Solyman had, indeed, offered King Louis peace, but on terms incompatible with the honour and independence of Hungary. He required that Louis should acknowledge himself his vassal by paying a yearly tribute; a proposal deemed so insulting by the Hungarian Monarch, that with a barbarian disregard of the law of nations worthy of the Turks themselves, he caused the ambassadors who brought it to be cast into prison and secretly strangled, and their bodies to be thrown into a fish-pond. This act at once determined the course of Solyman. He resolved to obtain possession of Belgrade and the line of the Danube, whence he might at his leisure push his conquests further northwards. With this view a large force was moved in three divisions, the first of which, or left wing, accompanied by Solyman in person, was directed against Sabatz, whilst the centre, or main body, composed of Janissaries and Spahis, marched against Belgrade, and the third division, or right wing, took the direction of Transylvania.

Hungary seemed to offer an easy prey. Her frontier fortresses were badly garrisoned and provisioned; her finances did not permit the hire of mercenaries; the arrière-ban, which was estimated

at 60,000 men, met scantily and slowly, and it was with difficulty that a small army was assembled in the southern provinces. Louis applied for assistance to the Pope, the Venetians, and the Emperor; but though his complaints were everywhere heard with real or affected sympathy, no hand was stretched forth to help him. Leo X. alleged in excuse his empty treasury, and the disturbances in Italy; the Venetians, who had made their peace with the Turk, said that they could do nothing unless all Europe combined in the cause; and the Diet of Worms, in spite of the long and eloquent speech of Hieronymus Balbus, the Hungarian ambassador, was too busy with its own affairs to afford any assistance;—the Imperial army had enough to do to maintain the public peace, and the affairs of Hungary and the Turks were not even mentioned in the recess of the diet.

Under these circumstances the Hungarians could offer but a feeble resistance. Sabatz being taken after an obstinate defence, July 8th, Semlin surrendered without a blow, and a number of smaller fortresses were captured and rased. Belgrade must now have surrendered, even if its fall had not been hastened by cowardice and treachery. The garrison being driven from the town made so heroic a defence in the citadel that Solyman himself began to despair of success; when the Bulgarian mercenaries, alarmed by the blowing up of one of the towers, began to treat with the enemy without the knowledge of the commandant, and offered to surrender on condition of being allowed to withdraw. The offer was accepted; the Turks were admitted on the evening of the 29th of August, when they massacred all the Hungarians, and even some of the Bulgarians: they who escaped were permitted to settle at Constantinople.

Solyman after taking possession of these fortresses, caused them to be repaired and well garrisoned; and he might now have pushed his conquests further northwards if such had been his plan; but his views were centred on the long-projected attack on Rhodes, the preparations for which employed the following winter (1521—1522). On Sept. 10th 1521, Solyman in a letter congratulated Philip de Villers L'Ile-Adam, who had recently been elevated to the Grand-mastership of the Knights of St. John, on his appointment, detailed his Hungarian conquests, and offered peace and friendship. L'Ile-Adam immediately saw the irony of the letter, and replying in the same tone, hastened his preparations for defence.[12]

[12] See Fontanus, *De Bello Rhodio*, in Lonicerus, *Chron. Turcicor.* t. ii.; *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, t. i. p. 89; *Maritime Wars of the Turks*,

The knights of Rhodes had long had complete command of the sea which surrounded their island; they infested the Turkish coasts, interrupted the navigation, and held thousands of Osmanlis in the most oppressive slavery, and their reduction had therefore long been ardently desired by the Turks. In June 1522, the naval armament which had been commenced by Selim passed through the Dardanelles. It consisted of 300 ships with 10,000 chosen troops on board; while an army of 100,000 men assembled at Scutari, at the head of which Solyman himself intended to march to the southern coast of Asia Minor. The knights of Rhodes, like the Hungarians, found none to help them. The Venetians, doubtful at first of the destination of the Turkish armament, despatched a squadron of observation to watch over the safety of Cyprus, but its commander had strict orders to lend no assistance to Rhodes. Solyman, in accordance with the precepts of the Koran, began by addressing a letter to the Grand-Master, declaring war and requiring the surrender of the island (June 1st). L'Ile Adam, on the other hand, had taken measures for the most resolute defence. All the houses in the neighbourhood of the capital were destroyed, lest they should afford shelter to the advancing enemy; strong chains were stretched across the harbour, the defence of which, and of the seven principal forts, was intrusted to the knights according to their division into eight nations; namely, French, English, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, and the Knights of Provence and Auvergne, under their respective grand priors. The Grand-Master himself took up his post on the north side of the town, and directed all the operations.

The Turkish fleet cast anchor in the Bay of Parombolin, several miles from the capital, June 24th. More than a month was spent in preparing for the siege and awaiting the arrival of Solyman, during which succours might easily have been sent. A small force would have sufficed to turn the scale and save the chief bulwark of Christendom, but it was not forthcoming. Towards the end of July, Solyman arrived with his army at the little port of Marmaris, on the Asiatic coast: he immediately crossed over to Rhodes, and pitched his tent on the east side of the town. The first assault was delivered August 1st, without success, and during several weeks the attacks were renewed with the same result. In the course of September some breaches having been effected, and some

translated from the Turkish of Hadj Khalifeh, by Jas. Mitchell, for Orient. Transl. Fund; Tercier, *Mémoire sur la prise de la ville et de l'isle de Rhodes en* 1522, *par Soliman I.*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad des Inscrr.* t. xxvi. p. 728 sqq.; on the general history of the order, Vertot, *Hist. des Chevaliers de Malte.*

of the outworks taken, a general assault was made on the 24th, when the Osmanlis were repulsed with the loss of 15,000 men. Solyman, however, was resolved to leave the island only as a conqueror: he turned the siege into a blockade; and on the 21st of December, the number of the garrison being considerably reduced, and their ammunition exhausted, the Grand-Master found himself obliged to capitulate. The terms obtained were tolerably favourable. The garrison was permitted to march out with their arms; the inhabitants who chose to remain at Rhodes were exempted from taxes for a term of five years, were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and received an assurance that their children should not be seized for Janissaries. Ships were provided for such of the knights as wished to repair to Crete (Candia), for which island most of them, with the Grand-Master, embarked, January 1, 1523. In the following March they proceeded to Naples, whence, at the invitation of the Pope, they repaired to Cività Vecchia, and subsequently took up their abode at Viterbo. Six years later (May 1530) Charles V. presented the island of Malta to the remnant of the order, which became their final resting-place.[13]

Thus fell one of the most practically useful of the religious orders. Its fall appears to have inspired the non-military orders with the desire of supplying its functions, and to have suggested to the Minorites a scheme which is here worth recording only for the light which it throws on the statistics of monachism, and the illustration it affords of the sensation produced by the success of the Turks. In June 1523, the Minorites handed into the Roman Curia a plan for raising an army among the monks, the numbers of which, it was calculated, would exceed half a million men. The Minorite convents alone were reckoned at 40,000; but taking them at 36,000, each of which was to supply only one man, that order alone could bring a like number of men into the field. On the same principle it was calculated that the convents of all the orders, including the Minorites, could furnish 144,000 men! And as each Minorite convent had at least ten parishes attached to it, or in all 360,000 parishes, if these also furnished a man apiece, the result would give a force of 504,000 men.[14] But this proposal was never seriously entertained at Rome.

Adrian attributed the ill-success of his project for a league against the Turks chiefly to the French monarch, who had shown

[13] The adventures of the knights after their expulsion from Rhodes are described in the Letters of L'Ile Adam to his nephew, Marshal Montmorenci. *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, t. i. p. 108, sqq. and p. 132 sqq.

[14] *Ibid.* p. 102, note.

no inclination to respond to his call; and he was further irritated against Francis by discovering that his agents had been attempting to excite an insurrection in Sicily. Under these circumstances he was induced to listen to the persuasions of Lannoy, and to join the party of Charles. In pursuance of his new policy, he endeavoured to detach the Venetians from their league with France, which he feared might induce Francis to undertake another invasion of the Milanese. From other causes the Venetians themselves were growing weary of the French alliance. Their ambassador Badoero had painted to them in strong colours the dissoluteness of Francis and his court, which had weakened and impoverished the nation to an incredible degree; he attributed to the misconduct of the King all the misfortunes with which France had been afflicted, and he hinted his suspicions that a great Prince of the blood royal was about to go over to the enemy. These representations induced the *Signory* to listen to Adrian, who succeeded in concluding what was called the "League of Rome" (August 23rd 1523); an alliance which comprehended the Pope himself, the Emperor, the King of England, the Archduke Ferdinand, Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the Republics of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Siena, and Lucca.

It was, however, one of the redeeming traits in the character of Francis that he could throw off his indolence and rouse himself to exertion when danger threatened. In the face of this formidable league he adopted a resolution so bold that it may even be accounted rash. Instead of standing on the defensive, he determined to strike the first blow, and carry the war into Italy. Francis was aware that the position and compactness of his dominions gave him a great advantage; and it is not impossible that his enterprise might have succeeded had it been speedily and judiciously carried out, and not been disconcerted by an unforeseen accident, which must now be related.

Charles, Count of Montpensier and Duke of Bourbon, was at this time the only formidable vassal of the French crown. He inherited Auvergne and Montpensier from his father Gilbert, third child and second son of John Duke of Bourbon; and on the death, without male heirs, of Peter II. of Bourbon Beaujeu, who was also the grandson of John by his eldest son Charles, the Count of Montpensier claimed the Duchy of Bourbon as sole heir in the male line. Peter II., as we have seen, had married Anne, the daughter of Louis XI. This sovereign had required a promise from Peter, before his marriage, that if he had no male heirs, all his possessions should revert to the French crown[15]; a contin-

[15] Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, liv. vi. ch. 11.

gency which happened, as Peter left only a daughter, Susanna. Louis XII., however, recognised the claims of the house of Montpensier to the Duchy of Bourbon, without altogether rejecting the right of Susanna; and in order to avoid all disputes, he mediated a marriage between her and Charles of Montpensier. Thus the latter united in his own person two duchies, four counties, two viscounties, besides a great number of smaller possessions and titles. He had not only the great central fiefs of the Bourbonnais, Auvergne, and Marche, but also the Beaujolais, the Forez, the Dombes, the wild and rugged mountains of Ardèche, Gien, commanding the Loire; and in the north, Clermont in Beauvaisis. Many of these domains were confiscations, which Louis. XI. imagined he had placed in safe hands; those of his daughter and his son-in-law. In case of the failure of heirs to Francis I., Bourbon cherished even the hope of succeeding to the crown; for although the Alençons possessed a nearer claim, he held that they had forfeited it by a former revolt. Nay, he had even gone so far as to solicit, in such an event, the assistance of the Venetian Republic.[16]

Bourbon had distinguished himself as a soldier. He had accompanied Louis XII. in his expedition against Genoa, and had partaken in the victory gained over the Venetians at Agnadello, in 1509. Soon after the accession of Francis I., he was made Constable of France, and Governor of Languedoc, each of which dignities brought him a revenue of 24,000 livres, in addition to which he received a pension of 14,000 livres as chamberlain, and several smaller ones. These honours and emoluments he is said to have owed to the affection of Louisa, the Queen-mother; and it is even said that a promise of future marriage, pledged by an exchange of rings, had passed between her and Bourbon, in the event of the death of Bourbon's wife, Susanna, whose feeble and sickly constitution promised no great length of years. The services of Bourbon at the battle of Marignano had been so important that Francis rewarded him with the government of the Milanese, which he signalised by the repulse of the Emperor Maximilian. Cold, haughty, and taciturn, the temper of Bourbon, however, was the very reverse of that of Francis, with whom he appears to have been never very cordial; and he was soon removed from the government of Milan, either through the jealousy and envy of the King himself, or by the influence of his mistress, the Countess of Chateaubriand, who procured it for her brother

[16] Badoer, *Relatione di Milano*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 287.

Lautrec. From this time the King seems to have studiously heaped both insults and injuries on Bourbon. His salary, as Governor of the Milanese, was left unpaid; nay, even his expenses were not refunded. In the Flemish campaign of 1521, the command of the van, which fell to the Constable of France by virtue of his office, was taken from him and given to the Duke of Alençon. Nor was he any longer consulted on public affairs. Bourbon, who is said to have often had in his mouth the answer of an old Gascon noble to Charles VII., "Not three kingdoms like yours could make me forsake you, but one insult might," was not a man tamely to submit to this treatment.'

An event which might have healed the breach only resulted in making it wider. Bourbon's wife, Susanna, died April 28th 1521, after having, with the approval of her mother, Anne of France, renewed the disposal of her territories in favour of her husband. Bourbon's marriage with Louisa of Savoy, who at the age of forty-five[17] still retained considerable beauty, might have prevented the misfortunes which ensued: so far, however, from fulfilling that engagement, he openly manifested his desire to espouse Renée, the second daughter of Louis XII., and sister of Queen Claude. This was enough to rouse the pride of Louisa, and incite her to revenge; and, unluckily for Bourbon, she had at her disposal the means of gratifying it. As daughter of Margaret, the sister of Duke Peter II., and wife of Philibert of Savoy, she represented the eldest branch of the Bourbons, but through the female line. It was by no means certain, as we have seen in the case of Susanna, that the duchy was exclusively a male fief. The domains had come into the family through women, and Charles's claim, as sole male heir, was founded on family compacts among the Bourbons, and on the tradition of the Salic law being applicable to all the branches of the reigning house of France. There was, at all events, ample ground for an appeal to law, and Louisa instituted a suit against Charles in the Parliament of Paris: while the King also put in a claim for the confiscated estates which Louis XI. had bestowed upon Duke Peter II. and his consort Anne, as escheated fiefs which reverted to the crown; and he made them over to his mother. The Parliament, however, for the first time, displayed an unwillingness to support the crown against one of its great vassals, and continually adjourned its decision. The King, indeed, in spite of his brilliant qualities, was unpopular with the people, and especially with the magistracy. The concordat, the fiscal oppres-

[17] She says, in her *Journal*, that she was born in 1476.

sions of Duprat, Francis's own violence and disdain of order, had produced this feeling. Bourbon, on the contrary, gave himself out as the leader of the popular party.

Bourbon's cup of bitterness was now full, and forgetting all the duties of patriotism, he resolved to gratify his revenge by leaguing himself with the enemies of his country. It is said that his mother-in-law, Anne of France, who expired Nov. 14th 1522, had exhorted him to this step on her death-bed. She had devoted her last days to his defence, had confirmed her daughter's will in his favour, and had bequeathed to him all her possessions. Bourbon soon after invited Charles to invade France[18]; promising to assist him with 500 men-at-arms, and 10,000 foot, and at the same time demanding one of the Emperor's sisters in marriage; either Eleanor, the dowager-queen of Portugal, or the Lady Catherine.[19] The negociations which ensued soon came to the ears of Francis. Entering unexpectedly one day early in March, when Bourbon had been invited to dine with Queen Claude, the King publicly charged him with his conduct. "'Seigneur,' he exclaimed, 'it is showed us that you be, or shall be married — is it truth?' The Duke said it was not so. The King said that he knew it was so; moreover saying that he would remember it. The Duke answered, and said, 'Sir, then you menace and threaten me — I have deserved no such cause;' and so departed. After dinner the Duke went to his lodgings, and all the noblemen of the court with him."[20]

The negociations, however, went on; and two months afterwards we find Bourbon opening direct communication with Wolsey by a letter from Annecy (May 12th). His proposals to treat were received with avidity by the English Court; and Henry, no doubt, promised himself the same results from Bourbon's treachery as had attended the alliance of Henry V. with the Duke of Burgundy. On May 17th[21], powers were granted to Dr. Sampson and Sir Richard Jerningham to treat with the Emperor and Bourbon on the subject. A principal condition was that Bourbon was to swear homage and fealty to Henry as King of France. Bourbon's treaty with the Emperor was finally concluded, at the end of July or

[18] On this subject see *Négociations entre la France et l'Autriche*, t. ii. p. 589 sqq. (in the *Docum. Inédits*).

[19] See the Emperor's *Instructions* to Beaurain from Valladolid, May 28th 1523; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 306.

[20] *Letter* of Sir Thos. Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, March 8th 1523; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 305, note.

[21] Turner has erroneously May 16th. See Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. xiii. p. 794. Even on the 17th it seems almost incredible haste, as a reply to a letter of the 12th from Annecy.

beginning of August, with M. de Beaurain at Bourg in Bresse; for the Duke had retired into the territories of Savoy, where it was easier to conduct the negociations than in France. Dr. Knight, the English ambassador, had also orders to repair thither in disguise; but as his face was well known on the Continent, he declined so dangerous a mission, and his place was supplied by Sir John Russell.

Some authors have pretended to tell the exact share which each of the three confederates claimed in the division of France after it should have been conquered, but nothing seems to have been settled on this point; and though Henry VIII. demanded to recover all the rights and possessions detained from him by Francis I., Bourbon eluded making any pledge upon the subject; nor would he accept from the Emperor the Order of the Golden Fleece, which would have obliged him to take an oath to Charles V. His hopes may possibly have extended to the Crown of France itself. However this may be, the confederates, though not agreed as to the spoil, readily came to a conclusion as to the means of attack. A powerful English army was to invade Picardy by the 25th of August; by the same period 10,000 lansquenets under Count Furstemberg were to march into Burgundy, where they were to be joined by Bourbon with his vassals and retainers, and the united force was to form a junction with the English. In addition to all this, a Spanish army was to invade the south of France.

These arrangements were punctually executed by the Emperor and the King of England. Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, with the English van, landed at Calais August 23rd; whilst early in September, the Spaniards commenced the campaign in the Pyrenees. The co-operation of Bourbon, however, was prevented by an unforeseen accident. The French army destined for the invasion of Italy was assembling in great numbers, and as their route lay through the territories of Bourbon, it was impossible for him to move till their columns should have passed. Francis himself was detained at Lyons, waiting an answer to some proposals which he had sent to the Swiss and the Venetians; and during this interval, intelligence reached him of Bourbon's conspiracy. The secret appears to have been revealed by two Norman gentlemen, whom the Duke had attempted to corrupt, and to induce them to admit the English into Normandy. Francis's first impulse was to conciliate his rebellious vassal. The suit against Bourbon had not proceeded satisfactorily. The Parliament of Paris, which was to have pronounced its judgment on the 1st of August, instead of doing so, declared itself incompetent, and referred the cause to the King's

Council; in other words, it intimated that it was not free, and did not choose to be responsible.[22] What should Francis do? Bonnivet, with the French van, was waiting for him on the other side of the Alps; the Italian expedition could not be abandoned, nor could so dangerous a subject as Bourbon be left behind. In this dilemma, Francis, early in September, proceeded with an escort of German mercenaries direct to Bourbon's residence at Moulins, told him frankly all that he had heard, promised that his estates should be restored, and offered him the post of Lieutenant-General of France, but on condition that he should accompany the army into Italy. Bourbon on his side confessed that overtures had been made to him, but protested that he had never listened to them. He could not refuse the King's offer, who then departed, leaving a gentleman named Uvarty to accompany the Duke; that is, to watch his movements. But Francis's offers, even if sincere, came too late. Bourbon felt that he had compromised himself beyond redemption, and had no idea of joining the King. To gain time he feigned sickness; then after a few days he set forwards slowly for Lyon, but at La Palisse gave Uvarty the slip, and hastened to his castle of Chantelles, on the borders of Bourbonnais and Auvergne; whence he wrote a humble and supplicating letter to the King (Sept. 13th), which, however, seems never to have reached its destination.

No sooner was Bourbon's flight to Chantelles known, than several companies of men-at-arms were despatched to arrest him. Having no means of resisting a siege, and hearing that several of his accomplices had been taken, the Duke fled (Sept. 10th), in the disguise of a valet, with only one companion, the Sieur de Pompérant, who assumed the dress and equipment of an archer; and, after many hair-breadth escapes they succeeded in joining the lansquenets who had invaded the eastern frontier. That corps, however, was already routed.

When Bourbon found that his contemplated insurrection was impeded by the presence of the King and his army, he had written to his confederates to delay their operations; but his letters arrived too late. The English army, as we have said, had already landed at Calais. Francis had hoped to divert, or at least to weaken, the English invasion by stirring up the Scots to molest the English border; but the arrival of the Duke of Albany in Scotland, who was despatched for that purpose, was so long delayed by the vigilance of the English fleet under Sir William Fitzwilliam as to

[22] Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 41.

be of no service. Suffolk was joined early in September by the Count de Buren with the Imperial army in the Netherlands, but waited in vain for the arrival of Bourbon with his forces and the 10,000 lansquenets who were to have joined him. Under these circumstances the English commander, as the season was advancing, wished to confine his operations to the siege of Boulogne, a place which Henry was very desirous of taking, and which Admiral Fitzwilliam had been prevented from attacking only by boisterous weather. Count Buren, however, at length persuaded Suffolk to advance into the interior. Suffolk advised that the soldiers should be restrained from plunder and devastation, and that the French should be gained by proclaiming liberty: a step, however, which Henry partly disapproved, thinking that if the troops were deprived of the hope of spoil, "their captains shall have much ado to keep them from crying, Home! Home!"[23] The allied army, after routing Tremouille near Bray on the Somme, forcing the passage of the river and taking that town (October 20th), pursued their march towards Paris, and reached the Oise, within eleven leagues of that metropolis. Paris trembled. Henry fancied the Crown of France already on his brow. But Suffolk was forced to retreat, in the midst of his success, by the approach of Vendôme, the desertion of some of his allies, and a season of unprecedented rigour; and by the middle of December he got safely back to Calais.

In the south, the Spaniards were equally unsuccessful. They had advanced as far as Bayonne, when they were repulsed by Lautrec, and compelled to retreat; a check, however, which was in some degree compensated by the recovery of Fuentarabia, disgracefully surrendered by the French commandant Frauget. In the east, the 10,000 lansquenets under Count Furstemberg had passed the Rhine (August 26th), traversed Franche Comté, entered Champagne near Langres, and penetrated as far as Montéclair on the Marne; where, disappointed of the expected assistance from Bourbon, and having no cavalry, they were terribly harassed by the *gens d'armes* of the Count de Guise and M. d'Orval, the governors of Champagne and Burgundy, and compelled to a precipitate flight. It was with difficulty that Furstemberg regained the Vosges mountains; his rear guard was nearly destroyed in attempting to recross the Meuse near Neufchâteau, whilst the ladies of the Court of Lorraine clapped their hands as they beheld this feat of arms from the walls of the town. It was during this

[23] More to Wolsey, Sept. 20th; *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 139.

retreat of the lansquenets that their path was crossed by the Duke of Bourbon, who was flying into Germany accompanied by about sixty gentlemen. Francis sent a message after him demanding his sword and the ribbon of his order. "The ribbon," replied Bourbon, "I left under my pillow at Chantelles; the King took my sword when he gave the command of the van at Valenciennes to the Duke of Alençon."[24] Having declined an invitation into England from Wolsey, he succeeded in getting safely into Germany, whence he passed through the Tyrol to Mantua, whose Marquis was his maternal uncle.

Instead of five or six provinces and a great party, Bourbon could now offer Charles only his talents, his valour, and his despair. He soon perceived that the ardour of friendship was gradually succeeded, in the conduct of the Emperor, by the coldness of protection, and he felt that he could not press for the completion of the treaty and the hand of Eleanor till he had achieved something that might deserve that honour. On the 16th of January, 1524, he was declared a traitor by Francis; his estates were confiscated, and the coat of arms upon his palace wall was besmeared with saffron in token of his disgrace. Several of his adherents were sentenced to death. Among them was Jean de Vallier, Count of Poitiers, whose treason was the more unpardonable as he was captain of the 200 gentlemen composing the *maison du roi*, or King's body-guard. Such was Francis's indignation when informed of De Vallier's crime that he could scarce refrain from killing him with his own hand. Yet he was saved by a passion to which Francis was more sensible than to revenge. It was De Vallier's son-in-law, De Brézé, Grand-Seneschal of Normandy, who had procured the revelation of the plot by the Norman gentlemen: De Brézé's wife, the lovely and insinuating Diana de Poitiers, knew how to make the most of this service with the King in favour of her father, and to establish at the same time her own influence at court.

The discovery of so alarming a conspiracy, the extent of which was unknown, caused Francis to give up all idea of leading his army in person. Nevertheless the expedition was not abandoned. The French army assembled at Susa numbered 40,000 men, and the condition of the enemy might have afforded an able general a good chance of success; but Bonnivet, to whom the command was intrusted, though a great favourite at court, had little military talent. Prosper Colonna, the Imperial commander-in-chief, was laid up by a severe attack of illness; Pescara was in Spain; and

[24] Gaillard, *Hist. de François I.* t. iii. p. 90.

the Marquis of Mantua, the Papal general, was determined not to advance beyond Parma. The Duke of Urbino, the Venetian general, was instructed to avoid a battle, as a defeat might have endangered all the Italian possessions of Venice. By a *coup de main* Bonnivet might have seized Milan, the fortifications of which were in a dilapidated condition; but Francis, aware of his impetuous temper, had exhorted him to be cautious, and he now fell into the opposite fault. The season was wasted in petty operations; Italy, like France, was visited with an early and rigorous winter, and the approach of the army of the league obliged Bonnivet to take up his winter quarters between the Ticinello and Tessino.[25]

During the progress of this campaign Pope Adrian VI. expired after a short illness (September 14th 1523). The joy of the Romans at this event was unbounded, and was expressed with all the malicious wit for which they were famed. On the night after Adrian's death the house of Macerata, his physician, was adorned with garlands, and the following inscription was placed over his door: "The Roman Senate and People to the deliverer of his country." In the conclave which assembled October 21st, a hard struggle for the vacant dignity ensued between the two chief candidates, the Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Pompey Colonna; the former of whom was elected (November 18th), and assumed the name of Clement VII. The Emperor again supported Wolsey, but very lukewarmly; it is even supposed that, from the occurrences of the campaign in France, Charles had begun to suspect him of being in the interests of Francis. Wolsey's name was proposed, but immediately rejected, in spite of the instructions to the English ambassadors to spare no promises of promotion, as well as of large sums of money, which, it was thought, would at least be successful with the younger cardinals, for the most part needy men.[26] But Wolsey was unpopular with the Holy College. Henry VIII. appears to have given his ambassador at Rome double instructions, and to have been resigned to accept Cardinal de' Medici as Pope in case Wolsey were not elected.[27] Wolsey did not again forgive the Emperor, although he procured the cardinal to be named legate *à latere* in England for life, with extraordinary powers.

The election of Clement gave universal satisfaction. Few pontiffs

[25] Capella is the great authority for this Italian campaign; the other writers, even Du Bellay, do little more than copy him. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 296, note.

[26] Wolsey's *Despatch* to the English ambassadors at Rome, in Burnet, *Hist. of Reform.* vol. ii. pt. ii. *Records*, No. 48.; and in Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 83 sqq.

[27] *Letter* of Bradford, ap. Pichot, *Charles Quint*, p. 49. The Emperor's *autograph letter* to Wolsey from Pampeluna, Dec. 16th 1523, assuring him that he had written to Rome, MS., ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 224.

had ascended the chair with a higher reputation for administrative ability, besides which he was known to be a generous patron of literature and art; and he was himself not only very well informed in theology and philosophy, but also in questions of practical science. He avoided the errors of his two predecessors — the prodigality and indecorous habits of his relative Leo, and the repugnancy which Adrian had manifested to the tastes of his court. The illegitimacy of Clement's birth, by which he was canonically disqualified for any ecclesiastical dignity, had been fraudulently got over by Leo X.; who, at the time when he made his relative a cardinal, subborned witnesses to testify that his father and mother had been united in wedlock. The only other remaining descendants of Cosmo the Great were also illegitimate: Clement's cousin, Hippolytus, and his nephew Alexander; to the former of whom the new Pope now provisionally intrusted the government of Florence.

The war was renewed in Italy early in the spring of 1524. The Imperialists had lost their best general by the death of Colonna, December 30th; a commander whose skill and caution, which left nothing to chance, procured him the name of the Italian Fabius, and made him the most formidable opponent of French impetuosity. Bourbon, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Emperor, and a command superior to that of Lannoy and Pescara, joined the Imperial army at Milan with 6000 lansquenets. Bonnivet was out-manœuvred by Pescara, who got into his rear and obliged him to shut himself up in Novara. A body of 10,000 Swiss, who had crossed the St. Gothard and advanced as far as Gattinara on the Sesia, seeing the French caught as it were in a trap, declined to partake in their misfortunes, but offered to do what they could to facilitate their escape, to which indeed all Bonnivet's views were now confined. Towards the end of April he succeeded in forming a junction with the Swiss, and then directed his march towards Ivrea, intending to get into France by the Bas Valais. A march of thirty miles would have placed him in safety, but this short retreat proved most disastrous. Pescara and Bourbon, having forced the passage of the Sesia at Romagnano, hung upon and harassed the retreating columns. Bonnivet, who had placed himself in the rear, was wounded and obliged to retire; Vandenesse, who succeeded him, shared the same fate. But the greatest misfortune of that day was the death of the brave, humane, and generous Bayard, who having in turn assumed the command, was struck by a ball which broke his spine (April 30th 1524). Being placed against a tree, Bayard yielded his last breath among his pursuing enemies, if such a term can be applied to men who admired his virtues as much as

the French did themselves. The Imperial generals caused two solemn masses to be performed for him, and then sent his remains into France to be interred at Grenoble, his native town. On the arrival of the body in Dauphiné it was escorted by the whole population of the places through which it passed, till it reached its final resting-place.[28]

A desperate charge of a body of Swiss, in which, however, they all fell victims, arrested for a while the pursuit of the Imperialists, and enabled the French army, under the conduct of St. Pol, to gain Ivrea in safety. Hence, they crossed the St. Bernard, to the foot of which they had been pursued, and reached France without further molestation. Bourbon now obtained the Emperor's permission to invade France, expecting that his presence would be the signal for insurrection; a step taken against the advice of Charles's wisest counsellors, and contrary to the wishes of the Pope and the Italian states, who therefore remained neutral. But the league against France was renewed by the Emperor, his brother Ferdinand, Henry VIII., and the Duke of Bourbon; and it was arranged that Bourbon should invade France from the Alps; that the Emperor should make a second attack on the side of the Pyrenees; and that Henry VIII. should send Bourbon 100,000 ducats with which to begin the campaign, and either continue this subsidy monthly or, after Bourbon had obtained some marked success, make a descent on Picardy in order to co-operate with the Imperial army in the Netherlands. Wolsey, however, insisted, before advancing a ducat, that Bourbon should swear fealty to Henry VIII. as "King of France and England," to which the Duke reluctantly consented. He took the oath in presence of Lannoy, the Viceroy of Naples, and of Beaurain and Pace, the Imperial and English envoys; but he refused to do homage to Henry, on the ground that it was inconsistent with the sovereign rights of his own duchy.[29] He was promised the county of Provence, which, together with his own domains, and Lyon and Dauphiné was to be erected into a kingdom.[30]

[28] The highly dramatic scene related by Martin du Bellay of Bayard's dying interview with Bourbon, whom he reproached with his treachery, though retained by the two most recent historians of France (Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 218; Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 51), rests not on good authority. The interview is not mentioned in the Life of Bayard; and the Italian authorities, instead of representing the good knight as censuring Bourbon, make him, on the contrary, complain of the King's injustice towards him, and of the disorders which prevailed in the French Government. See Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 297. Bayard's Life was written by an anonymous follower who called himself *Le loyal Serviteur*.

[29] Herbert's *Henry VIII.* (in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 61); Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 361.

[30] Bourbon assumed the title of Count of Provence in his safe-conducts. Note of Lalanne to *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 211.

The army of invasion, consisting of about 18,000 men, was under the joint command of Bourbon and Pescara: Lannoy was to follow with the reserve. The Imperialists entered Provence by the Corniche road, crossing the Var at St. Laurent, July 7th 1524. Here they were delayed some days through the neglect of Lannoy in not forwarding the cavalry; a step attributed to the Viceroy's jealousy of Bourbon, who had been placed over his head. Bourbon wished to march on Avignon and Lyons where he would have had most chance of support from his friends and vassals: but this plan was overruled by Pescara. The Emperor instructed the generals to lay siege to Marseilles, the possession of which would have always secured him an easy entrance into France. Several of the most considerable towns of Provence, including Aix the capital, surrendered in a few weeks, and on August 19th, Marseilles was invested. But Bourbon had miscalculated the temper of the French. Instead of flocking to his standard, his invasion only incited them to display their loyalty to Francis, who was enabled to raise large contributions for the defence of his kingdom. There was no possibility of blockading Marseilles by sea. The French galleys, under La Fayette and the Genoese refugee Andrew Doria, had beaten the Spanish fleet under Hugo de Moncada. On the land side the town was obstinately defended by Renzo da Ceri and Philip Chabot, while the approach of Francis with a large army threatened to place the besiegers in jeopardy. Pescara, remarkable by his peculiar dress, consisting of a scarlet under-suit, over which he wore a black jacket without arms, and on his head a hat resembling that of the lansquenets, but with large waving plumes, had distinguished himself amongst the foremost of the skirmishers. He appears, however, to have received some private information respecting the formidable means of defence within the town; and suddenly changing his mind respecting the success of the enterprise, he entered the tent where Bourbon was consulting with his officers, and without even deigning to salute the Duke, exclaimed: "Gentlemen, those who are in a hurry to go to Paradise can remain; for myself, I shall return. We have left Italy denuded of troops, and our retreat may be cut off. Trust me, there is nothing left for it but to decamp." After a general assault on the evening of the 24th of September, Bourbon found himself compelled to adopt the counsel of his rival, who was supported by Zollern and Lodron, the commanders of the German contingent. Bourbon had, in fact, been neglected, and in some degree betrayed. The invasion of Picardy was never executed; and though Sir John Russell brought him 20,000*l.*, the stipulated payments had not been regularly made,

so that his troops had begun to mutiny for want of pay. Henry, or rather Wolsey, was apprehensive that England would be left in the lurch by the Emperor; while Charles on his side ascribed the failure of the enterprise to the double dealing of Wolsey. Bourbon began his retreat on the 28th September, and reached Monaco on the 8th of October.

The enemy had escaped; but Francis was unwilling that his brilliant army, amounting to 30,000 men, including 14,000 Swiss and 1500 men-at-arms, should separate without striking a blow: and in spite of the approaching winter he resolved to cross the Alps, hoping by so unexpected an enterprise to recover the Milanese. Another motive is said to have been a desire to see a certain Signora Clarissa of Milan, whose charms he had heard much vaunted. His queen Claude, a simple pious and modest lady, whom he treated with great neglect, had died, July 25th, it is said of a disgraceful malady communicated by her profligate husband. All the persuasions of his mother were unable to detain Francis, and it was not till he had reached Pignerol, on the other side of the Alps, that he published an ordinance appointing Louisa regent.[31]

The dispirited remains of the Imperial army, even when joined by Lannoy with the reserve, were incapable of making head against the fresh and well-appointed forces of Francis, which arrived at Vercelli on the same day that the Imperialists reached Alba in the Montferrat. The latter therefore resolved to shut themselves up in the fortified towns, and to exhaust the French by sieges. Francis Sforza evacuated Milan on the approach of the King; the castle, however, was still held by a garrison of 700 Spaniards; and as the flatterers of Francis persuaded him that it was beneath the dignity of a King of France to enter Milan before the citadel had surrendered, he sat down before Pavia, and allowed the Imperialists to fortify themselves on the Oglio and the Adda. Although Pavia was ill-fortified, an attempt to take it by assault was repulsed with great loss by the commandant, Antonio de Leyva, and the siege was converted into a blockade.

Lodged in a fine old Lombard abbey, which he sometimes exchanged for Mirabella, an ancient villa belonging to the Dukes of Milan, situated in the midst of an extensive park, Francis seems to have spent the winter agreeably enough, abandoning himself to pleasures which were rarely interrupted by any serious business. His affairs seemed now to be more flourishing than those of his

[31] Isambert, *Anciennes Lois Franç.* t. xii. p. 230. "The French king before he had of his own mind passed into Italy." More to Wolsey, Nov. 29th wrote and boasted unto his mother that 1524; *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 152.

adversaries. The Imperial army was almost disorganized, was ill paid and afflicted with sickness, while his own was well supplied and continually recruited. In spite of his vast dominions the Emperor found it difficult to raise pay for his troops, though they only amounted to about 16,000 men. Henry VIII., influenced apparently by the disgust of Wolsey at the loss of the tiara, and occupied with the affairs of Scotland, evaded his engagement to pay 100,000 ducats monthly or to invade Picardy: nay, he even demanded back the money which he had advanced to the Imperialists. The Italians were either cold or disaffected to the Imperial cause. Clement, who, agreeably to the hereditary policy of the House of Medici, was not displeased to see Francis in possession of the Milanese, as a counterpoise to the power of Charles in the south, disguising his political views under the cloak of the common father of the faithful, proposed to mediate a general truce of five years; and when that proposition was rejected both by the French and the Imperialists, he demanded that his own neutrality and that of Florence should be respected; but under this cloak he sent his minister Giberto to negociate a secret treaty with the French King.[32] He also engaged Francis to support his family at Florence. Giberto negociated at the same time for the Venetians, who now regretted their rupture with their ancient allies the French; and these negociations were confirmed by the Venetian senate in January 1525. Clement's best counsellors advised him to march an army to the Po, to unite it with that of the Venetians, and thus to cause the neutrality of the two most powerful states of Italy to be respected; but with all his political ability, the feebleness and irresolution of Clement's character prevented him from taking so bold a step.

The favourable prospects which now opened upon Francis were, however, to be destroyed by his own rashness. Elated with his rapid success, he not only sent the Marquis of Saluzzo to seize Genoa, but, as the pacification with the Pope opened a passage through the States of the Church, he also deemed it possible to grasp the long-coveted possession of Naples, and with a fatal imprudence still further dismembered his army by dispatching the Duke of Albany and Renzo da Ceri with 8000 foot and a numerous cavalry towards the south. At this news the French party in Naples showed symptoms of revolt, and the council in

[32] The treaty is not extant in an authentic shape, though some of the chief particulars were afterwards communicated by the Pope to the Archduke Ferdinand, and have been recorded by Spalatin in his *Annales*. Apud Mencke, *SS. Rer. Germ.* t. ii. p. 641.

alarm wrote to the Viceroy Lannoy to return with his army. Lannoy would have obeyed this summons had not Pescara, with the cool and penetrating judgment of a true general, pointed out that Naples must be defended at Pavia; that a single reverse of Francis would suffice to make Albany evacuate that kingdom; whilst on the other hand no victory at Naples could terminate the war in Lombardy. Early in January 1525, Albany marched into Tuscany unopposed, where he was reinforced with 3000 infantry. When he entered the Papal States, Clement published the treaty of neutrality which he had hitherto kept secret, complained of the march of the French, and represented himself as forced.

Meanwhile Bourbon, who had gone into Germany to procure reinforcements, returned with about 12,000 men, whom he had levied with the assistance of the Archduke Ferdinand, and with whom he joined Lannoy and Pescara at Lodi. About half of these men were volunteers, led by the celebrated George Frunsberg. Bourbon had borrowed the necessary money from the Duke of Savoy, chiefly through the aid of the Duchess, whose sister, Beatrix of Portugal, was about to be married to Charles V. The Duke himself, however, had not much reluctance to assist the Emperor against his nephew the King of France, whose alliance was very burthensome to him. Pescara determined to seize the advantage offered by these reinforcements. Breaking up from Lodi, January 25th 1525, he directed his march on Marignano, as if to threaten Milan; but instead of proceeding thither turned to the left and approached Pavia. Francis was now advised by his best generals to raise the seige of Pavia and to take up a position between that place and Milan; but Bonnivet, who enjoyed his entire confidence, counselled him to remain, and represented to him the shame of flying before the traitor Bourbon. The French army was indeed strongly posted in a fortified camp in the park of Mirabella, on the west bank of the Ticino, where it issues from Pavia. Pescara slowly approached that town, and on the 3rd of February took up a position at St. Justina, within a mile of the French outposts. The Vernacula, a small but deep river, flowed between the hostile armies, and secured each from an unexpected attack. The French camp appeared too strong to be assaulted, and Pescara therefore endeavoured to wear out the enemy by a series of petty skirmishes, in the hope of bringing on a general engagement; for his troops had neither provisions, clothes, nor money; the weather was wet and cold, the men began to perish, and were, in short, in such extreme necessity as could no longer be endured. Not succeeding, however, in this object, he determined on what was called a

camisade[33] or nocturnal surprise. The garrison of Pavia was to support the attack, and form a junction with Pescara at the farm-house or dairy in the middle of the park. A body of 2000 Germans and 1000 Spaniards, appointed to execute the *camisade*, began to make a breach in the park wall about midnight (February 23rd); but the wall proved stronger than was expected, and day began to dawn before their labour was completed. The appearance of these men in the park, however, had the effect of drawing the French from their position. The combat which ensued is variously described by different authors, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to the relation of some of the main incidents. The French artillery began to play on the troops who were entering the park, causing them great damage, till Francis himself charging the enemy with some of his *gens d'armes*, compelled his artillerymen to suspend their fire lest they should hit the King. This injudicious step on the part of Francis was of great moment in turning the fortune of the day; although he displayed great personal valour, and killed with his own hand a knight said to have been Ferdinand Castriot, Marquis of St. Angelo, the last descendant of Scanderbeg.[34] The Germans under Frunsberg were now coming up, and as the French also observed the garrison of Pavia advancing in their rear, they gave themselves up for lost, and began to fly. Even the Swiss did not maintain their ground with their usual firmness, but joined the flight, on seeing their leader John von Diesbach fall. The Duke of Alençon, the King's brother-in-law, who commanded the rear-guard, also fled, leaving the King to his fate. Francis hastened after the Swiss, and endeavoured to rally them, but was carried away by the retreating mass. The particulars of his capture are differently related. The German authors say that his horse was stabbed by Nicholas von Salm, which caused Francis to fall, and he was obliged to surrender himself to Lannoy, who chanced to be near. The French and Italian writers describe him as having been met in his flight by four Spanish fusileers, one of whom brought down his horse by a blow on the head with the butt end of his arquebuse. Francis rolled under his horse into a ditch; when two Spanish light horsemen coming up, and perceiving from the prisoner's dress, and from the order of St. Michael, with which he was decorated, that he must be a person of impor-

[33] So called because the soldiers who executed it wore a white shirt, or *camise*, over their armour, in order to distinguish one another.

[34] Ferronus, *De reb. gest. Gall.* p. 195 (ed. 1555). "S. M^ta. (Francis) mette in cielo il Marchese di S. Angelo, quale ella ammazzò con le sue mani."—*Letter* of Luzascho to Marquis of Mantua from Pizzighettone, Mar. 2nd 1525, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* Anhang, B. v. S. 164.

tance, threatened the fusileers that they would kill him unless they were admitted to share the ransom. Fortunately Pompérant, the companion of Bourbon's flight, coming up at this juncture, recognised the King's person, and entreated him to surrender to the Duke, which Francis indignantly refused, and called for Lannoy, who arrived in time to save his life. Lannoy received the King's sword and gave him his own. The battle had not lasted two hours; but it was a fatal one for France. Bonnivet, when he saw that all was lost, and through his fault, charged into the thickest of the fight, and found the death he sought. Besides him fell La Palisse, the Marshal de Chabannes, Lescun, the Marshal de Foix, Bussy d'Amboise, the aged Tremouille, De la Pole[35], Duke of Suffolk, the York pretender to the crown of England, who was fighting in the French ranks, and other persons of distinction. Among the prisoners were Henry d'Albret, the young King of Navarre, Marshal Anne de Montmorenci, Fleuranges, the Count of St. Pol, the bastard of Savoy, and others. The loss of the French was estimated at 8000 men, that of the Imperialists at only 700. On the very same day the remnant of the French army began a precipitate retreat, which was not molested by the Imperialists, and within a fortnight not a man of it was left in Italy.[36]

After Francis's wounds had been dressed in the tent of the Marquis of Guasto, he was at his own express desire conducted to a neighbouring convent, instead of the town of Pavia. On the road he recovered all his cheerfulness, laughing and joking with the Spanish soldiers, whose words he caused to be translated to him. Thence he was carried to Pizzighettone, where, though treated with every mark of respect, he was kept under a strict guard. According to Ferron, Bourbon had an interview with him at that place, when the King, not only received his rebellious vassal graciously, but even invited him to dinner with the rest of the generals.[37] From Pizzighettone Francis addressed a long, rambling

[35] Richard de la Pole, second son of Edward IV.'s sister, and brother of Edmond de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, beheaded by Henry VIII. in 1513. Richard de la Pole adopted his brother's claims to the English crown, as representative of the House of York, whence he was familiarly designated as "White Rose." He had been frequently used by the French as a rallying point for fomenting sedition in England. See Turner's *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 158 sqq.

[36] The battle of Pavia is described by the usual historians of this period, but it may be remarked, that the account of Jovius in his *Vita Pescari* differs remarkably from that of Guicciardini, who followed Capella. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 310 ff. Francis, while in prison, wrote a poetical epistle in which he describes the battle. It is published by M. Champollion-Figeac, in the *Captivité de François I.* p. 114 sqq. (*Documens inédits.*)

[37] *De Reb. gest. Gall.* p. 197 b.

epistle to the Emperor, couched in terms sufficiently humble.[38] The celebrated laconic letter to his mother, "Madam, all is lost, except honour," is a literary invention. Francis by no means possessed so pregnant a style. The *real* letter, which is tolerably long, contains, however, a phrase from which the sublime of brevity has been extracted.[39]

[38] In this letter he sues for *pity*, puts his whole trust in the *goodness* of Charles, three times calls himself the Emperor's *slave*, &c. See *Captivité du Roi François I.* in the *Documens Inédits*, p. 130; *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, *Ibid.* t. i. p. 266 sq.

[39] "Madame, pour vous faire savoir comment se porte le reste (or le ressort) de mon infortune, de toutes choses ne m'est demeuré que l'honneur *et la vie*, qui est sauve," &c. The letter will be found in Gaillard, *Hist. de François I.* t. iii. App.; Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 67. Hall has given a translation of it in his *Chronicle*, p. 693.

CHAPTER V.

THE Emperor, who was at Madrid when the battle of Pavia was fought, received the news of his extraordinary and unexpected success with great apparent moderation. When a victory was announced, he seemed for a moment to be overwhelmed with astonishment, and could only repeat the words of the messenger—"The battle won for me! The King of France in my power!" He then retired into his bed-room, and falling on his knees before an image of the Virgin, poured out his feelings in prayer.[1] He forbade all public rejoicings, and received the compliments addressed to him with so humble a deportment as to incur the charge of hypocrisy: nor can it indeed be doubted that he concealed his real sentiments. Yet this dissimulation was not perhaps altogether unbecoming a great prince in such circumstances: and had he celebrated his victory with noisy demonstrations of gladness, he would most probably have been charged with insolence and want of feeling. So hard is it for one placed in his position to avoid all occasion for censure!

In France, on the other hand, the intelligence of the King's disaster struck the people with consternation. The Parliament of Paris immediately assembled; the Archbishop of Aix and the principal magistrates met to consult about the safety of the capital; and the old Duke of Montmorency, whose two sons had fought at Pavia, was summoned to take the command. It seemed as if the enemy was already at the gates. Of these, all but five were closed, and those left open were constantly guarded by counsellors of the Parliament assisted by some of the principal citizens. Chains were stretched across the Seine, and others were prepared to be thrown across the streets. Similar precautions were adopted in all the considerable towns of France, even in those the most remote from danger; as, for instance, Poitiers. Normandy, at the northern extremity of France, levied 500 lances and 8000 foot for the defence of the province.[2] These alarms show how completely the King

[1] Sanuto, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 316. Charles's moderation on receipt of the news is also attested by Dr. Sampson in a letter to Wolsey. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 422.

[2] *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 233.

was then identified with the State. With the exception of his capture, France had suffered many as disastrous a defeat. An army of 20,000 men had been routed, and 8000 slain; but of these not more than an eighth were French.[3] Yet, though the consternation was extravagant, the danger was menacing enough. Many of the foremost men and best generals of France had fallen. The kingdom, which seemed to be in the throes of a financial crisis, was thrown into the hands of a woman. Of the three chief princes of the blood, Bourbon, the first, was an avowed and open traitor; the Duke of Alençon, the second, had covered himself with disgrace at Pavia, and soon afterwards died of shame and vexation; whilst the third, Vendôme, who as governor of Picardy commanded the army which lay nearest to Paris, was at variance with the regent Louisa, and even suspected of corresponding with Bourbon. The administration of Louisa and Duprat had excited deep and universal discontent: they were even denounced from the pulpits, and anonymous handbills proclaimed them the authors of all the misfortunes of France. The peasant war of Germany, which had spread to Lorraine, was another element of danger. Here, however, the *rustauds* were put down by the promptitude and energy of Claude Count of Guise, who held the command in Champagne and Burgundy. Claude, the father of those Guises who will in the sequel occupy so much of our attention, was the second son of Rainer II. Duke of Lorraine, on whose death he received Aumale, Mayenne, Guise, Joinville, and Elbœuf. His elder brother Antony, succeeded in Lorraine, a younger one had fallen at Pavia. For his services in the peasant war Claude was subsequently rewarded by the erection of his county into a *duché-pairie;* an honour, at that time, unprecedented for one not of royal blood.[4]

At this critical juncture, Vendôme, feeling the necessity of union, magnanimously forgot his causes of complaint, and leaving his government in the hands of Brienne, joined the queen-mother, who was then at Lyons; whither Guise and Lautrec, the latter of whom was now Governor of Guienne and Languedoc, also repaired. The Parliament of Paris seized the opportunity of these alarms to present to the regent a long list of grievances, demanding in particular the re-establishment of the Pragmatic Sanction; and they added a remonstrance, in which these learned lawyers attributed all the misfortunes of the kingdom to the Lutheran heresy, and demanded the extermination of those who were tainted with it. Of all their demands, this was the only one that could

[3] Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xi. p. 310.

[4] Gaillard, t. iii. p. 285.

be granted without inconvenience. Jaques Pavanes, an inoffensive man of letters, and shortly afterwards another Lutheran, called the Hermit of Livry, were burnt at Paris with great solemnity. These were some of the first religious martyrs in France.[5]

Amid the disasters of the French monarchy, a gleam of hope appeared in a quarter where it might have been least expected. The policy of England, so momentous in this crisis of the fortunes of France, seemed to be undergoing, with regard to that country, a favourable change, which has been commonly ascribed to the alarm of Henry VIII. at the Emperor's unexpected success having seriously endangered the balance of power in Europe.[6] Henry has at once received the credit of rescuing Europe from the grasp of universal monarchy by his enlightened policy, and of stretching forth his hand with romantic generosity to raise a fallen foe. How much either his head or his heart deserved these praises will appear as well from a few preliminary reflections as from a plain narrative of the facts.

Let us remember, then, that Henry's policy for some time past, had been wholly built on the anticipation of the Emperor's success and consequent annihilation of the French monarchy. What other object could he have proposed to himself in his recent league with Charles and Bourbon? The result of that league, had it been successful, would have been the partition of France,— the blotting of it out, as an integral kingdom, from the map of Europe. If, as some historians suppose, Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, till he was startled into them by the victory of Pavia, we must not only divest him of all political wisdom and foresight, but even of common sense.[7] This supposition is not even a probable account of the English change of policy; but what is more, it is contradicted by facts. Not only had the alteration begun *before* the battle of Pavia, but after that event, the former line of policy would have been reverted to by Henry could he have made the Emperor acquiesce in all his caprices and demands. If Henry felt any pride in holding the balance of European power, it was only as the stakeholder between two powerful monarchs,

[5] The year before Jean Le Clerc had been burnt for heresy at Metz. He was the protomartyr of France. *Hist. des Eglises Réf.* t. i. p. 6.

[6] See Hume's *Hist. of England*, ch. xxix. (vol. iv. p. 59); Robertson's *Charles V.* bk. iv. (vol. ii. p. 301). "La France et l'Europe doivent tenir compte à la mémoire de Henri VIII. d'une décision de si grand sens et de si grande conséquence."—Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 72.

[7] "But as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, he was startled at this important event (the victory of Pavia), and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles."—Hume, *loc. cit.* Compare Robertson.

who emulously courted his favour; whilst at the same time he kept a watchful eye on the political advantages which he might reap from their quarrels.

There is only one theory that will reasonably account for the policy of the English Court at this juncture — Wolsey's ill-will against the Emperor at being disappointed of the Papal crown. The very inconsistency of this policy, which has puzzled more than one historian, betraying, as it does, all the hesitation of a man who, at the instigation of malignity, employs himself in unravelling the web he has long been weaving, and which his better judgment still approves, brands it as the result, not of statecraft, but of passion. The circumstances admit of no other conclusion.

Long before the battle of Pavia, Wolsey began to show his distrust of Charles. He had instructed his agents, Pace and Russell, to watch what was passing between him and Francis, and to be careful how they parted with the money sent to them. An instance of Wolsey's duplicity still more marked, is his having opened, in the latter part of the year 1524, secret negociations with Louisa, the French regent, whose envoy, John Joachim Passano, Seigneur de Vaux, a Genoese merchant, was privately lodged at Blackfriars. In January, 1525, after Passano had been in England some months, he was joined by Brinon, Chancellor of Alençon, and President of Rouen, and Wolsey had continual, but secret, intercourse with them.[8] De Praet, the Imperial Ambassador at London, got scent, however, of these negociations, and communicated them to his master; at the same time stating that Henry would contribute nothing to the defence of Italy. Wolsey caused one of De Praet's letters to be intercepted by a pretended mistake of the police, and sent an elaborate answer to it to Dr. Sampson, the English Ambassador at the Court of Spain, in which he asserted that De Praet was privy to all his dealings with John Joachim.[9] Charles resented this breach of diplomatic honour, by unfriendly conduct towards the English merchants in Flanders. De Praet appears to have assured the Emperor of the steadfastness of Henry VIII., but hinted doubts respecting his minister. Charles was so alarmed that he sent to demand his affianced bride, the Princess Mary, and

[8] See Fiddes' *Life of Wolsey*, p. 331 sqq.; Cavendish, *id.* ch. xi.; Hall, p. 691, sq. (ed. 1809); *State Papers*, vol. i. More to Wolsey, p. 151; Wolsey to King Henry VIII., p. 153. The last letter, which is dated February 5th, near three weeks before the battle of Pavia, speaks of "the discourses and communications which I have had with the Chancellor of Alanson, sent from my lady the French Kinges mother, for treaty of peace with your Highness."

[9] See Wolsey's *Letter* to Sampson, February 13th 1525, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 388 foll.

to require the fulfilment, in the next summer, of Henry's promised invasion of France.

It appears, therefore, that the breach between England and the Emperor had its beginning before the victory of Pavia; while, after that event, Henry would not have been unwilling, if the terms could have been agreed upon, to revert to his old policy, and share the spoils with Charles. The alliance with the Emperor was to all outward appearance still cordially maintained. When the news of the victory of Pavia reached London (March 9th), the success of the Emperor's arms was celebrated in London with great rejoicings. The city was illuminated, a *Te Deum* was sung, the ambassadors of Rome, Flanders and Venice gave a grand banquet in a tent on Tower Hill, and a special embassy was despatched by Henry to Spain to congratulate Charles on his victory. John Joachim and the President of Rouen, who heard of it in Holborn when on their way to the King, immediately returned to their lodgings, and soon after departed for France. It was thought that but for this victory there would have been peace with the French King.[10]

Within a fortnight after the battle of Pavia, Bourbon wrote to the English monarch (March 10th), to renew the proposal for conquering France. He represented, that under the present circumstances the conquest might be achieved at one fifth of the expense formerly required; for 200,000 crowns he engaged to furnish an army of 12,000 foot, and 500 men-at-arms for two months, which, aided by a descent on the part of England, would suffice to place Henry on the throne of France. The Emperor was not to share in this expedition. Bourbon wished to rely on Henry alone; for if Lannoy and the other Imperial generals were concerned in it, they would handle him, he said, as they had before done in Provence; and "rather than again suffer such dishonour, he would liever be dead."[11] His proposition was not entertained; but no sooner was the news of the victory confirmed, than the English court despatched ambassadors to Spain to concert plans for a joint invasion of France; and Wolsey, in an address to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, informed them that the King was about to raise an army for the recovery of England's rightful possessions in France.[12] Instructions were sent in March to Tunstall and Wingfield, the English envoys at the court of the Lady Margaret in the Netherlands, to endeavour that Francis should be excluded from France, that Henry VIII. should be

[10] Hall, p. 693.

[11] Bourbon's *Orig. Let.* and Sir John Russell's *Letters*, ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 425 sq.

[12] Hall, *ibid.*

crowned in Paris, and that the remainder of France not claimed by him should be partitioned between the Emperor and Bourbon.[13]

The English court was so earnest for the projected invasion, that in order to raise the necessary forces, large sums were levied by unconstitutional commissions — a proceeding which occasioned a dangerous insurrection in Norfolk and Suffolk. So far, then, from hostilities against Francis having been abandoned out of a generous compassion towards the unfortunate monarch, or from any fear that the liberties of Europe were endangered by the victory of Pavia, it appears to have been precisely this event that led to the project of renewing the war with France. Wolsey, indeed, when the splendid prize for which he had so long been intriguing, seemed at length within his master's grasp, could not, without the grossest inconsistency, openly refuse to employ the necessary means for securing it; and at all events, Henry himself, whatever may have been the feelings of his minister, appears to have earnestly wished to avail himself of the opportunity. Charles was pressed to attack France from the south in the ensuing summer; he would be assisted with money, and an English descent would be made in the north of France, so that he and Henry might meet at Paris. The English monarch promised, if he was crowned there, to accompany the Emperor to Rome for his coronation — no obscure assurance that Henry would help to lay Italy at his feet; who also engaged that Charles should recover all the possessions claimed by the house of Burgundy and by the empire in France; nay, at last France, and even England itself, if he married the Princess Mary according to the treaty of 1522.[14] Truly, these propositions betray a most considerate care for the balance of power in Europe, and a most generous temper towards a fallen foe! The English advances, however, were not very favourably received, and especially in the Netherlands. Wolsey was not unjustly suspected by the Imperial cabinet, and had personally offended the Emperor; besides which, it was thought, that England, though making such large demands, had contributed little or nothing to the success of the war. Nevertheless, in the conditions which Charles proposed in April for the liberation of Francis, the interests of England were not forgotten: he required the restitution of Normandy, Guienne, and Gascony to Henry, and that the French King should pay the indemnity due to England by himself. The belief at this

[13] Henry VIII.'s *Instructions* to Tunstall and Wingfield, March 30th 1525 (*State Papers*, vol. vi.).

[14] See the *Instructions* to Tunstall and Wingfield, extracted by Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 346 sqq.

period was so strong, that the Emperor would still act in concert with Henry, that we find the Bishop of Bath informing the Pope, in May, of their intention to invade France, and asking his co-operation: when Clement expressed his determination to be neutral.[15] Charles's propositions were refused by the French government, and after this period the Emperor's conduct towards the English court began to change. He seems to have been disgusted with the extravagant demands of England, which were out of all proportion to the services rendered, and were probably one of the methods by which Wolsey gave vent to his spleen against the Emperor. The most remarkable of these demands are, that Charles should make no terms with the French King without insisting on the English claims to the crown of France; nay, that Francis, whom Henry VIII. affected to regard as a rebellious vassal, should be delivered into his custody, under a clause of the treaty of 1522, by which the contracting parties mutually agreed to deliver up such vassals! Charles, who had for some time altered his style towards Wolsey, now altogether ceased to correspond with him. Early in June, when the Bishop of London, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Dr. Sampson delivered letters to him at Toledo, from Henry and Wolsey, he gave vent to the bitterest complaints against the latter; accused the Cardinal of having charged him with aspiring to the monarchy of Europe, of having called himself a liar, his aunt, the Lady Margaret, a ribald, his brother, Don Ferdinand, a child, and the Duke of Bourbon, a traitor. These insults had been uttered when Beaurain, now M. de Rieux, asked to have 200,000 ducats for Bourbon's entry into Burgundy; and the Cardinal added, "that the King had other things to do with his money than to spend it for the pleasures of such four personages."[16] For these expressions, which had been reported to the Emperor by De Rieux, the ambassadors advised Wolsey to write an apology; and they expressed their opinion that the Emperor was still inclined to be faithful to his engagements, although he was not in a condition to fulfil them, on account of the disorganised state of his army in Italy. After this outburst, the Emperor applied to be released from his contract to wed the Princess Mary, who was still an infant, on the ground that his subjects were pressing him to enter upon an efficient marriage; and indeed he was now seeking the hand of a Portuguese Princess. Henry VIII. readily complied

[15] Bath's *Letter*, May 14th, ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 442.

[16] See the letter of the ambassadors from Toledo, June 2nd 1525, ap. Turner, *ibid.* 454.

with this request, and signed on the 6th of July an authority to his ambassadors to abrogate that part of the treaty of Windsor. Wolsey, however, in order to gratify his spite against the Emperor, instead of forwarding the paper by a courier overland, sent it by sea, so that Charles, who was anxiously expecting the release, did not receive it till the middle of September. Henry himself was so concerned at this delay, that he hastened to forward another authority with still more ample powers.

It was plain that the good understanding between the courts of England and Spain was now at an end; and, in fact, Wolsey wrote to the Pope in July to the effect, that Henry's feelings towards the Emperor were no longer of a friendly nature, and that he was inclined to treat of peace with France.[17] Accordingly, John Joachim was again invited into England, and a truce of forty days was concluded, followed by the treaty of Moore (August 30th 1525), by which the integrity of the French kingdom was guaranteed against the aggressions of the Emperor, while Henry engaged to solicit the release of Francis. France, indeed, paid dearly for this security. The Regent was obliged to recognise a debt of 2,000,000 gold crowns, payable in twenty years, besides an annual life-pension of 100,000 crowns to Henry VIII. after its extinction, and 10,000 crowns for his sister's dowry.[18] This was, in fact, a tribute; while the pensions subsequently paid by the French crown to some of the Stuarts were the wages of vassalage. Wolsey also was to receive 121,898 crowns, for arrears of his Tournay pension. The Imperial government, which had been thus anticipated, followed the example of England. A truce of six months, regarding Flanders only, was concluded with France at Breda, July 14th; and on August 11th, another of three months was executed at Toledo, which extended to the two monarchies generally and their respective allies.[19]

Having thus briefly described the transactions which took place between the English and Imperial courts, at this eventful crisis of European history, we must now advert to those which passed between Charles and his prisoner Francis. Hard indeed were the conditions of the ransom demanded by the Emperor. He began by signifying to the French government at Lyons, through his plenipotentiary, De Rieux, that he might legally claim the whole kingdom of France, since Pope Boniface VIII. had deposed Philip le Bel, and bestowed the French crown on Albert of Austria! Nevertheless, with due regard to the welfare of Christendom, he

[17] Bishop of Bath's *Letter* from Rome, July 25th, ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 455.

[18] Rymer, t. xiv. p. 48 sqq.

[19] Léonard, *Traités*, t. ii. p. 193 sqq.

contented himself with the following principal conditions: an alliance against the Turks, the Emperor and the French King furnishing each 20,000 men, and the former having the chief command in the enterprise; the restitution of Burgundy and all the possessions belonging to Charles the Bold at the time of his death, Picardy included, the whole exempt from any claims of feudal sovereignty; cessation of all proceedings against Bourbon and his adherents, and restitution to the Duke of all his domains. These, together with Provence, which was to be ceded to him, were to be erected into a kingdom, of which Bourbon was to be the independent sovereign. The articles also included, as we have already observed, the cession of Normandy, Guienne, and Gascony to Henry VIII.[20]

Such propositions involved in effect nothing less than the partition of France. Charles seems to have been guided in these transactions by an idea more enticing than feasible, and to have wished nominally indeed to uphold the monarchy of France, but so reduced in its proportions that the preponderance of power should be secured for ever to the House of Austria.[21] The French council received his propositions with indignation. The first movement of Francis himself was also to reject them, and he indignantly declared that sooner than dismember France he would remain a prisoner all his life. But his tone soon began to change. Captivity was unendurably irksome to a self-indulgent prince like Francis, who displayed in his reverses anything but the spirit of a hero. The showy qualities which had attracted admiration in his prosperity fell away at the touch of misfortune like so much theatrical pasteboard and tinsel, and the real man stood exposed, as what he was, a Poitevin gentleman of little stuff, whom despair had rendered devout, and who put his woes into rhyme like any other poetaster of the age.[22] In the hope of recovering his liberty he hastened to make large concessions. He agreed to marry the Emperor's sister Eleanor, the Dowager Queen of Portugal, and to assign Burgundy as her dowry; to which, if she died without male heirs, the second son of the Emperor should succeed. He renounced all his claims on Genoa, Naples, and Milan, reserving only the last for any son he might have by Eleanor. He abandoned the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois, agreed to purchase back Picardy, and promised to furnish the half of any army which

[20] *Captivité de François I.* p. 149 sqq.
[21] Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 245.
[22] *Ibid.* p. 242. The verses composed by Francis in his captivity contain, however, some really good lines, especially the apostrophe to the French rivers. See *Captivité*, &c. *Eglogue du Pasteur Admetus*, p. 227 sqq.

the Emperor might wish to employ in Germany or Italy, either for his coronation at Rome or for any other purpose whatsoever. He also engaged to supply half the contingents in any enterprise against the infidels, and personally to take part in it, even if the Emperor should not go himself. Bourbon was to be restored to his possessions, and as Francis's proposed marriage would deprive him of Eleanor, he was to be offered the hand of Francis's favourite sister Margaret, the widowed Duchess of Alençon, with her own possessions and the duchy of Berry as a dowry. To Henry VIII. it was intended only to offer money.[23]

This was in effect to offer that Francis would become the lieutenant of Charles V., against the Turks, against Venice, against the Lutherans of Germany, and that he would consent to employ the French arms in building up the Austrian supremacy in Europe. Without adopting the opinion of a modern historian[24], that Francis should rather have committed suicide, we may at all events assert that he would have better consulted his own dignity and that of his kingdom by the milder alternative of abdication.

Charles was in no hurry to answer the proposals of his prisoner, whom it was resolved meanwhile to transfer from Pizzighettone to Spain. The three Imperial chieftains, Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, were at variance with one another, and were menaced by their own soldiery, who clamorously demanded their arrears of pay; they were in the midst of a hostile population, and surrounded by states which they knew were preparing to take up arms against them; and their royal prisoner caused them considerable embarrassment, for they were afraid that the soldiers might seize his person as a pawn for their arrears. There can be little doubt that in carrying the French King into Spain Lannoy only obeyed the secret instructions of the Spanish court. It was necessary to deceive Bourbon and Pescara, who considered Francis more particularly as *their* prisoner, and would not willingly have consented that he should be taken out of Italy. Lannoy therefore obtained their consent for his removal to Naples; and he carried his deception so far as to write to the Pope to provide apartments at Rome. Then it was determined to go by sea, embarking at the port of Genoa. The proposed removal was highly disagreeable to Francis himself. He felt that he should be so much further from his friends, and consequently from any chance of escape; he protested that the climate of Naples, being hot and on the sea, would be detrimental to his health; and he contrived to write to his

[23] *Captivité, &c.*, p. 170 sqq. Bp. of Bath's *Letter* to Wolsey, ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 445.

[24] Michelet, *Réforme.*

mother to rescue him on the voyage by means of a French squadron. Lannoy, however, having gained the confidence of Francis, communicated to him his real design; told him that the rigorous conditions prescribed for his release had been framed solely to gratify Bourbon; and succeeded in persuading him that at a distance from that insolent vassal he would find the Emperor disposed to be much more generous. Francis eagerly caught at these representations. Arrived at Genoa, he not only countermanded the sailing of the squadron under La Fayette and Doria, which was to have attempted his rescue, but even ordered six French galleys from Marseilles to transport the Spanish troops that were to form his escort. On the 8th of June, sail was made, apparently for Naples, but when well out at sea the heads of the galleys were turned towards Spain. Francis was landed at Alicante, and was thence transferred to the fortress of Xativa, also in Valencia. Early in August he was brought to Madrid by order of the Emperor.

The captivity of Francis was of the most rigorous description. He was confined in a small chamber in one of the towers of the fortifications, having only a single window secured by double bars of iron, and at such a height from the floor, that it was necessary to mount upon a chair in order to view the surrounding country, comprising the arid banks of the Mançanares. He was strictly guarded by Captain Alarçon; beneath his window, at a depth of 100 feet, two batallions kept watch day and night; he was not allowed to take the air except on a mule and surrounded by guards; and instead of the friendly intercourse with the Emperor which he had been led to expect, Charles kept himself aloof at Toledo. The chagrin of this confinement, and vexation at having been duped by Lannoy, at length threw the captive monarch into a dangerous sickness, which the physicians declared would be fatal, unless the Emperor granted him an interview. Francis's death would have deprived Charles of all the benefits which he expected, and at last, September 18th, he paid the captive a visit. "I am your Imperial Majesty's prisoner," exclaimed Francis, as he entered, at the same time doffing his bonnet. "Not so," replied Charles, as he embraced the French King and covered his head,—"but my friend and brother. I have no other wish but to set you at liberty, and provide you with every comfort you can desire."[25] He added many other kind words, which had the effect of reviving Francis's health and spirits; but a dreary interval of anxiety and suspense was still to be passed before he recovered his liberty.

[25] Du Bellay, in Petitot, t. xviii. p. 310.

Shortly afterwards he received another consolatory visit from his beloved sister, Margaret of Valois, the widowed Duchess of Alençon. Margaret was one of those clever and lively women in whom religious exaltation and spiritual mysticism are as much the result of a strong imagination as of devotional feeling, and in whom they by no means exclude, nay, rather foster, a propensity to mundane gallantry. Margaret had shown an early inclination for the doctrines of the Reformation, which she carried to an extreme; so that, at a later period, she incurred the reproval of Calvin for the favour which she displayed towards the sect of what were called the "Spiritual Libertines." Her influence was always exerted on behalf of the Reformers, and on more than one occasion she saved some of them from the stake. After all, however, it is doubtful whether she ever really quitted the Roman Catholic communion, in which faith it is at least certain that she died. The strangely mixed nature of her mind is well displayed in her *Heptameron*, written when she was Queen of Navarre; the preface to which, where, under the name of Dame Oisille, she describes the daily routine of her religious exercises, forms a strange introduction to the somewhat equivocal tales which follow. She had sent to Francis in his captivity the Epistles of St. Paul, the favourite apostle of the Reformers. The warmest affection had subsisted from infancy between Margaret and her brother: an affection said at one time to have been more than fraternal, and concealed by a veil which we shall not attempt to lift.[26]

Margaret's visit to Madrid was not, however, prompted solely by sisterly affection. There was in it a dash of feminine speculation. She was a widow; Charles was in search of a consort: might not the almighty power of love procure at once liberty for her brother, for herself an imperial crown? We do not retail the gossiping scandal of the French or Spanish court. Scarcely had the Duke of Alençon expired, when Louisa, with an indiscretion and want of dignity for which even the important nature of the interests at stake presents but a feeble excuse, hastened to offer her daughter's hand to the Emperor.[27] Charles, intent on a match with a princess of Portugal, had not even vouchsafed a reply; but he promised Margaret a safe-conduct; who, not perhaps without a secret confidence in the effect of a personal interview, resolved to offer up womanly pride and dignity on the altar of fraternal tenderness. Furnished with full powers to treat of peace with

[26] See Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 175; Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 83, note.

[27] *Captivité*, p. 194.

the Spanish government, and accompanied by the veteran statesman Robertet, Margaret set out on her journey towards the end of August, and arrived at Toledo early in October, after paying a visit to her brother on the way. But both her political and her matrimonial projects were alike destined to be frustrated. The obdurate Charles was proof against all her charms, nor would he relax an iota of his demands, except with regard to Picardy. After some weeks of fruitless debates, and some attempts to procure the escape of the French King, which were discovered and prevented, Francis dismissed his sister towards the end of November. He had previously taken a step which, if carried out, would have been as fatal as his death to Charles's hopes. He had signed a deed of abdication in favour of his son, the dauphin Francis, appointing his mother, Louisa, and in her default his sister, Margaret, regent; reserving, however, if he should chance to recover his liberty, the right of reassuming the sovereignty by the *jus postliminii*.[28] But he had not resolution enough to carry out this heroic act. At the moment when his fellow captive, Montmorenci, who had been ransomed, was to carry the document to France, the King instructed the French ambassadors in Spain to cede Burgundy (December 19th).[29] The Regent, apparently without consulting her council, had previously given them the same instructions, though with more regard to the interests of France; for the Emperor's investment was only to be provisional, and the fortresses were to be demolished.

Scarcely had Margaret quitted Toledo, when the Duke of Bourbon, in pursuance of an invitation which he had received from the Emperor, arrived at that capital.[30] The defection of Henry VIII. and of the Pope from his alliance caused Charles to court a prince whom he felt that he had too much neglected. The Emperor, attended by a large retinue, went out to meet Bourbon at the bridge over the Tagus, bestowed on him every mark of honour, and gave a series of fêtes and entertainments for his diversion, which strangely contrasted with Charles's studied neglect of Bourbon's sovereign. But the Spanish nation sympathised as little as the French with a man who was bearing arms against his native land. At Marseilles, where he had put in with his squadron, on pretence of getting some provisions, the people rose, and, in defiance of the parliament of Aix, insisted that nothing should be supplied to the "traitor."[31] At Toledo, a Spanish grandee, the

[28] *Captivité*, p. 416 sqq.; Isambert, t. xii. p. 237.

[29] *Captivité, Introd.* p. lvi.

[30] See his own MS. letter, quoted by Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 466.

[31] *Captivité*, p. 340 sq.

Marquis of Villena, whose hotel the Emperor had requested for the use of Bourbon, replied that he could not refuse any demand of his Sovereign, but that he should burn down his house as soon as the Duke had quitted it. In spite, however, of the public honours heaped upon Bourbon, the Emperor, in the arrangement which he was on the point of concluding with Francis, was prepared to sacrifice the pretensions of the Duke, and, on his own part, to content himself with the recovery of Burgundy, his maternal inheritance.

By the Treaty of Madrid, signed January 14th, 1526, Francis *restored* to the Emperor the Duchy of Burgundy, the county of Charolais, and some other smaller fiefs, without reservation of any feudal suzerainty, which was also abandoned with regard to the counties of Flanders and Artois, the Emperor, however, resigning the towns on the Somme, which had been held by Charles the Bold. The French King also renounced his claims to the kingdom of Naples, the Duchy of Milan, the county of Asti, and the city of Genoa. He contracted an offensive and defensive alliance with Charles, undertaking to attend him with an army when he should repair to Rome to receive the Imperial crown, and to accompany him in person whenever he should march against the Turks or heretics. He withdrew his protection from the King of Navarre, the Duke of Gelderland, and the La Marcks; took upon himself the Emperor's debt to England, and agreed to give his two eldest sons as hostages for the execution of the treaty. Instead, however, of the independent kingdom which Bourbon had expected, all that was stipulated in his favour was a free pardon for him and his adherents[32], and their restoration in their forfeited domains. Bourbon was even deprived of the promised hand of Eleanor, the Emperor's sister, which was now to be given to Francis, in pursuance of his demand. This was a delicate point in the negociations, and Charles felt some embarrassment in communicating it to Bourbon. In the words of the English ambassador, "This overture made him (Bourbon) much to muse at the beginning, reputing himself frustrate of his chief hope. Afterwards, the greatness of the necessity was opened to him, and the lack of money on the Emperor's part to maintain the war, which was well known to him. Great offers were made to him. At last he said with his tongue that he was content, but whether he thought it in his heart, Heaven knoweth."[33]

[32] The chief of them was Philibert of Chalon, Prince of Orange.

[33] Dr. Lee's *Letter* to Henry VIII., Jan. 26th 1526, apud Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 474. The treaty of Madrid is in Dumont, *Corps. Dipl.* t. iv. pt. i. p. 399.

The "great offers" appear to have been a promise of the Duchy of Milan.

The provisions of the above treaty Francis promised to execute on the word and honour of a king, and by an oath sworn with his hand upon the holy Gospels[34]: yet only a few hours before he was to sign this solemn act, he had called his plenipotentiaries, together with some French nobles, secretaries, and notaries, into his chamber, where, after exacting from them an oath of secrecy, he entered into a long discourse touching the Emperor's harshness towards him, and signed a protest, declaring that, as the treaty he was about to enter into had been extorted from him by force, it was null and void from the beginning, and that he never intended to execute it[35]: thus, as a French writer has observed, establishing by an authentic notarial act that he was going to commit a perjury.[36]

Treaties have often been shamefully violated, yet it would perhaps be impossible to parallel this gross and deliberate perjury. The treacherous thought appears to have occurred to Francis early in his captivity, but honour long struggled against it. His argument from compulsion is altogether futile. He appealed to the decision of force when he took up arms, and he was in the hands of Charles as a lawful prisoner of war. The usage regarding such prisoners was then very harsh. Even down to the time of Grotius, who flourished about a century after Francis, the custom of making slaves of prisoners of war was not entirely obsolete, whilst ransom still continued to be the ordinary method of liberation, and was considered the most valuable booty of the victors.[37] The argument from force would go to the dissolution of most treaties of peace, which are rarely entered into except when one party has found itself compelled to accept unpalatable conditions; and though the terms imposed by Charles were harsh, and such as deprive him of the praise of generosity, yet this does not exculpate Francis in accepting, with the intention of evading, them. Nor could he plead patriotism in excuse, and the desire of benefiting his people. The question was purely personal, and he might have avoided any ill consequences to the French nation by adopting the course which he had once contemplated, and abdicating the throne in favour of his son.

On the other hand, the conduct of the Emperor was impolitic as

[34] "De bonne foi et parole de Roi, sur nôtre honneur et par nôtre serment, et pour ce que nous avons donné et touché corporellement aux S. Évangiles de Dieu."

[35] This protest will be found in Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 412.

[36] Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 275.

[37] Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. iii. c. 14, § 9; Wheaton, *Hist. of the Law of Nations*, p. 162.

well as ungenerous. His demands were too extravagant in comparison with his power to enforce them. Some of his best counsellors advised him either to march to Paris and dictate a peace under its walls, or to liberate Francis without conditions; not that they thought the terms imposed too hard, but the security for them inadequate; and they pointed out that the worst step of all was to dismiss the French King only half satisfied.[38] This last, however, was precisely the course adopted by Charles; and he soon found reason to repent it.

After the execution of the treaty, Francis was detained a month or two longer in Spain, during which he and the Emperor lived apparently on very good terms. On the 21st of February he set out for France, escorted by a guard. Charles accompanied him as far as Torrejo; and when they were about to part said: "Brother, do you remember your agreement?" "Perfectly," replied Francis: "I could recite the whole treaty without missing a word." Charles then inquired if he was resolved to observe it? and Francis repeated his promise, adding, "If I infringe it, look upon me as a base and wicked man." Yet he had already told the Papal Legate at Toledo, soon after signing the treaty, that he did not mean to keep it.[39] The Emperor, whose pertinacity seems to indicate that he suspected his prisoner, and who might perhaps have heard something of his secret reservation, observed in conclusion—"I have only one thing to beg; if you mean to deceive me, let it not be with regard to my sister, your bride, for she will not be able to avenge herself."[40]

Francis arrived on the banks of the Bidassoa, March 18th, and in a boat moored in the middle of the river, between Irun and Andaye, he was exchanged for his two sons, Francis and Henry, who were to remain in Spain, as hostages for the execution of the treaty. The tears started to his eyes as he embraced his children, but he consigned them without remorse to a long and dreary exile. No sooner was he on French ground than he sprang upon an Arab horse, and clapping spurs to it, rode at full gallop towards St. Jean de Luz, exclaiming as he waved his hand, "I am again a King!" Thence he proceeded to Bayonne, where he found his mother and all his court, anxiously awaiting his arrival.

[38] See De Praet's Letter, Nov. 14th 1525, in the *Négociations avec l'Autriche*, t. ii. p. 633 (*Documens inédits sur l'Hist. de France*): Cf. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 342. The Emperor's Chancellor, Gattinara, is said to have shown his disapproval of the treaty by refusing to sign it.

[39] Giberto to the Bishop of Bajusa, *Lettere di Principi*, t. ii. p. 188 b.

[40] This story, which rests upon the authority of Sandoval and other Spanish historians, has been questioned by Gaillard, *Hist. de François I.* t. iii. p. 346, but without adequate grounds. Cf. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 340.

Francis was not long in showing how he intended to observe the treaty of Madrid. Before he left Bayonne, the Emperor's envoys demanded its ratification, which he had engaged to effect immediately after his arrival in France; to which Francis replied that he must first consult the States of his kingdom, as well as those of the Duchy of Burgundy. From Bayonne the Court proceeded to Bordeaux, and thence to Cognac, where it made some stay. When Lannoy arrived at this place to demand the fulfilment of Francis's engagements, the latter introduced him before the assembled princes, prelates, and nobles, who, in the presence of the Imperial Ambassador, pronounced their decision that the King could not alienate the patrimony of France, and that the oath which he had taken in his captivity did not abrogate the still more solemn one which had been administered to him at his coronation. The deputies of Burgundy also declared that they would resist by force of arms all attempts to sever them from France. When Charles heard of this solemn farce, which had evidently been concerted between the French King and his States, he justly remarked that Francis could not thus shift his breach of faith upon his subjects; and that to fulfil his engagements it sufficed for him to return to Spain, as bound by the treaty, and again surrender himself a prisoner, when another arrangement might be effected.[41] But Francis was no Regulus. So far from thinking of the fulfilment of his treaty, he was at this moment negociating with the Pope and other powers for a combined attack upon the Emperor's Italian possessions. But the crooked and vacillating policy of Clement VII. was destined to bring on the Holy See one of the most terrible and humiliating disasters it had ever sustained; to explain which, it will be necessary to resume from a somewhat earlier period the thread of Italian affairs.

The victory of Pavia had spread alarm through all the Italian States that still retained their independence. The whole peninsula seemed to lie at the Emperor's mercy. Frunsberg, a zealous Lutheran, and other Imperial generals, advised an immediate attack upon the Pope, and the German troops took possession of the territory of Piacenza. The Italians began to think of a confederacy. The Venetians and Florentines armed, and pressed the Pope to form a league under the protection of Henry VIII. Clement, who had been playing a double game, and already before the battle of Pavia

[41] Ferron, lib. viii. p. 205. It was not, however, a pure and simple refusal. Francis offered the imperial ambassadors 2,000,000 crowns as a compensation for Burgundy, and engaged faithfully to fulfil all the other articles of the treaty. *Martin*, t. viii. p. 92.

had contracted a secret alliance with Francis, now co-operated with the Venetians in opening communications with Louisa, the French Regent, who was requested to join the Italian League, and to unite with them the army of the Duke of Albany, which still remained intact on the frontiers of Naples. But Clement at the same time dreaded the resentment of the Emperor, who had discovered his secret correspondence with Francis; and with his usual shuffling conduct, at the very moment that he was promoting the Italian League, he was also listening to the proposals of Lannoy. The negociations between the English and Imperial Courts were not yet at an end; Wolsey assured Clement that his master would induce Charles to use his victory with moderation, and Bourbon told Cardinal de' Medici that the Papal dominions should be respected.[42] On the 1st April 1525, a treaty was concluded at Rome between the Pope, the Emperor, and the Archduke Ferdinand, to which the English ambassador acceded, and the Roman See and other anti-Imperial Italian States were amerced in heavy contributions. When the Duke of Albany heard of this treaty, he deemed it useless to remain any longer in Italy, and with the connivance of the Pope, embarked his army at Cività Vecchia.

The greatest discontent, however, continued to prevail among the Italians. The Imperial army, over which Charles had lost all control, was living at free quarters upon them; for the greatest sovereign in Europe, and master of America besides, was unable to furnish their pay, which was six months in arrear. Charles could enslave his Spanish subjects, but he could not command their purses, and the clergy as well as the *Cortès* obstinately refused to grant any extraordinary supplies.[43] After the breach between Henry and Charles, Wolsey advised the Pope to complete the anti-Imperial Italian League; and, when Clement refused to do so, he pushed on its conclusion with the omission of the Pope, and with Henry VIII. as its head and protector, at the same time urging the French to send an army into Italy. But Louisa was also insincere. Although, to alarm the Emperor, she encouraged the advances of the Italians, she secretly offered to abandon Italy to him as the ransom of her son; and at Christmas she surprised the ambassadors with the intelligence that Francis was arranging a peace with the Emperor. The treaty of Madrid, however, did not prevent Francis from subsequently joining the Italians.

[42] *Letter* of the Bishop of Bath to Wolsey, March 19th, and that of Bourbon to the Pope, March 24th 1525; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 428 sq.

[43] *Letters* of the English ambassadors from Toledo to Wolsey in April and June 1525; ap. Turner, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 32 sq.

The Italian League was at last effected by means of a conspiracy. The Emperor, after many delays and evasions, had at length reinstated Sforza in the Duchy of Milan, but on conditions which rendered him a mere vassal. Sforza's chancellor, Morone, who was warmly attached to that prince's interests, urged alike by affection and patriotism, formed the design of overthrowing the Imperialists by corrupting Charles's general, Pescara. The plot seemed feasible. Pescara was known to be offended by the removal of Francis, whom he regarded as his own prisoner, into Spain; an act which appeared to deprive him of the recompense justly due to his valour and conduct. He was, moreover, an Italian by birth, and might be supposed to view with regret the chains preparing for his country. Morone persuaded the Pope to enter into the plot, and this conspiracy must therefore be regarded as the foundation of the Holy League effected in the following spring.[44] The plan was not ill conceived. Should Pescara agree to it, his very treachery would bind him indissolubly to the Italian powers, and the unity and freedom of Italy would be conquered at a blow. A secret correspondence was opened with Pescara; he was informed that all the Italian powers were ready to shake off the Imperial yoke and seat himself on the throne of Naples, provided he would achieve at once his own advancement and his country's freedom. What enterprise more easy or more certain of success? Bourbon and Lannoy were both absent in Spain; Pescara had the sole command of the Imperial army in Italy, and nothing was required but to disband it.

But Morone had made a wrong estimate of Pescara's character. Although an Italian by birth, he was a Spaniard by descent, and spoke only the Spanish language. His forefathers had helped to establish the Aragonese power in Naples; he himself had no sympathy with the Italian people, no tincture of their art and literature; his reading was confined to Spanish romances, which breathe only loyalty and devotion; above all, his pride lay in the command of the Spanish infantry. He knew all his men by name; he allowed them every license, plundering included; he took nothing ill at their hands if they were but brave and ready in the hour of battle and danger. The proudest moments of his life were when, holding his drawn sword with both hands, he marched in their front, with broad German shoes and long streaming feathers in his hat.

With the cunning which formed part of his character, Pescara

[44] Clement, to the surprise of Charles, afterwards avowed his complicity in a letter, June 23rd 1526. See Raynaldus, t. xii. pp. 561, 563.

did not absolutely repel the advances of Morone; but he acquainted Antonio de Leyva, as well as the Imperial commissary of the Spanish Court, with them; and he was instructed to entrap the Milanese chancellor by pretending to fall in with his designs. He accordingly invited Morone to an interview in the castle of Novara. Antonio de Leyva and other witnesses were posted behind the arras of the chamber in which it took place; and when the conversation had proceeded far enough, De Leyva stepped out, and arrested the astonished chancellor (October 14th 1525). Morone was conducted to Pavia, where his intended accomplice acted as his judge: but his life was spared from the notion that he might be useful hereafter. In his confession he had implicated Duke Francesco Sforza, who was now stripped of all his dominions, though he managed to retain possession of the citadel of Milan. Pescara died a few weeks after the arrest of Morone, at the early age of thirty-six. He had distinguished himself as a poet as well as a general. The Emperor now promised the Duchy of Milan to Bourbon.

Meanwhile the Pope, the Venetians, and Sforza, had formed a league against the Emperor with Francis I., then at Cognac. The Florentines also joined it, but without binding themselves to all its conditions; and the Swiss were also reckoned on. By this confederacy, variously called the League of Cognac, the Holy League, and the Clementine League, Sforza was to be reinstated in the Duchy of Milan, paying annually 50,000 gold crowns to the King of France; the other Italian States were to resume their *status quo;* the Emperor was to be required to liberate the French princes for a moderate ransom, to withdraw the greater part of his army from Italy, and to pay his debt to the King of England. If Charles refused to accept these terms, then Naples was to be wrested from him and made over to the Pope; who was to pay an annual sum to Francis, and to bestow large estates and revenues in that kingdom on Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey. Henry VIII. had not indeed joined the league, but he did all in his power to forward it, and promised to become its protector in case Charles refused to comply with the conditions. The league was signed by Francis at Cognac, May 22nd 1526, and on June 24th he openly and solemnly avowed it at a high mass; while Lannoy, to avoid so insulting a defiance, went a hunting, and soon after departed for Spain.[45] The Pope subsequently forwarded to the French King an absolution from the oath which he had taken to the treaty of Madrid.[46]

[45] *Despatch* of Sir Thomas Cheyney the English ambassador to Francis; ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 12.

[46] Pallavicini, lib. ii. c. 13. s. 6.

The Italians were in general enthusiastic in favour of this league; even the Duke of Savoy was anxious to get rid of the Emperor's predominance in Italy. The people were prepared to rise; and it was thought that the pith of the Imperial army might be annihilated on the spot. Giberto, the *Datario*, and confidant of Clement VII., writing to the Bishop of Veruli, says, "It is not a war that concerns a point of honour, a petty vengeance, or the preservation of a single city, but the deliverance or the eternal slavery of all Italy."[47] It was Clement's most magnanimous but most disastrous undertaking. In his zeal for Italian liberty, he overlooked, not only the inroads of the Turks, but also the progress of heresy in Germany: and thus the German Reformation acquired at the Diet of Spires a sort of legal existence. But Clement's Transalpine confederates were not hearty and sincere. Henry VIII. could not be persuaded decidedly to embark in the league, whilst Francis was anxious to avoid a war with the Emperor, and opened separate negociations with him for the redemption of his sons.[48] He appointed indeed the Marquis of Saluzzo to command an army destined for Italy, but supplied him with only 4000 Gascon troops, though he promised a speedy addition of 10,000 Swiss. His reverses had nearly deprived him of his ambition, and his whole course of life soon showed that, in becoming by a perfidy again a king, he had been actuated rather by a desire to indulge in the pleasures which that elevated station enabled him to command, than to promote his own glory and the good of his people. His whole time was spent in hunting, in magnificent fêtes, and in intrigues of gallantry, his ruling passion; and in pursuit of these pleasures he was impatient of being interrupted by affairs of state.[49] The Countess of Chateaubriand, from whom Francis had the meanness to demand back the trinkets with which he had presented her, had now been supplanted by a new mistress, Anne de Pisseleu, a maid of honour to his mother, who at the age of eighteen possessed the most dazzling beauty. To conceal her dishonour, Francis caused her to marry Jean de Brosses, an adherent of Bourbon's, who was content to purchase pardon and advancement at the price of

[47] *Lettere di Principi*, t. i. p. 193.

[48] Dr. Taylor's *Letter* to Wolsey, July 17th 1526; ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 15. On Sept. 7th the Pope sent a formal commission to offer Henry the protectorship of the league, which, however, was declined. Rymer, t. xiv. p. 187.

[49] Sanga, the Papal envoy, writing from Amboise in August, says: "All negociation is very difficult here, as the king avoids everything likely to give him trouble and annoyance."—*Lettere di Principi*, t. ii. p. 8, verso. "Alexandre voyait les femmes quand il n'avait plus d'affaires; François voit les affaires quand il n'a plus de femmes," says Tavannes in his *Mémoires*.

infamy. He became successively a knight, a count, the governor of Brittany, and Duke d'Etampes; under which last title Anne de Pisseleu shone at court, and became known to posterity.

The Emperor, meanwhile, whose character was of another stamp, had contracted a marriage of prudence. We have already seen that he had obtained from Henry VIII. a release from his engagement to the Princess Mary; and soon after the departure of the French king from Madrid, he proceeded to Seville, where he solemnized his nuptials with Isabella, sister of John III., King of Portugal (March 12th 1526). Charles was greatly in debt to Portugal, without whose money he acknowledged that he could not have carried on his wars. This match was highly acceptable to his Spanish subjects, nor was it disagreeable to himself; for Isabella was beautiful and accomplished, and he lived in perfect harmony with her till her death in 1529. The alliance was also viewed with pleasure by the Portuguese, who voted Isabella the extraordinary dowry of 900,000 crowns.[50]

At this period the policy of the English court, conducted by Wolsey, was characterised by the grossest duplicity. In March 1526, Sir Thomas Cheyney and others were sent on an embassy to Paris with instructions "to understand the conditions of the peace of Madrid; and to perceive how far the King, his mother, the nobles, and the people, were contented with it." Wolsey's real object was to involve France in a war with the Emperor. His envoys were furnished with minute and elaborate instructions, most artfully drawn up, to induce Francis still further to violate the treaty, and at the same time not to compromise the English court with the Emperor[51]; with which view the ambassadors were to speak as if *suâ sponte*, and not from instructions. Both Henry and the cardinal exhorted the French King not to observe obligations which would make him, they said, the mere servant of Spain.[52] One of Wolsey's points was to persuade Francis to violate that part of the treaty which stipulated a marriage between him and Eleanor, and to induce him to marry Henry's daughter, the Princess Mary, then only in her eleventh year. Francis received these advances with all due politeness; he even protested, on the faith of a gentleman, that he had felt a desire to marry Mary before he went into Italy; but although Sir William Fitzwilliam was especially despatched to second the representations of the former am-

[50] Robertson, *Charles V.* b. 4. p. 330.

[51] See abstract of the Instructions in Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 7 sq.

[52] Fiddes' *Life of Wolsey*, p. 380. Wolsey was anxious to claim the merit of having advised Francis to break the treaty. See his Despatch, ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 13.

bassadors, the French King at last declared that both honour and conscience called upon him to fulfil his previous engagement, and that he could not hope for the liberation of his children except by completing his marriage with Eleanor.[53] Francis's marriage with the Princess Mary continued, however, to be pressed. It was seconded by the Papal nuncio in France; it was called a holy union, for its anticipated service to the "Holy League," and early in 1527 the French King showed more symptoms of compliance, and sent for Mary's picture. Early in March he even despatched the Bishop of Tarbes to London to negociate for the match; and a treaty was actually concluded, on the singular condition that either he, or his second son Francis, should espouse the English Princess![54] But the French King seems at this very time to have been in communication with Eleanor; and it is needless to say that neither marriage with Mary ever took place. The negociations, however, excited considerable alarm at the Imperial court.

Wolsey seems also to have been contemplating, in March 1526, a match between his royal master and Margaret of Alençon, the French King's sister; from which it appears that Henry's divorce from Catherine must have been already in agitation. The English ambassadors were instructed to address the warmest compliments to Margaret, and to press the King's suit. But that princess declined to entertain the proposals of Henry, who had still an undivorced wife, without whose degradation and misery her own nuptials could not be accomplished; and in January 1527 she rendered such a project impossible by marrying Henry II., King of Navarre.[55] This last event was indirectly of great importance to England, as it released from Margaret's service Ann Boleyn, who subsequently returning to England, was married to the King, and contributed not a little to the progress of the Reformation in this country.[56]

Charles V. of course refused to accede to the Clementine League; yet Henry VIII. did not, therefore, become its head and protector as he had promised. Wolsey's policy at this juncture appears to

[53] Turner, *ibid.* p. 25, 29.

[54] Rymer, t. xiv. p. 195. The Bishop of Tarbes increased during this visit the scruples of Henry with respect to his marriage with Catherine. See the Letter of the Bishop of Bayonne, Le Grand, *Hist. du Divorce*, t. iii. p. 218.

[55] Olhagaray, *Hist. de Foix et Navarre*, liv. iii. p. 488. Jeanne, the only surviving daughter of this marriage, was the mother of Henry IV.

[56] Ann Boleyn, who went to France in the suite of the Princess Mary on the occasion of her marriage with Louis XII., subsequently remained at the Court of Claude, queen of Francis I.; and after Claude's death, in July 1524, entered the service of Margaret (Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 186). A residence of two years and a half with that Princess must have served to nourish her evangelical notions.

have been to do the Emperor as much injury as possible, without actually breaking with him. All parties, in short, were playing false to one another. Francis, in spite of his engagements to the Clementine League, as well as of a compact which he had entered into with Henry that he would make no separate treaty with the Emperor, nor attempt to get back his children from Spain without at the same time providing for the payment of the Emperor's debt to England, was endeavouring to make a private arrangement with Charles.[57] When Wolsey heard of this, he instructed the Bishop of Worcester[58], his special ambassador to the Spanish Court, to offer the mediation of England; but this was declined by Charles, who suspected that Wolsey's intention was only to foment mutual jealousy and bickerings. The ambassador was obliged to tell Wolsey frankly that the Emperor would not trust the King of England; and the cardinal, who seems to have become alarmed at this not unnatural result of his crooked policy, condescended to the most abject submission in order to recover Charles's favour, whom he had so long pursued with the bitterest hostility. Dr. Lee was instructed to tell the Emperor from Wolsey, "that your Grace (*i. e.* the cardinal) prostrate, and most humbly on your knees, desireth His Majesty at this time to show such demonstrations towards the King's Highness, that his said Highness may well perceive that his Majesty both loveth him and trusteth him; for so much as no worldly thing could be to your Grace more joyful than to see the continuance of sincere and perfect conjunction between the King's Highness and his Majesty, as ever hath been."[59] Such was the great cardinal's hypocrisy! Charles, in his turn, endeavoured to embroil Henry and Francis. Yet he did not repulse the advances of Wolsey. He proposed to reward the cardinal's labours with a pension and a present of 100,000 ducats, in addition to its arrears: which sums, however, were to come out of the French king's money. A further annuity of 12,000 ducats to Wolsey, and his heirs for ever, was to be added by the Duke of Bourbon out of the revenues of Milan![60] But a new turn was about to be given to all these complicated negociations, by a catastrophe which none of the parties had foreseen.

[57] See the treaty of Hampton Court between Henry and Francis, August 8th, 1526, in Rymer, t. xiv. p. 185; and Wolsey's *Letter* to King Henry VIII., August 11th, in *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 169. The English ambassadors in France told Wolsey, in Dec., that it was difficult to say what Francis meant to do, except to recover his sons "by the shortest way and most easiest thing." *Letter* of Bath and Fitzwilliam; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 29.

[58] Jerome de' Ghinucci, an Italian.

[59] Dr. Lee's *Letter* to Wolsey, March 7th, 1527; ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 38.

[60] *Ibid.* p. 41 sq.

Although the Italian confederates were at first unsupported either by French troops or English gold, yet, had they possessed an enterprising general, they might easily have mastered the Imperial army. This, which, in the absence of Bourbon, was commanded by Antonio de Leyva and the Marquis del Guasto, numbered only 11,000 men, while the army of the league was more than double that force. But the Duke of Urbino, nominally the Venetian general and in effect the commander-in-chief, displayed an utter want of skill and resolution. Some of his first operations were, indeed, attended with success. He took Lodi (June 1526), but neglected to relieve Sforza, who was still blockaded in the castle of Milan by the Imperial troops in possession of the town. Such was the state of things when the Duke of Bourbon returned from Spain, and took the command of the Imperial forces. The citizens of Milan hailed with gladness the arrival of their newly-appointed sovereign, for they had suffered from the Spaniards all the miseries of a town taken by assault. Sforza was at length obliged to capitulate (July 24th), when Bourbon assigned him Como as a residence; but as the Spanish garrison refused to evacuate that place, he was forced to proceed to the camp of the allies, who put him in possession of Lodi. The citizens now intreated Bourbon to withdraw his army from their city, which he promised to do on receiving 300,000 crowns towards their pay. When that sum was raised, however, the Spaniards, who were encouraged by De Leyva and Del Guasto, still refused to move; and such was the despair of the citizens at this frustration of their last hopes, that many are said to have committed suicide.

If the conduct of the Duke of Urbino was irresolute and unsoldier-like, that of the Pope, the head of the league, was equally indecisive. He showed himself mistrustful alike of his subjects and of his allies, now yielding to his resentment, now to his terror — at one moment preparing to take the field, and the next signing separate armistices. All his magnificent plans were threatened with defeat by one of the strangest accidents. While he was meditating the liberation of Italy he was unexpectedly made a prisoner in his own capital by one of his feudatories! He had made peace, as he thought, with his old enemies, the Colonna family, and had dismissed the troops required for the protection of his person, when, at the instigation of the Emperor, the Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, a man of resolute and ferocious character, having, with his relatives Vespasian and Ascanius Colonna, raised in their possessions near the frontiers of Naples a body of about 8000 retainers and adventurers, marched with them to Rome (September 20th). Clement

had only time to fly from the Lateran to the castle of St. Angelo; where, however, having no provisions, he was obliged to capitulate at the end of three days. The Spanish commander, Hugo de Moncada, whose intervention Clement was compelled to solicit, now dictated to him a truce of four months; while Colonna's followers pillaged St. Peter's and the Vatican, and carried off a booty of 300,000 ducats.

Clement was reduced to such a state of prostration and despair by this misfortune that he thought of inducing all Christian princes to undertake a crusade in his behalf; but from this notion he was dissuaded by the French King. Henry VIII. sent him a present of 30,000 ducats; Francis also gave him money; and what was better still, that monarch's army, consisting of 10,000 or 12,000 French and Swiss, under the Marquis of Saluzzo, at last joined the allies, just as the Papal troops were being withdrawn, conformably to the agreement with Moncada. Both the French and English Courts advised Clement not to observe the truce which had been forced upon him — counsel to which he was of himself sufficiently inclined.[61] He withdrew only his cavalry from Lombardy, under pretence of his agreement, but really for his own protection at Rome, and he allowed all his infantry, under his relative, John de' Medici, to remain with the allied army. With the money he had received Clement raised some troops and attacked the Colonnas, upon whom he took a fearful vengeance. The cardinal was deprived of his dignity; the palaces of the family in Rome were levelled to the earth; and bands were sent forth into the provinces to ravage their farms and destroy their houses and gardens. Designs were even formed against Naples; and Renzo da Ceri, the celebrated defender of Marseilles, undertook to lead a Papal army into the Abruzzi.

The instances of Sanga, the Papal envoy at Paris, had procured the despatch of a French fleet, under the command of Andrew Doria and Pedro Navarro, which having been joined by the Papal and Venetian squadrons, blockaded Genoa towards the end of August; but the attempt proved abortive — on the 3rd of December, Navarro carried the allied fleet into Cività Vecchia. Shortly afterwards he assisted in an attempt to place Louis, Count of Vaudemont, brother of the Duke of Lorraine, on the throne of Naples, as heir of the House of Anjou; but although Vaudemont succeeded in penetrating to Naples in February 1527, with an army of 8000 or 10,000 men,

[61] He told the Bishop of Bath that he intended to keep no part of the articles, "as the imperials had often broken their bonds with him." Bath's *Letter* to Wolsey, Oct. 10th 1526; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 21.

and made himself master of Salerno, want of money, in those times the cause of so many failures, obliged him to make a truce with Lannoy and disband his army.[62]

If the affairs of the allies were not in a prosperous condition, those of Bourbon were hardly better, whose necessities constantly compelled him to resort to new stratagems and fresh acts of tyranny in order to raise money. One of them was to condemn Morone, still a prisoner at Milan, to lose his head; and on the very day appointed for his execution, to sell him his life and liberty for 20,000 ducats. That intriguer now remained in Bourbon's service, and soon acquired over him the same influence that he had exercised over Sforza. But no means sufficed to raise the required sums, and the troops began to pillage the churches and other places which they had hitherto held sacred. At length, however, a prospect of relief appeared.

The Emperor in his instructions of July 27th 1526, which decided the recess of the Diet of Spires, had desired his brother either to lead or send an army into Italy; and as the affairs of Hungary required Ferdinand's personal superintendence, and prevented him from adopting the former alternative, he applied to the celebrated captain, George Frunsberg of Mindelheim. Nothing could have been more welcome to Frunsberg than an expedition against the Pope; a feeling shared by multitudes of the German Lutherans. It was given out, indeed, for decency's sake, that the expedition was intended against the Turk: but it was well understood that the Turk meant was no other than the Pope of Rome; and indeed many of Charles's letters and manifestoes against Clement at this period would not have disgraced the most zealous follower of Luther. Frunsberg was so ardent in the cause that he pawned his wife's jewels and ornaments in order to raise money; and he is said to have carried in his pocket a golden cord with which to hang the Pope with all due honours.[63] Germany at that time swarmed with disbanded soldiers, who knew no other trade than war, and numbers of them flocked to Frunsberg's standard. Pay he could not offer them for more than a week or two, but he held out to them the prospect of plundering the unhappy Italians; and at the head of about 11,000 of these disciplined brigands he marched through the Tyrol towards Lombardy. The pass leading towards

[62] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. xv. p. 247. The Pope had conferred Naples and Sicily on Vaudemont. See Dr. Lee's *Letter* from Spain, ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 110.

[63] This anecdote, which is related by P. Giovio, *Elogi degli huomini illustri*, lib. vi. p. 325 (Sotto il ritratto di Giorgio Fraispergo), and by other authorities, is, however, contradicted by Frunsberg's biographer, Reisner, Buch v. S. 95.

Verona was too well guarded to be attempted, and he therefore took the much more difficult route over the Sarca. Hence two ways presented themselves: one to the right, easy to be traversed but closed by the pass of Anfo; the other to the left, a mere footpath among tremendous precipices, which a single peasant might have rendered impassable, but which the enemy had neglected. So fearful were the abysses over which it led that nobody dared look down. Several of the horses and men fell over in the passage, and were lost. Frunsberg traversed the path on foot, accompanied by some of his men who were most accustomed to such mountain routes, and who at the most difficult spots made a sort of railing for him with their spears. In this manner they arrived at Aa on the evening of the 17th of November, and on the following day at Sabbio. On the 19th they reached Gavardo, in the territory of Brescia, without having experienced any opposition.

The Duke of Urbino's army was too strong for them to attempt to pass the Oglio and march on Milan; and as they had no artillery wherewith to attack any of the neighbouring towns, their only resource was to cross the Po, in which direction the enemy was not in much force, and by marching up its right bank ultimately to form a junction with Bourbon. They had first to pass the Mincio at Governolo, where a smart engagement took place; in which John de' Medici, in attempting to prevent their passage, received a mortal wound. He was only twenty-nine, but one of the best of the Italian captains. Frunsberg then pressed on to Ostiglia, where he crossed the Po, and marching up the course of that river, arrived in the neighbourhood of Piacenza, December 28th. Here he had to wait more than six weeks, till at last Bourbon succeeded in joining him at Firenzuola, bringing with him from Milan the greater part of his troops (February 12th 1527), consisting of about 5000 Spanish, and 2000 Italian infantry, and 1500 cavalry. The united army, therefore, amounted to near 20,000 men.

Many wild and unnecessary conjectures[64] have been hazarded respecting Bourbon's motives for the resolution which he now adopted of marching to Rome. It may, perhaps, suffice to reflect that the state of his army compelled him to some enterprise to provide them food and pay; that the capture of Rome was as easy

[64] Among them is that being discontented with the Emperor, Bourbon intended to march to Naples and seize that kingdom for himself. Von Raumer, *Gesch. Europas*, B. i. But there are no traces of any misunderstanding between him and Charles; and his last instructions to his confessor, before his fatal assault on the Roman walls, show him anxious to promote the interests of the Emperor (Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 393 f.). Frunsberg's biographer attributes Bourbon's march to the more vulgar but more probable motive of want of provisions. (*G. Frunsberg's Kriegsthaten*, Buch v. S. 105.)

or easier than any other; that he would thus strike a blow at the head of the league, and in the event of success secure his followers a splendid booty; that if unsuccessful, he might still march forwards into the Neapolitan dominions, where he would be secure; that the Germans, who formed the greater portion of his army, had come into Italy with the express determination of attacking the Pope; and that Bourbon was moreover advised to proceed to Rome by the Duke of Ferrara, his only Italian ally.

The united army broke up from their camp at Firenzuola, February 22nd, and took the road to Rome in six divisions. The news of Bourbon's march alarmed the Pope, and although his troops had gained some advantages in the Neapolitan territories, he was disposed to listen to fresh proposals of the Viceroy Lannoy for a truce, which was accordingly concluded in March. The Pope required that Bourbon's army should retire into Lombardy, to which Lannoy agreed, though it does not appear that any money, or, at all events, only a very inadequate sum, had been offered by Clement for the satisfaction of Bourbon's soldiers.[65] It was not probable that such a treaty would be ratified by any party, above all, it was unacceptable to the Imperial army. The pay of the Spanish troops was eight months in arrear, and both they and the Germans had fixed their hearts on the plunder of Rome. The appearance of Cesare Fieramosca, who came to propose the truce to Bourbon at S. Giovanni, near Bologna, was the signal for uproar and mutiny. Fieramosca was glad to escape from the enraged soldiery with his life; the person of Bourbon himself was threatened, his tent plundered, his best apparel thrown into a ditch. The Spaniards, who were the ringleaders, infected the Germans with their discontent, and excited them with cries of *Lanz! Lanz! Geld! Geld!*[66] their only words of German. In this trying hour the veteran Frunsberg relied on the affections of his lansquenets. The drums sounded a parley; a ring was formed, and Frunsberg stepped into the middle, accompanied by the Prince of Orange and other distinguished officers. Frunsberg addressed the threatening masses, recalled to their memory how he had partaken their prosperous and adverse fortune, and with mild and prudent words promised them satisfaction. They answered only with cries of *Geld! Geld!* and levelled their spears against Frunsberg and his officers. The disobedience of his troops, whom he regarded as his

[65] According to Guiccardini lib. xviii. the Pope engaged to pay 60,000 ducats; but no article of this kind appears in the treaty (in Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I.* B. iii. S. 604). There might, however, have been secret articles. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 384.

[66] Lance! Lance! Money! Money!

children, overpowered the veteran commander who had faced danger in every shape. He was seized with an apoplexy, and sank speechless and apparently lifeless on a drum. At this sight the hearts of those rugged soldiers relented. The fate of their beloved general produced the tranquillity which his words had failed to command; the spears were raised, the orders of the captains obeyed; and those bands, but now so tumultous, separated in silence and sorrow. After three or four days Frunsberg recovered his speech, but he was never again in a condition to head his troops, and in a few weeks he expired. He could only recommend Bourbon and the army to one another. The soldiers no longer demanded money; their only cry was "to Rome! to Rome!"

Bourbon's march was resumed; but it was slow. He did not reach Imola till April 5th. Thence he proceeded by the Val di Bagno over the Apennines, descending between the sources of the Arno and the Tiber. It was doubtful whether the blow would fall on Florence or Rome. A large proportion of the Florentines would willingly have seen their city taken by the Germans, thinking that such an event might release them from their servitude to the Pope. The Cardinal, who governed them for Clement, had been afraid to arm the people; and when at last they obtained arms, they rose in rebellion, and shut the gates against the Duke of Urbino.[67] But they were at last induced to return to obedience. Lannoy went to Florence in person, and obtained from the citizens a promise of 150,000 crowns; with which offer he proceeded, towards the end of April, to the camp of Bourbon, who had now crossed the Apennines; but the soldiery raised their demands to 240,000 crowns, and displayed such menacing symptoms that Lannoy deemed it prudent to make his escape. About the same time, the Pope, at the instigation of the English and French ambassadors, and disgusted, perhaps, with the exorbitant demands of Bourbon's army, renounced the truce with the Viceroy, and renewed his alliance with the League; although he had dismissed the greater part of his troops and left his capital almost defenceless.[68]

Bourbon now put his intentions beyond all doubt by taking the high road to Rome and marching on Arezzo. His army had been

[67] *Sacco di Roma*, p. 135 sqq. (ed. 1664). This work, which is commonly ascribed to Fr. Guicciardini, was probably the production of his nephew. It has also been attributed to Jacopo Buonaparte, of Sanminiato, and to Benedetto Varchi. See Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 53.

[68] "It is not to be thought little, considering the Pope's fearful nature, to have returned him into the war."—*Letter* of the English ambassadors to Wolsey, from Rome, April 26th 1527. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 75, note: Cf. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 391.

increased by the flocking to it of bandits and other disorderly characters, and the Duke of Ferrara had supplied him with some artillery. There was nothing to oppose his march to Rome; for the army of the Duke of Urbino, which hung at a respectful distance in his rear, seemed only to drive him on. It appears from Charles's letters to Lannoy and Bourbon at this period, that he was fully aware of the latter's intention; though the same documents show that he did not originally suggest it. He utters, however, not a single word of disapproval; on the contrary, he seems well satisfied that terms should be dictated to the Pope in his capital, and compensation procured for the expenses of the war.[69] Florence also was not to be spared. The Emperor therefore shared the feelings of the army. He had, indeed, prepared a ratification of Lannoy's treaty with the Pope, to be used in case the army had done nothing to extort better terms; a step which the conduct of the Pope himself had rendered useless.

Martin Du Bellay, the author of the Memoirs, who had posted from Florence to apprise Clement of Bourbon's advance, found him in the greatest trepidation.[70] To add to his alarm, a fanatical prophet, a Siennese of middle age, red-haired, haggard, meagre, and naked, perambulated the streets of Rome, vociferating abuse in the ears of the Pope himself, predicting his fall and that of the city, and the subsequent reformation of the Church.[71] The Papal troops were deserting by fifties and hundreds, and there was no money to levy more. Clement at first steadily rejected the advice of the English ambassadors to raise funds by the sale of cardinals' hats. Ultimately he made six cardinals for 40,000 crowns a piece[72]; but the money was not readily forthcoming; and the only recruits that could be had were shopboys, ostlers, and such like persons. It is said that a great part of the population would have been glad to see Rome in the possession of the Emperor, whose splendid court would have been more favourable to trade than the dominion of the priests.[73] Clement intrusted the defence of Rome to Du Bellay and Renzo da Ceri. Bourbon appeared before it on the evening of May 5th, and sent a trumpet to demand admittance and an unmolested passage to Naples; but as his artillery had not yet come up, the Pope determined to resist. It was thought that the army of the League must soon arrive, and that want of provisions would compel the assailants to a speedy retreat. The same reasons suggested to Bourbon the necessity for

[69] See the extracts in Bucholtz, *Ferd. I.* B. iii. S. 66 ff.
[70] Du Bellay, liv. iii.
[71] *Sacco di Roma*, p. 174.
[72] Turner, *ibid.* p. 80 sq.
[73] Vettori, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* p. 324.

prompt measures; and on the following morning, under cover of a fog, he gave orders for the assault, which was made on that part of the city on the west of the Tiber, called the Borgo di S. Pietro, near Santo Spirito, behind St. Peter's and the Vatican. The resistance was greater than had been anticipated, and Bourbon, seeing his troops hesitate, seized a ladder, and was placing it against the wall when he was struck by a shot in the side. He felt that the wound was mortal, and ordering himself to be wrapped in his mantle, that the army might not perceive his loss, in this way expired at the foot of the walls, while the assault was still proceeding.[74] A party of Spaniards effected an entrance through a loophole near the base of the walls which, being partly concealed by rubbish, had escaped the notice of the garrison; and they advanced into the city with cries of "Spain! Spain! Kill them! Kill them!" At this unexpected apparition Renzo was seized with a panic, and exclaiming "the enemy are within," sullied his former military reputation by a disgraceful flight towards the Ponte Sisto.[75] More soldiers pressed in, over the walls and through the gates. In Rome all was flight and consternation. At this anxious moment Clement was at prayer in his chapel, when, hearing that the assault had succeeded, he traversed a long corridor that led from the Vatican to the castle of St. Angelo. Paolo Jovio, the historian, who accompanied him, threw his violet mantle over the Pope's white robe, placing also his own hat on Clement's head, to prevent him from being recognised. The Pontiff might have escaped over the bridge of St. Angelo, not yet occupied by the enemy, had he not been too fearful to proceed any further.[76] A promiscuous throng of cardinals, prelates, nobles, citizens, ladies, priests, and soldiers, also pressed into the castle, and rendered it difficult to lower the portcullis.

Although flushed with success and without a commander, yet the instinct and habit of long discipline withheld that savage soldiery from plunder till they had endeavoured to make terms with the Pope. Their demands now rose to 300,000 crowns, and possession of the Trastevere as security for the payment. The infatuated Clement, who at this eleventh hour still clung to the hope of being rescued by the army of the League, the van of whose cavalry might be discerned in the distance, persisted in rejecting

[74] The celebrated sculptor, Benvenuto Cellini, pretends in his *Autobiography* that it was he who shot Bourbon. He likewise asserts that he subsequently killed the Prince of Orange; but no reliance can be placed on the assertions of this eccentric artist.

[75] *Sacco di Roma*, p. 188 sqq.

[76] P. Giovio, *Vit. di Pomp. Colonna*, p. 173. Raumer's *Briefe aus Paris*, Th. i. S. 255.

all proposals. After four hours' rest, the Imperialists resumed operations. The Trastevere was soon taken; the bridges over the Tiber were stormed, and before night all Rome was in their power. They remained, however, under arms till midnight, the main body of the Spaniards occupying the Piazza Navona, while the Germans were arrayed in the Campo di Fiori; when, no enemy appearing, they rushed forth to rapine, lust, and violence, and all those deeds which are best hid under the pall of night.

This, however, was but the initiation of their crimes and orgies —their baptism of blood in the holy city. During nearly two weeks Rome presented a continued scene of plunder, violation, and massacre. In these excesses, the soldiers of each nation displayed their characteristic qualities; and whilst the Germans principally indulged themselves in eating and drinking, the Spaniards and Italians perpetrated the more violent kinds of mischief. These scenes of horror were relieved by some ludicrous incidents. The German Lutherans dressed themselves up to represent the Pope and his cardinals, and rode round the city mounted on asses. One of these processions halted before the castle of St. Angelo; the pretended Pope, drinking off a huge glass of wine, gave his cardinals the blessing; the cardinals received it on their knees and responded in the same fashion. Then they formed themselves into a consistory; declared that henceforward they would have a Pope who should be more obedient to the Emperor, and elected Luther to the office, amid shouts which must have penetrated to the ears of Clement.[77] With characteristic bigotry, the Spanish soldiers, though stained with blood and crimes of every description, regarded the mockery of the priests by the Germans with superstitious horror, as the greatest of all ungodliness. It is needless to say that churches as well as palaces were plundered; the Italians themselves under Colonna had done the same. Even the tomb of St. Peter was ransacked, and a golden ring taken from the finger of the corpse of Julius II. The plunder was immense. For centuries the wealth of Europe had been flowing towards Rome, and it now became the prey of that destitute and greedy soldiery which, in expectation of this hour, had so long borne with its privations and misery. Many had suddenly become so rich that they would stake 200 florins on a single throw of the dice. It was fortunate for the Roman nobles, that after a few days Pompeo Colonna came to Rome and protected them against the worst excesses. The chief officers of the Imperial army occupied the

[77] Reisner, *Frunsberg's Kriegsthaten*, S. 115, verso.

Vatican; the Prince of Orange, whom the soldiers had elected their commander-in-chief, was lodged in the apartments of the Pope.[78]

Meanwhile Clement was still anxiously expecting his deliverance. Every night three signals were made from the castle of St. Angelo that it still held out; but though the Duke of Urbino was at length in the immediate vicinity of Rome, he did not attempt its relief. His former conduct seems to have been the effect of irresolution and cowardice; he was now perhaps also actuated by motives of revenge, and may have viewed with a secret satisfaction the misfortunes of one of that house who had formerly been his mortal adversaries. Such was the deliberation with which he had advanced, that although he knew of the capture of Rome when at Orvieto on the 11th of May, he did not reach Nepi till the 22nd. He soon withdrew his army without having made the slightest attempt to relieve the Pope, and Clement was obliged to renew negociations with Lannoy, who had arrived in Rome. After a month's captivity he effected a capitulation on worse conditions than those previously offered (June 5th 1527). He engaged to renounce all alliances against the Emperor; to remain a prisoner, together with the thirteen cardinals who had accompanied him into the castle of St. Angelo, till he had paid the Imperial army 400,000 crowns; and to place Ostia and Cività Vecchia, as well as Modena, Parma and Piacenza in the hands of the Imperialists as security for the payment. When Sultan Solyman heard of these events, he remarked that the Turks had not treated the patriarch of Constantinople with half the contumely that the Christians had displayed towards their Holy Father.

The Pope's discomfort was increased by the intelligence that the Florentines had availed themselves of Bourbon's advance to expel the Medici, throw down their statues and confiscate their estates; and that they were endeavouring under the protection of France to restore the republic of Savonarola. This defection of his native city affected Clement even more than the capture of Rome. He learnt at the same time that the Venetians had recovered Ravenna and Cervia, and that the Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara had, under various pretexts, seized several places in the Papal dominions. In Rome, itself, people no longer talked of the Apostolic, but of the Imperial, chamber; while the German troops, nay, perhaps, some

[78] Besides the usual historians of the period, and the works quoted in the margin, the following may be consulted for the sack of Rome. Ἅλωσις *Romæ*, in Hoffmann, *Script.* t. i.; *Comm. de capta urbe Roma*, in Schardius, *Script.* t. ii.; Paradin, *Hist. de notre temps*, p. 62 sqq. (ed. 1550).

of the Roman citizens themselves, were in hopes that the young Emperor would take up his residence in that capital.

Charles, into whose hands fate and the fortune of war had thus consecutively thrown two of the greatest potentates of Europe, was not slow to perceive all the advantages of the conjuncture; but, in his outward behaviour, he assumed the appearance of his usual moderation. He affected the profoundest sympathy for the Pope's misfortune, ordered that he should be set at liberty, countermanded the fêtes for celebrating the birth of his son Philip, and put himself and his court into mourning. But while prayers were offering up in the Spanish churches for the deliverance of the Pontiff, the Emperor does not appear to have taken any steps towards effecting it; and the Imperial generals took care that Clement should not be liberated till he had paid down the stipulated sums. Charles, no doubt, was again playing the hypocrite; yet it should be recollected that he was dealing with a personage, who himself assumed a double character; and that while the Emperor was bound to reverence the Pope as the vicar of Christ and father of the faithful, he might rejoice over his humiliation as a temporal prince who had often opposed him with arms, and still oftener deceived him by negociations.

It was a crisis in the affairs of Europe, as well as in those of the Emperor himself. Everything depended on the course Charles might adopt. Should he press his advantages against the Pope and reign in his stead, as his grandfather Maximilian had once contemplated doing? Or, should he revert to the old traditional policy which linked together the interests of the Holy Roman See and Holy Roman empire? In order to appreciate the policy which guided him in choosing between these alternatives, we must recall to mind the actual state of affairs.

First, there was the great eastern question. The Emperor's brother, Ferdinand, claimed the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary; but as Hungary had been overrun by the Turks, who now threatened even the existence of the empire, it seemed probable that no adequate defence could be organised without conciliating the German reformers and obtaining their hearty co-operation; and this, as we have seen, had been one of the motives for the favourable recess of the Diet of Spires. By that recess, as well as by letters and manifestoes, Charles had already in a considerable degree committed himself to an anti-Papal policy in Germany; and there can be little doubt that, had he placed himself at the head of the German reformation, holding as he did the Pope in his power, and being assisted by popular opinion, he might have suc-

ceeded in exterminating the remains of papistry in that country. Thus he might have established his empire firmly both in Germany and Italy, and presented an impenetrable barrier to the Turks. Some schemes of this sort appear at first to have been actually floating in his mind. He expressed his confidence that his army might make a favourable convention with the Florentines; then encamp in the Venetian territory, and, with the aid of the Duke of Ferrara, who was to be named captain-general, dictate a peace to that haughty republic.[79] Nay, he even contemplated bringing the Pope, like Francis previously, a prisoner into Spain; and Hugo de Moncada, now Viceroy of Naples, appears actually to have invited Alarçon, to whom, by a singular fortune, the custody of the Pope, like that of Francis previously, had been intrusted, to convey Clement to Gaeta. But the Spanish conscience of that officer, though it felt no repugnance at keeping the Pope a prisoner, revolted at the idea of "leading about captive the body of God."[80]

On the other side, however, were many reasons which dissuaded Charles from acting too harshly towards the Pope. His brother Ferdinand's possession of Hungary was threatened, not only by the Turks, but also by Zapolya and his party; it could not but be advantageous to the House of Austria in the struggle for the Hungarian Crown, that their cause should be espoused by the Church; and, in fact, Clement was afterwards induced to excommunicate Zapolya and his adherents. Even in Germany itself there was still a mighty Roman Catholic party, and especially a numerous and powerful hierarchy, at the head of which were three ecclesiastical Electors. In short, the Papacy and the Empire were so closely connected that, according to the remark of Zwingli[81], one could not be assailed without attacking the other. Charles, moreover, was King of Spain as well as Emperor of Germany, and his Spanish subjects were bigoted papists, who would have viewed with horror the abasement of their spiritual head. The Spanish grandees who visited the court, temporal as well as spiritual, reminded Charles of the devotion of the nation towards the Holy Father: the Papal nuncio talked of suspending all ecclesiastical functions in Spain; the prelates, clothed in mourning, were to appear before the Emperor to demand from him the vicar of Christ, and the court had openly to interfere, in order to prevent so striking a demonstration.[82] Charles's ministers, too, were in favour of Clement's liberation; and

[79] *Letter* of Charles, June 30th 1527, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 401.

[80] Guicciardini, lib. xviii.; the Emperor's *Instructions* to Peter de Verey, Baron de Mont St. Vincent, in Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I.* B. iii. S. 97 ff.

[81] Ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iv, S. 107.

[82] Pallavicini, lib. ii. c. 14. s. 12.

another question to be considered was the King of England's divorce, which had already begun to be canvassed; a matter in which the Pope had power to do the Emperor a serious injury. Nor was it possible entirely to disregard the opinion of Europe, which had already found, in the sack of Rome and captivity of the Pontiff, a handle for real or affected indignation. With a view to exculpate himself, Charles issued circular letters to all the courts of Europe, dated at Valladolid, August 2nd 1527, in which he explained how much he had been provoked by Clement; endeavoured to prove that faith had been broken with him; asserted that he had never authorised Bourbon's march to Rome; that Bourbon's soldiers, though carrying the Imperial flag, scarcely recognised the Emperor's authority; and that their leader, having fallen in the first assault, it was no longer possible to retain them in obedience.[83] In which he seems to prove too much. For, if Bourbon's expedition was beyond his control, it was hardly necessary to exculpate himself by alleging his grievances against the Pope.

Charles's own bigotry, however, was probably as weighty as any reasons of state. His Spanish blood, his education under the scholastic Adrian, his years of early manhood passed in Spain, all tended to subordinate him to Rome. His enmity to the Pope, and opposition to him in Germany, were founded on temporal considerations only, and vanished with the occasion of them. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that Charles, in the first instructions to his ambassador to the captive Pope, talks of the necessity of uprooting the heretical sect of Luther.[84] At length, November 26th 1527, a formal treaty was concluded between the Emperor and the Pope. Clement was to be liberated on condition of paying between 300,000 and 400,000 gold crowns, and undertaking never again to interfere in the affairs of Naples and the Milanese; he was to call a general council for the reformation of the Church, and extirpation of Lutheranism; to admit Imperial garrisons into Ostia, Cività Vecchia, and Cività Castellana; and to surrender Alexander and Hippolyto de' Medici, as hostages for the performance of the treaty. It is also said that he promised not to grant Henry VIII.'s divorce; but no article to this effect was inserted in the treaty. Clement escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, in the disguise of a servant, in the night of the 9th of December, before the

[83] *Lettere di Principi*, t. ii. p. 234 sq. Cf. Raynaldus, t. xiii. p. 13. Charles had previously told the English ambassadors, "with his hand often laid upon his breast, that these things were done not only without any commission given by him, but also against his will, and that to his much displeasure and sorrow."—*Despatch* of June 27th; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 119.

[84] In Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I.* B. iii. S. 99.

day appointed for his liberation, and probably with the connivance of his guard. He proceeded to Orvieto, where he remained till the following October.[85]

The news of the sack of Rome and captivity of Clement produced a great sensation in England and France. Wolsey ordered prayers to be offered up in every church for the Pope's deliverance, and the observance of a three days' fast; but the people would not keep it. There was already a strong anti-Papal feeling abroad among the English. They remarked that the Pope was a ruffian, and not fit for his holy office; that he had begun the mischief, and was rightly served. The King, himself, observed to Wolsey, that the war between the Pope and Emperor was not for the faith but only for temporal possessions and dominions, and intimated that his support of the former would be confined to a pecuniary aid.[86] The King of France talked of establishing a separate Popedom or Patriarchate in his dominions, now that the Pope was in durance and under the thumb of his adversary; it was even said that Wolsey was to be the head of it, who was undoubtedly striving to extend his own ecclesiastical power on the ruin of the Pope; and the Imperial minister made him an offer of a legative power in Lower Germany. But it was mere talk.

Just previously to the taking of Rome, Henry VIII. and Francis I. had concluded the treaty of Westminster (April 30th 1527), the principal object of which was to make a diversion in favour of Italy by carrying the war into the Netherlands with an army composed of one third English and two thirds French. Provision was also made for the liberation of the French princes and for the payment of the debt to England. Henry renounced his pretensions to the French crown, in consideration of an annual pension of 50,000 gold crowns to him and his successors.[87] The fall of Rome gave a new aspect to affairs, and the preceding treaty was modified by another, May 29th, by which it was further agreed that a French army of 30,000 men should invade Italy, and that England should contribute 30,000 crowns a month to its support.

In order to concert the necessary measures, as well as to draw closer the bonds of union between the two countries, and if possible to strengthen them by a marriage between Henry VIII. and a French princess, Wolsey undertook an embassy into France. As this was the last of the haughty cardinal's public negociations so likewise it was the most splendid. Early in July he passed in

[85] Belcarius, p. 604; Pallavicini, lib. ii. c. 14, s. 14, and c. 16; Le Grand, *Hist. du Divorce*, t. iii. p. 48 sqq.

[86] Hall, p. 727 sq.

[87] Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 472.

state through the streets of London, followed by a body of 1200 lords and gentlemen on horseback, all dressed in black velvet livery coats, and having for the most part massy chains of gold around their necks. These, again, were followed by their servants in tawny livery. The cardinal's own equipage was as magnificent as ecclesiastical pomp could make it. The imposing and theatrical effect of his progress was heightened by a little piece of acting. At Canterbury, Wolsey caused the monks to sing a litany to the Virgin in the cathedral, while he knelt on a stool at the choir door weeping very tenderly "for grief that the Pope was in such calamity and danger of the lance-knights."[88] On landing at Calais he announced himself as the King's Lieutenant-General, thus adding military dignity to ecclesiastical state. When he set forth from that town his train occupied more than a mile of the road. He would willingly have dazzled the eyes of the Parisians with his magnificence; but such a display was not agreeable to the French court; and under pretence of civility, they appointed Amiens as the place for the conference. Francis kept the cardinal waiting some days at Abbeville, and it was not till August 3rd that they met together at Amiens. Francis did him honour by meeting him on the road; and Wolsey asserted his ecclesiastical pre-eminence by causing his throne in the church to be raised three steps higher than that of the King. After a fortnight spent in festivities the treaty of Amiens was concluded (August 18th), by which Henry repeated his renunciation of the French crown in consideration of the pension before mentioned[89]; Francis was to be at liberty to marry the Emperor's sister Eleanor, and the Duke of Orleans was to espouse the Princess Mary. The treaty also settled the sums to be advanced by Henry towards the war.[90] Another treaty declared that the Pope, while a prisoner, could not convoke a general council; that all bulls issued during his detention, if prejudicial to England or France, were null and void; and that Wolsey, with the assistance of the English prelates, should have power to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of England.[91] A like regulation was adopted with regard to France.

[88] Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, ch. xiii.

[89] It is almost needless, however, to observe, that the title of "King of France" was retained by English sovereigns down to the time of the Irish union, at the beginning of the present century.

[90] Rymer, t. xiv. p 203 sqq. 218 sqq.; Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 487. The treaty of Amiens refers to the treaties of April 30th and May 29th.

[91] Rymer, *ibid.* p. 212 sqq. The ratification of the treaty of Amiens, written on ten leaves of vellum, signed by Francis, and countersigned by his minister, Robertet, is preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster. It is one of the most beautiful specimens of the MSS. of the period.

After the completion of these treaties, Wolsey proceeded to Compiègne to arrange, if possible, a more private and delicate matter—a marriage, namely, between Henry VIII. and the Princess Renée, then in her seventeenth year, the younger sister of the late Queen Claude. In this affair, however, the Cardinal was not successful. As daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of Brittany, Renée had a reversion in that duchy which Francis would have been ill pleased to see transferred to the English crown. A few months later Renée married the eldest son of the Duke of Ferrara, afterwards Hercules II. Duke Alphonso was thus detached from the Imperial interest, and signed a treaty with France, by which the marriage was arranged, Nov. 27th 1527. Like her relative, Margaret of Navarre, Renée was devoted to literature and science, but her studies were more profound, and to a knowledge of languages she added geometry, astronomy, and philosophy. From Margaret she had imbibed a love for the doctrines of the Reformation; her court at Ferrara became the centre of what little progress the new doctrines ever made in Italy, and occasionally afforded shelter to some of their most eminent professors, among whom may be mentioned Calvin, and the poet Clement Marot. The proposed marriage of Henry VIII. involved of course a divorce from Catherine, and it was at Compiègne that Wolsey opened to the queen-mother, Louisa, his schemes on that subject. He did not quit France till towards the end of September. The Emperor, alarmed at these negociations, and at the threatened invasion of Italy, would willingly have concluded a peace with Francis on the terms offered in the preceding year, but the French King rejected all his proposals.

Towards the end of July, a French army under the command of Lautrec entered Italy, and at the same time Genoa was blockaded by a French fleet under Andrew Doria, while Cæsar Fregoso invested it by land. Thus besieged by the two banished chiefs of the French party, the Genoese capitulated, expelled the Doge, Antoniotto Adorni, and admitted Theodore Trivulzio, a nephew of the famous captain, as governor in the name of Francis I. The progress of Lautrec was equally successful. He rapidly overran all the country to the west of the Ticino, and took Pavia by assault (October 1527), which, in revenge of its obstinate resistance two or three years before, was sacked with circumstances of great barbarity But instead of attempting the conquest of the Milanese, he gave out that he intended to liberate the Pope, who was still confined in St. Angelo; and crossing the Po, he marched southwards and went into winter quarters at Bologna. When he resumed his

march in January 1528, the Pope was already liberated. The Imperial army, under the Prince of Orange, which had been reduced by various causes to half its original number, evacuated Rome on Lautrec's approach, and retreated through the Abruzzi towards Naples, making only a slight show of resistance at Troja. The advance of the French was accompanied with the greatest excesses and cruelties. At the end of April they appeared before Naples, which they immediately invested. Hugo de Moncada, who had been appointed Viceroy, on the death of Lannoy in September 1527, having put to sea with the Marquis del Guasto and many of the nobility, with a small fleet, in order to drive off Philippino Doria, who was cruising in the Gulf of Salerno, received a signal defeat, in which he himself was slain, Del Guasto taken prisoner, and most of the Spanish vessels either captured or sunk (May 28th). Doria being joined by twenty-three Venetian galleys, now blockaded Naples by sea; and that city being thus invested on all sides, so great a famine ensued, that an egg was sold for a real, and a fowl for a ducat. But the improvidence of Francis again marred all his prospects of success. Though prodigal in his own pleasures, he neglected to supply Lautrec with the funds necessary for the maintenance of his army. His treatment of Andrew Doria was still more impolitic. Montmorenci, who enjoyed the revenues of the harbour of Savona, attempted to improve them at the expense of Genoa, and when Doria resisted these proceedings, which would have been injurious to his native town, Duprat, the ready tool of every oppression, procured a warrant for his apprehension, the execution of which was entrusted to Admiral Barbésieux, who was appointed to supersede Doria in the command of the fleet. Doria having heard of this step, concluded a treaty with the Emperor, with whom he had been some time negociating, and, sailing to Naples, opened the sea to the Imperial garrison. The state of things was now reversed. Famine was transferred from the city to the besieging army, and combined with the heat of the climate, excessive indulgence in fruit, and the vapours arising from stagnant waters, engendered a terrible pestilence, which swept off the greater part of the French. Among the victims were Lautrec himself, and Vaudemont, who was to have received the crown of Naples. The French precipitately raised the siege (August 29th), leaving behind them their guns and material. Soon afterwards, the Marquis of Saluzzo, who had succeeded to the command, surrendered, with the small remains of the French army, at Aversa, to the Prince of Orange, now Viceroy of Naples. Pedro Navarro, who had been taken prisoner, was executed as a traitor. Thus

was swallowed up the fourth army which had been dispatched into Italy since the accession of Francis I.

Clement VII., in spite of his accommodation with the Emperor; would have beheld with pleasure the success of the French arms, and with his usual faithlessness he had exhorted Lautrec to advance.[92] Henry VIII.'s divorce, and consequently the fate of Wolsey, and the infinitely more important question of the English Reformation, depended on the success of Lautrec. The Pope had no objection to grant the divorce; he was actuated in the matter solely by his fears. On the one hand, he was coerced by the Emperor; on the other, he was alarmed at the prospect, not obscurely held out to him by Gardiner and Fox, the English ambassadors at Orvieto, of the defection of England from the Papal See. Their representations had a great effect upon Clement, and they describe him as pacing a long while up and down his chamber, using at the same time the most lively gesticulations.[93] All that he wanted was a sufficient excuse with the Emperor, which he would have found if Lautrec could have been induced by the English ambassadors to put upon him the appearance of compulsion.[94] Among other evasions, Clement advised that Henry should take a second wife at once, without making so much stir about the matter — in short, quietly commit bigamy — and then refer his cause to Rome.[95] One of the schemes in agitation between the English ambassadors and the Pope during the latter's residence at Orvieto was, that he should depose Charles on the ground of the ill treatment experienced at his hands, and authorise the Electors to choose another Emperor from among themselves. Clement listened to this suggestion: he thought that he could count upon four of the Electors; but Henry and Francis must first agree upon the person to be chosen.[96] These and other plans — in fact, the whole conduct of the Pope — depended, as we have said, on Lautrec's success. Early in June 1528, when that general stood in a favourable position before Naples, Clement, enticed by the promise that the Venetians should be induced to restore his cities, gave his legate, Campeggio, full power to conclude the divorce. But after Lautrec's defeat, in August, we find Sanga writing to Campeggio (September 2nd), that, however indebted his Holiness might feel

[92] Sir R. Jerningham's *Despatch*, Dec. 3rd 1527; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 167.

[93] Gardiner's and Fox's *Letter* from Orvieto, Monday in Easter-week, 1528; in Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memor.* bk. i. ch. xii. Cf. Gardiner's *Letter* of May 4th, in Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. *Records*, No. 14.

[94] Dr. Knight's *Letter* in Herbert (Kennett, vol. ii. p. 100).

[95] Letter of Cassalis, in Herbert (*Ibid.* p. 140), Cf. Le Grand, t. i. p. 79.

[96] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iii. S. 25.

himself to the King of England, yet care must be taken not to give offence to the victorious Emperor.[97]

From this period the relations between Clement and Charles became more and more friendly and intimate; the magnificent projects which the Pope had formed of liberating Italy from the yoke of foreigners, vanished gradually from his mind; he even began to forget the personal injuries which had seemed ineffaceable; and he resolved once more to change parties, and to sacrifice Italy for the interests of his family and those of the tiara. A formal and public reconciliation was effected by the treaty of Barcelona (June 29th 1529), by which Charles engaged to procure the restoration of Ravenna, Cervia, Modena, and Reggio, which had been wrested from the See of Rome, and to re-establish the House of Medici at Florence, under the headship of Alexander de' Medici. Clement, on his side, promised to crown Charles with the Imperial Crown, and to invest him with the kingdom of Naples, on condition of the usual tribute of a white palfrey. The claim of Sforza to the Milanese was left in abeyance till a tribunal should have decided on his guilt or innocence in the affair of Morone. Engagements were entered into to arrest the progress of the Turks and Lutherans; and the Pope absolved the soldiers who had participated in the violences and excesses committed at Rome, in order that they might be employed in the "Holy War." But the war for which they were really destined was one of a very different kind — the subjugation of Florence, the Pope's native city. The treaty was confirmed by the betrothal of the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret, to Alexander de' Medici.[98]

The reconciliation between Clement and Charles was fatal to the progress of Henry VIII.'s divorce. The Pope was now entirely at the Emperor's devotion. On the 9th of July, he hinted to the English ambassadors the opinion of the Roman jurisconsults, that the cause must be evoked to Rome; and when they endeavoured to dissuade him from such a course, he replied, that though sensible of its consequences, he was between the hammer and the forge, and could not resist the Emperor's demands; that if he complied with the wishes of the King, he should draw a devastating storm upon himself and the Church.[99] The peace of Barcelona was proclaimed in Rome, July 18th, and on the following day, Clement notified to Wolsey that the suit was evoked to Rome. The consequences that ensued are well known to the readers of English history—the fall of Wolsey, the victim of his own machinations, and

[97] Apud Ranke, *Päpste*, B. i. S. 126.
[98] Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 1.
[99] Burnet, *Reformation*, vol. i. p. 152 sq. (ed. 1829).

the subsequent marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn. To another of its consequences, the abolition of the Papal supremacy in England, we shall have occasion to advert further on.

The treaty of Barcelona was one of the causes which soon after led to a peace between the Emperor and the King of France. The treaties between Francis and the King of England had produced no effect besides the invasion of Italy by the French. The war which Henry had undertaken to wage with the Flemings was very unpopular in England. The citizens of London protested loudly against an expedition which would have ruined one of their most important and lucrative trades; and the King, yielding to their remonstrances, concluded a truce with Margaret, governess of the Netherlands, June 8th 1528, by which the frontiers of Flanders were guaranteed from invasion for eight months.[100] In Italy, the Venetians were lukewarm in supporting the French; the Pope, as we have seen, had made his arrangements with the Emperor; and Andrew Doria followed up the relief of Naples by exciting his fellow-citizens to throw off the French yoke. The French garrison was expelled from Genoa, Sept. 12th 1528; the republic was reorganised and placed by Doria under the protection of the Emperor. Efficacious measures were adopted for extinguishing the factions by which Genoa had so long been torn. The feudal and civic aristocracies were amalgamated into one body of nobility, all the members of which entered by turns into the great council of the republic, composed of four hundred members, who sat for a year. The Genoese constitution thus became entirely aristocratic. It was not again overthrown, and, like Venice, dragged on, till the French revolution, a lingering existence among the monuments of its former glory. Andrew Doria, by refusing the title of Doge, showed that he had not been actuated by personal ambition. He contented himself with the command of the fleet, and that moral authority which was due to him as the liberator of his country. But this authority was so great that he obtained the by-name of "the monarch;" and this monarch was the admiral of the Emperor.

So complete was the control exercised at this period by Wolsey over the foreign negociations of England, that Henry VIII. does not appear to have been aware of the declaration of war which, in conjunction with that of the French King, had been delivered to Charles in January 1528. It was on the 22nd of that month that Guyenne and Clarencieux, the French and English Kings-at-Arms

[100] Rymer, t. xiv. p. 264.

appeared before the Emperor at Burgos, and, in the presence of his assembled nobles, declared war against him in the name of their respective sovereigns. When Henry afterwards found fault with this act, Wolsey took subterfuge in a clumsy falsehood, and asserted that the defiance had been given without his orders. The herald was thus forced to defend himself by producing three of Wolsey's letters directing the declaration. The detection of so palpable a falsehood of course raised suspicions of the Cardinal's whole conduct, and was one of the first incidents that prepared the way for his fall.[101] The Emperor naturally expressed his surprise that Francis should have chosen such a moment for his declaration, when he had been several years at war with him without one; and he reminded Guyenne of a message which he had sent to the French King by his ambassador, but which the latter had not thought fit to deliver, to the effect that he had violated the faith and honour of a gentleman, and that if Francis asserted the contrary, he was ready to maintain the charge person to person. Charles's answer to Clarencieux was more moderate; but he addressed to Henry a letter in which he charged him with the contemplated divorce from Catherine. Charles pointed out that such a step would bastardise the Princess Mary, whose hand had been offered to him; and he inquired what confidence could be placed in Henry's affected zeal for the Pope, when he showed so little for religion? The truth of these reproaches rendered them all the more biting; for it can hardly be doubted that much of Henry's desire to serve the Pontiff arose from a wish to obtain his good offices in return in the matter of the divorce.

Francis, unable to rebut the charge brought against him by the Emperor, replied by a challenge, in which he gave Charles the lie, and which he caused to be read in the presence of Perrenot de Granvella, the Imperial ambassador, and of the whole French court (March 28th); but when Burgundy, the Imperial King-at-Arms, came back with a reply, fixing the place of combat on the Bidassoa, Francis flew into a violent passion, and would not accord him a hearing; so that the refusal of the duel rests with the French king. However ridiculous this affair may appear to our modern notions, it was not viewed in that light at a period when the usages of chivalry were not yet obsolete; especially as the cause of the dispute was in a great measure of a personal nature. The true point of ridicule, as a French historian observes[102], is, that the

[101] See the *Letter* of Clarencieux, Feb. 18th 1528; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 274; Hall, p. 745.

[102] Gaillard, *Vie de François I.* t. iii. p. 444.

two monarchs, after making the question a point of honour, passing a formal challenge, and fixing the eyes of all Europe upon them, should have suffered the matter to drop without coming to any issue. Charles avenged himself on the French king by persecuting his captive sons. The French agent found the two young princes in a dark, ill-furnished chamber, amusing themselves by playing with little dogs and modelling in wax. They had almost forgotten the French tongue. Their domestics were sent to the galleys, as if they had been prisoners of war, and some of them were sold into Barbary for slaves.[103]

In spite, however, of their good-will to be revenged on each other, the warlike operations of Charles and Francis were carried on without much vigour. Both, in fact, were exhausted. The campaigns of the French in northern Italy in the years 1528 and 1529, under François de Bourbon Vendôme, commonly called the Count of St. Pol, whom Francis had dispatched thither with a few thousand men, are scarcely worth narrating. At last, in June 1529, St. Pol was surprised at Landriano, near Milan, by Antonio de Leyva; he himself and most of his principal officers were taken prisoners, and the French army was entirely dispersed. The defeat at Landriano, and the treaty of Barcelona, which confirmed the defection of the Pope, inclined the French court to peace with the Emperor. Further resistance in Italy was impossible. Charles was master in the north and south; Genoa was withdrawn from French influence; Venice, by the secession of Mantua from the league, was herself threatened, and obliged to think of her own defence; Florence, indeed, still held out, but without any prospect of ultimate success. There was no chance of English co-operation against the Netherlands, and there was a pressing necessity for the delivery of the young French princes from their cruel captivity. The Emperor, on his side, had too much to do in Germany and Hungary to be desirous of continuing the war. Under these circumstances it was arranged that Louisa, the French King's mother, and Charles's aunt Margaret, should meet at Cambray to settle the terms of a general peace; for the sovereigns themselves were so embittered against each other as to make it desirable to intrust the negociations to female hands. In July the two princesses went to Cambray, where they occupied adjoining houses, between which a private passage was opened, so that they could confer together at all hours without notice or interruption; and on the 5th of August 1529 they signed the Peace of Cambray, which was named after them *La Paix des*

[103] Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 506, from the *Papiers de Granvelle;* Sandoval and Herbert, ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 270.

Dames, or "Ladies' Peace." It was founded on the treaty of Madrid, with a modification of some of the articles. The ransom of the French princes was fixed at three millions of gold crowns; but of this sum one million was to be set off as the dowry of Madame Eleanor, whom Francis was to marry. Francis was released from his obligation to surrender Burgundy, and on the other hand renounced all his pretensions in Italy, as well as the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois, recognised the treaty imposed by the Emperor on Charles d'Egmont, Duke of Gelderland, in October 1528, by which that old ally of France had entered the Imperial alliance, guarantied the reversion of Gelderland and Zutphen to Charles V., and engaged not to countenance any practices against the Emperor either in Italy or Germany. Margaret and Charles were to retain the Charolais during their lives, after which that county was to revert to the French crown. Francis took upon him to pay the debts owing by the Emperor to the King of England, and to set them off against his ransom. They amounted to 400,000 crowns, besides a claim of 500,000 more, forfeited by Charles for not having married the Princess Mary, and 50,000 to redeem a golden *fleur de lys* set with diamonds.[104]

It may be observed that Francis, by this disgraceful treaty, abandoned all his allies both in Italy and the Netherlands, whilst Charles did not desert a single one, and obtained a pardon for Bourbon's family and adherents. The French King, although on this occasion it was impossible for him to allege that any constraint had been put upon him, entered a protest against the treaty, on the ground that over and above a money ransom, the ceding of his claims upon Italy had been extorted from him, contrary to the usages of war. The Parliament of Paris likewise protested against the registering of the treaty. It is pleaded that Francis was persuaded to this act by his Chancellor, Duprat; but such an excuse cannot be admitted; and this second, and still more deliberate act of treachery, stamps him as a prince without faith or honour. Thus fresh hostilities were meditated in the very act of forming a peace; but Francis was not at present in a condition to avail himself of his protest.

Thus were virtually terminated the great wars of the French in Italy, which had lasted thirty-six years; for the attempt to revive them was not attended with much success. In these wars the

[104] Dumont, *Corps. Dipl.* t. iv. pt. ii. p. 7 sqq.; Rymer, t. xiv. p. 326. There is a summary of the treaty in the *Papiers de Granvelle* (*Documens inéd.* t. i. p. 464 sq.), and in Herbert (in Kennett, vol. ii. p. 130 sqq.). The *fleur de lis* had been pledged to Henry VII. by Charles's father, Philip.

French had repeatedly displayed a capability of making rapid and brilliant conquests without the power of retaining them or turning them to any substantial advantage. The treaty of Cambray was Louisa's last political act of any importance; she died two years after (September 22nd 1531) when the immense sum of one and a half millions of gold crowns was found in the coffers of this avaricious woman. The want of a third of that sum had cost the loss of the Milanese; a third added to it would have paid the ransom of her grandchildren.

The liberation of the latter had been fixed by the treaty of Cambray to take place on March 1st 1530, but was delayed four months; partly by the difficulty of raising the money for their ransom, and partly by a disgraceful fraud attempted by Duprat. To reduce the amount he caused a new coinage to be struck, one-thirtieth part lighter than the currency, which would have afforded the paltry gain of 40,000 crowns. This attempt at fraud having been detected by the Spanish moneyers gave rise to redoubled vigilance on their part; and it was not till July 1st that satisfactory arrangements were completed. Eleanor, the affianced bride of Francis, passed into the boat along with his sons; on which occasion the absence of all precautions was maliciously remarked. The French King went to meet them, and espoused Eleanor at the convent of Verrières, near the town of Mont de Marsan in Gascony.[105]

Having thus narrated the struggle between the Emperor and the French King to the Peace of Cambray, we shall now return awhile to the affairs of Germany and the progress of the Reformation, which have been already brought down to the Diet of Worms in 1521, and the concealment of Luther at the Wartburg.[106]

[105] M. du Bellay, liv. iii. (Petitot, t. xviii. p. 91 sqq. 1re sér.); Gaillard, t. iv. p. 103.
[106] Above, p. 400.

CHAPTER VI.

SEVERAL concurring causes had assisted the German Reformation. After the Diet of Worms the Emperor proceeded into the Netherlands, and thence, as we have seen, to Spain, where he remained seven years, and seemed to have forgotten church affairs, nay, almost indeed, those of the empire itself. His brother Ferdinand, whom he had left at the head of the Imperial government, was very young, and the influence which the Elector Frederick of Saxony naturally possessed in the Council of Regency, as well from his having been one of its original founders, as from his wisdom and experience, invested him in a great degree with the government of the empire. The majority of the council, including, as it afterwards appeared, the Elector Palatine, who was associated with Ferdinand in the administration, were in favour of Luther; and thus the body which represented the Imperial power protected the very person against whom the Emperor himself had issued his ban. The election of Adrian to the Papal chair, a Pontiff who declared himself favourable to some reform in the Church, was calculated to support Luther's cause, although Adrian was hostile to that reformer and his doctrines; and under all these circumstances no great result could be anticipated from the ban which had been issued against Luther. The success of that reformer was, indeed, more endangered by the indiscreet zeal of his followers than by the open hostility of his adversaries.

In his retreat at the Wartburg, which he called his "Patmos," Luther, under the name of Junker George (or Squire George), spent several months, known only to one or two attendants. His solitude was not, however, passed in idleness. Besides writing several tracts, he applied himself assiduously to the study of Greek and Hebrew, and commenced his translation of the Bible into German: till at length some disturbances at Wittenberg determined him, at whatever risk, to return to that town.

In spite of the length to which he had carried his speculative opinions, Luther had as yet made no alterations in the forms and

practical observances of religion, when, towards the end of 1521, the Augustinian monks of Meissen and Thuringia formally abolished the mass, and dissolved their convents; a proceeding which alarmed a great part of the clergy, and created much anxiety at the court of the Elector Frederick. Carlstadt, who officiated at Wittenberg during Luther's absence, pushed these innovations still further, and Melanchthon had not sufficient strength of mind to oppose him. Dislike of celibacy was one of the chief causes which favoured the advance of the Reformation among the German ecclesiastics. Two priests of the Wittenberg school, Jacob Seidler, of Glashütten, and Bartholemew Bernhardi of Kempen, had this year set the first example of marriage to the German clergy. Seidler, who lived in the dominions of Duke George of Saxony, was thrown into prison, where he died; while of Bernhardi, who was under the government of the Elector Frederick, no notice was taken. Although the lawfulness of a priest's marriage was a question that had only just begun to be mooted, and though Luther himself had not made up his mind on the subject, Carlstadt, after publishing a treatise against celibacy, took a wife, and even made a great parade of his wedding, inviting, by a printed paper, all the Saxon princes and gentry to be present at it. Wishing to distinguish himself as a reformer, he incited the students to deface the images in the churches, began to administer the sacrament in both kinds, to abolish the elevation of the host, to admit communicants without confession, and to make other innovations. He repaired to the stalls of leather-sellers and cobblers for instruction in the Scriptures, denounced all profane learning, and recommended the students to apply themselves to manual labour, so that the university began to break up. In short, he had joined a band of fanatics, founded by one Storch, a clothier, who appeared at this time in Wittenberg, and must be regarded as the founder of the Anabaptists. Among them was Thomas Münzer, afterwards noted as a leader of that sect, who had already excited the people of Zwickau by his preaching. These men, who pretended to visions and revelations, and insisted on the necessity of adult baptism, obtained the name of the Zwickau prophets.

These outbreaks of fanaticism, the unavoidable accompaniments of the Reformation, have been made one of its standing reproaches; though it would be as reasonable to complain of the summer weather, because, whilst it brings the fruits of the earth to maturity, it also produces the thunderstorm. In all great revolutions are to be found men whose vanity or rashness prompts them to overstep the bounds of reason and moderation, or whose enthusiasm, when

once released from the fetters of authority, can no longer be controlled. But Luther, who was distinguished by the cautiousness with which he adopted his conclusions, as much as by the uncompromising boldness with which, when once formed, he carried them out, viewed these excesses with alarm, as calculated to alienate the minds of the wise and prudent from his cause; and he resolved to put a stop to them, by returning immediately to Wittenberg. The Elector Frederick admonished him that the Imperial edict stood in the way, and that if called upon to enforce it, he knew not how he could decline; yet Luther, conscious of his power, determined to leave the Wartburg. His letter to the Elector, from Borna, March 5th 1522, when on his way back to Wittenberg, in which he talks in a high tone of protecting Frederick, rather than the Elector him, seems to reverse the relations of prince and subject.[1]

Luther arrived safely in Wittenberg, March 7th. The Elector made him draw up a sort of apology, in which he acknowledged that he had taken this step of his own accord; and this letter, after its expressions had been made a little more civil, was forwarded by Frederick to the Imperial government at Nuremberg. Luther, after his return, preached eight consecutive days, inculcating the necessity of moderation and caution. These discourses are among the best he ever delivered. Like those of Savonarola, they are truly appeals to the people, but with the view of calming instead of exciting their passions.[2] By degrees his influence and authority allayed the storm.

Luther, indeed, did not absolutely disapprove of all the changes that had been made at Wittenberg; his chief objection to them was that they were premature; he even retained some of the most essential ones, and left others, as things indifferent, to the option of the people. In the course of the year he published the German Testament which he had been preparing at the Wartburg; a work which procured for the high German dialect a literary precedence over the others.[3]

Luther examined the Zwickau prophets, and soon dismissed them as altogether contemptible — a mode of treatment more

[1] "Ich hab's auch nicht im Sinn, von E. K. F. G. Schutz begehren. Ja, ich halt, ich wolle E. K. F. G. mehr schützen, denn sie mich schützen könnte," u. s. w. —*Luther's Briefe*, De Wette, B. ii. S. 137.

[2] *Sieben Predigten D. M. L., so er von dem Sontage* invocavit *bis auf den andern Sontag gethan, als er aus seiner Pathmos zu Wittenberg wieder ankommen.*

[3] A modern German historian has remarked, that nobody since Luther has possessed his mastery over the language of the people, except Lessing. Göthe wrote for the higher classes. Schlosser, *Weltgeschichte*, B. xi. S. 333.

unwelcome to these fanatics than the most bitter persecution. Enraged at Luther's cool contempt of their pretensions, Münzer and his followers withdrew from Wittenberg, overloading him with all the opprobrious epithets which their rage could suggest, calling him liar, courtly fool, flattering rascal, &c.[4] These symptoms, however, caused Luther much anxiety. He foresaw that the agitation of his doctrines must produce a period of disturbance before the Reformation could be established; and he expressed these feelings in some letters which he wrote at this period. A silent movement had, indeed, begun among the people, who applied Luther's method to politics, and had he been so inclined, he might have easily kindled a rebellion in Germany. He was conscious of this power himself, and says in one of his writings, "Had I wished to proceed with violence, I might have made Germany a scene of blood; nay, I might have played such a game at Worms that the Emperor himself would not have been safe. But what would it have been?—a fool's game."[5]

Although, however, Lutheranism was spreading through the greater part of Germany, there were some states in which it was successfully repressed by the government. Duke George of Saxony forbade attendance on the evangelical worship, under pain of banishment, while the preaching or propagating of the new doctrines was punished capitally; he recalled all his subjects who were studying at Protestant places, and prohibited the reading and sale of the German Bible; a proceeding for which he was stigmatised by Luther as an apostle of the devil. In Bavaria, the Reformation had at first made as much progress as in any other part of Germany; no attention had been paid to Leo's bulls, nor had the Edict of Worms been put into execution. The Dukes of Bavaria seemed as much opposed as other German princes to the meddling of priests in temporal affairs; but towards the end of 1521 they began to draw towards the Romish Court, and on the 5th of March 1522, they issued a mandate commanding their subjects to abide by the ancient doctrines, and prescribing severe penalties against those who disobeyed. They seem to have been determined to this course chiefly by the disturbances created at Wittenberg by Carlstadt and the Zwickau prophets. Dr. Eck, the well-known opponent of Luther, was the principal agent in effecting this union

[4] Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 2367 ff.

[5] "Wenn ich hätte wollen mit Ungemach fahren, ich wollte Deutschland in ein grosses Blutvergiessen gebracht haben; ja, ich wollte zu Worms ein Spiel angerichtet haben, dass der Kaiser nicht sicher wäre gewesen. Aber was wäre es? Narrenspiel wäre es gewesen."—Ap. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. i. S. 69.

between the Bavarian Dukes and the Court of Rome, in which the former found their temporal advantage. Pope Adrian granted them the fifth of all ecclesiastical incomes within their dominions; a concession which was renewed from time to time, and continued to form one of the chief bases of the Bavarian system of finance. Thus, by a union with Rome, the Dukes of Bavaria obtained, although at the expense of their independence, what other princes seized by separating from her. About the same time Bavaria and Austria entered into a compact against the Lutherans.[6]

Luther's prophetic vision of future civil disturbances was probably suggested, not only by the fanaticism of the Zwickau prophets, but also by the spirit which he saw fermenting among the knighthood of Germany. The *Landfriede*, or public peace, was set at nought by this order. Nuremberg itself, though the seat of the Council of Regency and of the Imperial tribunal, was surrounded with the wildest feuds. In 1522 the most reckless of the knights, under the leadership of Hans Thomas von Absberg, scoured all the roads; no merchant or caravan was safe. They still retained the barbarous custom of cutting off the right hand of those whom they made prisoners.[7] The rising of the Rhenish knights under Sickingen the same year, assumed the proportions of regular warfare; and though its object was political, it was partly connected with religious motives. Sickingen was then the richest and most powerful knight in the Rhenish district; his reputation had been increased by the part which he played in the Imperial election, and he was, moreover, the Emperor's counsellor, chamberlain, and general. In the spring of 1522, Sickingen became the head of a league, formed at Landau by the knights of the Upper Rhine, with the view of defending their order against the princes of the empire. The knights were discontented with the new institutions; with the Suabian League, at once complainant, judge, and executioner, with the Imperial tribunal, with the Council of Regency, in short, with everything which threatened to curtail their lawless and irresponsible power. They made religion the pretext of their violence, and their hatred of the priests drew many to their standards. These noble robbers professed themselves friends of the Gospel; and in Sickingen's castle of Ebernburg and its neighbourhood, the purity of evangelical worship had made greater progress even than at Wittenberg itself! He claimed the support of Luther, to whom he had often tendered his protection, and the adherence of the monk of Wittenberg would have given wonderful

[6] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 151 foll. [7] *Ibid.* S. 102.

strength to his cause; but Luther had always declared against the employment of force, and Sickingen received from him nothing but exhortations to peace.

On the 27th of August 1522, Sickingen, although the custom, as we have seen, had been legally abolished, declared a feud, or private war, against Richard von Greiffenklau, Archbishop and Elector of Trèves, "for the things which he had done against God and his Imperial Majesty;" and in his manifest he promised the subjects of the archbishop, "that he would release them from the heavy anti-christian law of the priests, and help them to evangelical freedom." The immediate cause of the war, however, originated in one of those deeds of violence which the German knights regarded themselves as privileged to commit. Two knights belonging to the League of Landau having demands on two vassals of the archbishop, broke into the diocese of Trèves, and carried off two of the richest inhabitants, one of whom was the suffragan's father, in order, after the fashion of the Papal banditti of our own days, to extort an exorbitant ransom. For this Sickingen made himself responsible, and the two captives were dismissed; but on their return they obtained from their superior lord, the archbishop, a release from their engagement. This act was the pretext of Sickingen's foray, who appears to have reckoned, though without foundation, on the support of the Emperor himself.[8] An army of knights and mercenaries, consisting of 5000 foot and 1500 horse, assembled at the castle of Ebernburg, near Kreuznach, where Sickingen occasionally resided, and with these forces he appeared before Trèves, Sept. 8th. He was assisted in his enterprise by Albert, Elector of Mentz; but Philip, the youthful Landgrave of Hesse and friend of Luther, was against Sickingen, as well as the Elector Palatine Frederick, who had formerly supported him. By the vigilance of Philip and the Palatine, Sickingen was deprived of the assistance which he had expected from the other knights of Germany, and after remaining a week before Trèves, he was compelled to abandon the siege. On the 8th of October he was put under the ban of the empire, and soon after his castles of Drachenfels, Ebernburg, Kallenfels, Neustuhl, Hohenburg, and Linzenburg, being either captured or threatened, he caused Landstuhl, near Kaizerslautern, to be fortified anew, where he hoped to defend himself till the knights, to whom he had sent messages by his sons and friends, should come to his assistance. But this was prevented by the allied princes. In April 1523, Philip of Hesse, the Elector of

[8] Letter of Planitz, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 109, Anm. note. Cf. Pfeffel, t. ii. p 125.

Trèves, and the Palatine, appeared before Landstuhl with a formidable artillery; the castle walls, twenty-four feet thick, were breached and reduced almost to a heap of ruins; yet Sickingen defended himself like a hero till the 7th of May, when having been severely wounded, he was forced to capitulate. When the princes entered the castle they found him lying in a vaulted chamber at the point of death. "What have I done," exclaimed the archbishop, "that you should attack me and my poor people?" "Or I," added the Landgrave, "that you should overrun my land in my minority?" Sickingen replied—"I must now answer to a greater Lord." Then his chaplain, Nicholas, asked him if he would confess? and Sickingen said, "I have already in my heart confessed to God." Hereupon the chaplain addressed to him the last words of consolation; and as he lifted up the host on high, while the princes bowed their heads and kneeled, Sickingen expired. The princes said a pater noster for his soul.[9]

The fall of Landstuhl was the death knell of feudal violence in Germany. The harnessed knights and their strong castles yielded at length to the progress of modern ideas and the improvements in the art of war. All the strongholds of Sickingen and his friends, twenty-seven in number, now fell into the hands of the princes. Ebernburg was the only castle that made any prolonged defence, and here a rich booty was taken. At the same time the Suabian League, whose army of 16,000 or 17,000 men had assembled at Nördlingen, under the command of George Truchsess, destroyed the greater part of the castles of the Franconian knights. The German knighthood never rose again.[10]

It was fortunate for Luther and his cause that he had not joined the party of the knights. The religious disputes now began gradually to assume a political aspect. The conference at Juterbock, in 1523, where the Elector of Saxony, the Dukes of Brunswick, and the Princes of Anhalt, all partisans of Luther, discussed the means of securing themselves against the effects of the Edict of Worms, laid the foundation of the subsequent Lutheran League at Torgau. The terrible insurrection of the German peasants, which broke out in 1524, was, like the war of the knights, partly political, partly religious; but before we relate that event we must briefly advert to the relations between Germany and Rome.

In November 1522, Pope Adrian had complained to the Diet

[9] Münch, *Franz Von Sickingens Thaten*, B. iii. S. 222.

[10] For this feud, as well as for the whole history of these German knights, see Münch, *Franz Von Sickingens Thaten;* Meiner, *Leben Huttens;* Freher, *Rer. Germ. SS.* t. iii. No. 23 (*Historiola de Francisci à Sickingen rebus gestis*, &c.).

assembled at Nuremberg that the Edict of Worms remained unexecuted, nay, that Luther was encouraged by many distinguished persons, and particularly by the Elector of Saxony; and he required that the arch-heretic should be destroyed with fire, as a gangrened and incurable member, unless he immediately retracted his errors. At the same time Adrian instructed his legate, Chieregato, to admit that many abuses prevailed in the Church, for which these heresies might be regarded as a divine visitation, and to notify his resolution to reform the Court of Rome. These confessions, as had been foretold by the more worldly-minded prelates, were eagerly seized upon by the States; who, after adverting to them, required the abolition of Annates, and the calling of a general council within a year in some German city. They declined to resort to any violent measures for fear of creating disturbances; but they engaged to use their influence with the Elector of Saxony, to prevent Luther from publishing anything further; and they took the opportunity again to present their *Centum Gravamina*, or list of a hundred abuses in the Church. Before the termination of the Diet, the legate Chieregato pressed once more for the punishment of Luther, and for a restriction of the liberty of the press; but the States dismissed his application with a short answer, that they were busy with other matters, and could do nothing till their list of grievances had been handed to the Pope, and some prospect of redress afforded.

Diets were also held at Nuremberg, then the seat of government, in 1523 and 1524. When Cardinal Campeggio came to attend the latter as legate of Clement VII., he found the state of religious feeling completely altered since his former visit to Germany a few years before. He had then seen that country full of submission to the Papal authority; now, when he entered Augsburg, and, after the traditional fashion, gave his benediction with uplifted hand, he was only received with ridicule. In consequence of this reception, as well as of a hint from the Council of Regency, he laid aside his cardinal's hat, and omitted all the usual ceremonies on entering Nuremberg; and instead of going to St. Sebald's Church, where the clergy were waiting to receive him, he proceeded at once to his lodgings. Clement VII., with a less straightforward policy than his predecessor, instructed Campeggio to act as if the *Centum Gravamina* had never reached the Court of Rome in a formal shape; and, treating them merely as a document drawn up by private individuals, to point out the assumed perversity and exaggeration of the complaints. This palpable stratagem gave great offence, and the reforms proposed by Campeggio were regarded as ridiculously

inadequate. The recess, or closing decree, of the Diet (April 18th 1524), ordered that the Edict of Worms should be executed "as far as possible,"—a vague expression, which left every one to act as he chose,—that a general council should be summoned, and that meanwhile the list of *Gravamina* should be drawn up afresh and discussed in a new diet to be held at Spires in the following November.

Campeggio at once saw the danger of such an assembly, and determined to prevent it. With this view he convoked at Ratisbon, towards the end of June, a meeting of those princes and prelates who were zealous supporters of the Court of Rome, as the Archduke Ferdinand, the Dukes of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and others; and he persuaded them to make such representations to the Emperor as induced him to prohibit the intended diet at Spires. Charles addressed a letter to the States (July 25th), from Burgos, in which the views of the Popish party were supported in the warmest and most lively terms. He complained that the Edict of Worms remained a dead letter; and that a general council was insisted on without even asking his opinion; he declared that he would never consent to a meeting like that appointed at Spires, in which the German States were to enter upon a subject which not all Europe, with the Pope himself at its head, was competent to settle; he denounced Luther, whom, after his tutor Adrian, he compared to Mahomet, as the promulgator of inhuman opinions; and he concluded by forbidding the appointed diet under pain of incurring the penalty of high treason and the ban of the empire. The States yielded to the Emperor's commands so far as concerned the calling of the diet; but they took no steps to enforce the Edict of Worms, although the Kings of England and Portugal, at the instance of Clement, seconded the exhortations of the Emperor.[11]

It was evident that the government was incompetent to repress the movement. Luther, however, was not content with the resolutions of the Diet; and he published a treatise, in which he pointed out and ridiculed in the boldest language the contradictions between them and the Edict of Worms. He was every day growing bolder in his reforms. He had published in 1523, directions to the clergy respecting the Church service; and he expected municipal magistrates to put their hands to the work without consulting the Elector, whom he represented as acquiescing in what was done by others, though unwilling to do anything

[11] Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 2705 ff; Sleidan, lib iv. p. 99 (ed. Frankf. 1610).

himself. Frederick appears to have felt some compunctions at abolishing the mass, and was filled with alarm at the tumults which accompanied these innovations. The Chapter of Wittenberg also resisted Luther's views, and it was not till Christmas eve, 1524, that he succeeded in establishing his new service. He had just before taken the final step which severed him from the Roman communion. On the 9th of October he quitted the Augustinian convent at Wittenberg, laid aside his monk's habit, and entered the church in the dress of a priest. He and the prior were the last to quit.

On the other hand, the Roman Catholics were uniting to uphold the Church. In spite of the jealousy between the Houses of Bavaria and Austria, Campeggio, the Papal Legate, persuaded Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria to unite with the Archduke Ferdinand in defence of the Church. An agreement was entered into at Ratisbon, July 6th 1524, between these three princes, and the Bishops of Salzburg, Trent, Ratisbon, Bamberg, Spires, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Basle, Freisingen, Passau, and Brixen, to enforce in their territories the Edict of Worms, and the recesses of the last two diets of Nuremberg; also, not to alter the Church service, not to permit the marriage of the clergy, and, in general, to use their best endeavours to extirpate heresy. At the same time several reforms in the Church were adopted. In short, it was the first attempt to restore Catholicism by improving it, and thus to blunt the weapons of the reformers. It shows, however, a great change in public opinion, that neither the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, nor Duke George of Saxony, the two most decided opponents of Luther, joined this combination; nor any of the imperial cities, nor of the spiritual Electors. The alliance of Bavaria and Austria alone secured the Roman Church in Germany. The enemies of the Reformation were beginning to imbrue their hands in the blood of the reformers. In 1524, a crazy Dominican in Suabia, named Reichler, caused all the Lutherans he could lay hands on to be hanged on the next tree. Henry von Zutphen, whose martyrdom has been described by Luther[12], was executed at Dietmar. Similar executions took place at Buda and Prague, as well as at Vienna; and two Augustinian monks were burnt at Brussels.

An insurrection of the peasantry at this period threatened, however, more danger to the Lutheran cause than any measures which the Roman Catholics might adopt. The peasants, as well as the inhabitants of the smaller towns in Upper Germany, had long

[12] Werke, B. xxi. S. 94.

been discontented with their condition, the soccage services exacted from them, the wasting and plundering of their lands during the private wars, and other grievances, particularly the increased taxes on their favourite drinks; and they were animated to resistance by the example of the Swiss, who had fought for and won their freedom. Insurrections had repeatedly taken place, of which two are especially remarkable: that called the *Bundschuh* in 1502, and the League of poor Conrad, in Wurtemburg, in 1514, to which we have already adverted. The religious revolution set on foot by Luther was undoubtedly fitted to stir up these elements of discontent: and it cannot be denied that his address to the people on the recess of the Diet of Nuremberg, in which he denounces as tyrants and persecutors of the Gospel, the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire, and in the words of Scripture threatens them with a fall, was calculated to foment these commotions, which, however, were originally little connected with any religious question. Symptoms of insurrection began to manifest themselves in June 1524, but it was not till the following year that they attained any importance. The revolt commenced in Suabia and the Thurgau, where the Abbot of Reichenau had forbidden his subjects to have evangelical preachers. The Suabian League succeeded in temporarily restoring order; the leaders of the malcontents were executed or outlawed; but nothing was done to alleviate the grievances complained of. In the beginning of 1525 the insurrection broke out afresh with more violence. The peasants of Suabia, Franconia, Lorraine, Alsace, and the Palatinate now rose in open revolt, and published a manifesto containing their demands in twelve articles, which very much resembled those previously urged by the *Bundschuh*. The principal were, that the peasants should be allowed to choose their own pastors; that tithes should be paid in kind only, and should be appropriated to the clergy, the poor, and purposes of public improvement; that serfdom should be abolished; that the right of hunting and fishing, and the use of the forests should be free; together with other articles respecting taxes and penal laws. This manifesto, and another writing, the peasants submitted to the judgment of Luther, a proceeding which very much embarrassed him. In the Exhortation, which he published in reply, he told the spiritual and temporal princes who had opposed his doctrines, some home truths respecting their government; and he ascribed the disturbances to the repression of the Gospel: then, addressing himself in friendly language to the rebels, he inculcated the duty of submission, by which he incurred the charge of hypocrisy.

In February 1525, Ulrich, the expelled Duke of Würtemberg,

whose territory, as we have seen, the Suabian League had conquered and sold to Austria, broke into Suabia with 10,000 Swiss; when the peasants, who had formerly complained of his tyranny, flocked to his standard, and talked of the good days they had once enjoyed under his sway. He penetrated as far as Stuttgart; but the Swiss being recalled by their government, after the battle of Pavia, he was obliged to make a hasty retreat. Truchsess of Waldburg, head of the Suabian League, who had taken the field against the peasants, refused to make any concessions. Whilst he was in the Allgau, and on the Lake of Constance, the peasants, led by one Metzler, formerly an innkeeper, penetrated into Franconia, burning down abbeys and castles. Hearing that Truchsess had caused some of their comrades to be executed, they retaliated, by putting to death Count Ludwig von Helfenstein and sixty of his followers, whom they had captured when they surprised the town of Weinsberg; and they turned a deaf ear to the supplications of his wife, a natural daughter of the Emperor Maximilian. It was this deed, which, however, had been provoked by the cruelties of the Count, that excited the nobles against them to the highest degree. It also spoilt their cause in the eyes of Luther, who denounced them all as murderers; called upon the princes and nobles to show no more forbearance or pity, and urged them to the work of death in harsh and even blood-thirsty language.[13]

Some of the knights and nobles joined the revolt, either from fear or the hope of playing a great part and obtaining a share in the plunder, and among them, the renowned Götz von Berlichingen, who became one of the leaders of the peasants, but, as he protested, by compulsion. He stood in an equivocal light with both parties.[14] The peasants were at first successful, and the main body of them laid siege to Würzburg. Truchsess, who was assisted by George Frunsberg, advancing from the Lake of Constance with the army of the Suabian League, overthrew them on the 2nd of May, and speedily reduced the whole of Würtemberg to the obedience of the Archduke Ferdinand. At Fürfeld, Truchsess united his army with that of the Elector Palatine, and marched against another body of the peasants; they could not withstand the cannon and cavalry of their opponents; and after a bloody defeat at Königshofen, early in June, could offer little further resistance. Innumerable

[13] Erasmus has reproached him for it in his *Hyperaspistes*, ap. Menzel, B. i. S. 101. Erasmus and Luther were now at variance. As the Reformation proceeded, the former clung closer to the old Church, and in 1524 he had attacked Luther's doctrine respecting the servitude of the will.

[14] Pistorius, *Götzens von Berlichingen Lebensbeschreibung*, S. 207.

prisoners were taken and hanged on the high roads, or otherwise put to death, sometimes with dreadful tortures. About the same time Duke Anthony of Guise and his brother Claudius overthrew the insurgent peasants in Lorraine and Alsace, with great slaughter. It is reckoned that about 100,000 persons perished in this rebellion, which reduced the most populous and fertile districts to solitudes filled with corpses and smoking ruins. Götz von Berlichingen was captured, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in his own castle, where he remained eleven years: but after the dissolution of the Suabian League, he was pardoned by the Emperor, and subsequently served some campaigns in Hungary and France.

The revolt would have sooner come to a natural end had not its dying embers been fanned and kept alive by the fanaticism of Thomas Münzer, whose expulsion from Wittenberg has been already recorded. From that place, Münzer proceeded to Altstadt in Thuringia, where, inspired, as he pretended, by the Holy Ghost, he set about restoring the Church as it existed under the Apostles, till he was banished at the instance of Duke George of Saxony. A like fate attended him at Nuremberg; but at Mühlhausen he was favourably received by the populace, with whose aid he deposed the magistrates and drove the monks from their convents. Münzer, however, though a wild and extravagant fanatic, was a man of moral habits, and did not indulge in those violences and excesses which afterwards characterised the Anabaptists of Münster. His aim was to establish a theocratic government, and he instituted at Mühlhausen a council called the "Perpetual Council," of which he was himself the president.[15] He now proclaimed liberty, equality, and the community of goods: doctrines which attracted to Mühlhausen crowds of the idle, the disaffected, and the knavish. As frequently happens in such cases, Münzer soon lost the control of the movement which he had himself excited. One Pfeiffer, a renegade monk of Reiffenstein, a still greater and more dangerous fanatic than himself, insisted on extending the sect beyond the walls of Mühlhausen. The insurrection of the peasants encouraged the design; inroads were made on the surrounding districts; churches, convents, and castles were plundered, and the assertors of community of goods returned home richly laden with those of other persons. Pfeiffer made a devastating expedition into the territory of Eichsfeld, and Erfurt was sacked by a body of many thou-

[15] Melanchthon's account that Münzer lived luxuriously on the property of the expelled monks, appears, like many other of his assertions on this subject, to be without foundation. See Schlosser, *Weltgesch.* B. xii. S. 35.

sand peasants. All the country was in arms, from the Lake of Constance to the north of Germany. Münzer thought the moment had arrived for raising the standard against the princes; and he repaired, with this design, to Frankenhausen, in the district of Schwarzburg, where he found a great body of Mansfeld miners, who had fled thither to escape the arms of their lord, Count Albert.

The Landgrave Philip of Hesse, having quelled the insurrection in his own dominions, now allied himself with Duke Henry of Brunswick, Duke George of Saxony and some neighbouring princes, in order to put down the Anabaptists. Having marched on Frankenhausen, and being willing to avoid an unnecessary effusion of blood, they dispatched a young nobleman to treat of peace, whom Münzer barbarously caused to be put to death. Battle was now the only alternative. On the 15th of May 1525, Münzer led forth his defenceless herd, without discipline or arms, promising them the miraculous protection of heaven, and invoking the Holy Ghost with hymns and prayers. Their confidence was soon converted into despair. They were defeated and slaughtered almost without resistance, and Münzer, who had attempted to conceal himself, was captured and examined under torture.

In the midst of these disturbances the Elector Frederick the Wise expired (May 5th 1525). He was succeeded by his brother, John of Saxony, who joined the allied princes, and proceeded with them to Mühlhausen. Pfeiffer was inclined to defend the place, but the inhabitants were of a different opinion, and Pfeiffer fled in the night with about four hundred followers. He was captured at Eisenach, where he and some of the older prisoners were executed. Münzer, who was also brought to the camp for execution, returned, when on the point of death, to the Catholic faith.[16]

John, surnamed the Steadfast, the new Elector of Saxony, was a much more zealous supporter of the Reformation than his brother had been. Frederick had merely tolerated Luther; John became his declared adherent. Encouraged by his support, Luther abolished the remnants of papistry still retained in the palace church at Wittenberg, announced the abolition of episcopal jurisdiction, and consecrated the first evangelical priest in that city (May 14th). These innovations were also adopted by the Landgrave of Hesse, and the dukes and princes in Brunswick, Celle, Mecklenburg and Pomerania. In the following month Luther took to wife Catherine

[16] The chief sources for this insurrection, are Criniti, *Belli Rusticani Historia*, in Freher, t. iii.; Hub. Thomæ Leodii, *de eodem Bello*, ibid.; Melanchthon's *Historie Thomä Münzers*, in Luther's *Werke*, Th. xvi; Sleidan, lib. v. The best modern history of the Peasant War of Germany is Zimmermann's *Gesch. des grossen Bauernkrieges*.

von Bora, who, like himself, had been the inmate of a cloister. This act gave his enemies an excellent opportunity for abuse. Luther, it was said, had brought two carriages full of nuns from a convent, had selected the abbess as the handsomest, and that a child had been baptized four weeks after the marriage. Others said that Catherine had lived two years at Wittenberg in a house of ill fame.[17]

The Suabian League, in which the confederates of Ratisbon had the chief influence, followed up their victory by persecution. Many who had taken no part in the insurrection, were executed merely on account of their evangelical principles; amongst them nine of the richest citizens of Bamberg. A provost, named Aichili, proceeded through Suabia and Franconia with a body of horsemen to superintend the executions, and it is reckoned that in a very narrow circuit he hanged about forty evangelical preachers on trees by the road-side. Luther expressed his disapprobation of these proceedings as strongly as he had condemned the insurrection of the peasants. It was the first violent restoration of Catholicism in High Germany. Nevertheless, some of the towns belonging to the League itself, as Nuremberg and Augsburg, adopted an evangelical organisation; and though Würtemberg had been conquered by the League, the States declared that evangelism was necessary to the peace of that country.

One of the most remarkable revolutions in Germany this year was the secularisation of the territory belonging to the Teutonic Order, its erection into a temporal duchy, and the establishment there of the reformed religion. We have already seen[18] that by the peace of Thorn in 1466, the Teutonic Order made over a great part of Prussia to Poland, and consented to hold the rest as a fief, subject to the Polish King and Republic. Thus Prussia had become divided into two distinct territories: Polish Prussia and Prussia Proper, or, as it was also called, *Prussian* Prussia. The Grand-Masters of the Teutonic Order soon attempted to shirk the feudal homage due to Poland, and even to recover from that kingdom Polish Prussia. At the period at which we are arrived, Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, of the branch of Anspach and Baireuth[19], filled the office of Grand-Master, having been chosen in

[17] Raynald. an. 1523, t. xii. pp. 424, 428, 430.

[18] Above, p. 21.

[19] After the death of Albert Achilles, Elector of Brandenburg, the House of Hohenzollern became divided into two branches, one of which possessed Brandenburg, the other Anspach and Baireuth. At this time Joachim I. was Elector of Brandenburg, who had succeeded Albert's son, John Cicero. Joachim was the brother of Albert, Elector of Mentz, and a determined opponent of Luther. Both were cousins of Albert, Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order.

1511, in the hope that by means of his family connections he would be able to restore the independence of the Order. This, however, he was unable to do; and in April 1521, after an unfortunate war, he was glad to conclude, through the mediation of the Emperor, a four years' truce with Poland. The Order had now fallen into poverty and contempt, and the immoral lives of several of the knights had rendered it so hateful to the people, that none dared show himself in the mantle of his Order[20]; while, on the other hand, many of them had become converts to Lutheranism, and, in spite of their vows, had entered on the marriage state. During the truce, Albert travelled into Germany, and attended the Diet of Nuremberg, in the vain hope of obtaining the assistance of the empire. On his way back he had an interview with Luther, whose principles he had himself partly adopted; when Luther advised him to dissolve the Order, take a wife, and convert Prussia into a temporal principality. Albert answered only with a smile; but it soon appeared that the hint had not been thrown away. Early in 1524 he brought the Church service more into conformity with the Lutheran worship; and at the expiration of the truce in April 1525, instead of renewing the war, he repaired to Cracow, and concluded a peace with King Sigismund, by virtue of which he received the eastern part of Prussia as a temporal duchy, with succession to his heirs, or in their default to his brother George, but still in feudal dependence upon Poland. Thus by the aid of the Gospel he converted an elective office into an hereditary possession. Duke Eric of Brunswick, commander at Memel, the only member of the Order who refused his consent to this arrangement, was at length persuaded to retire into Germany with an annual pension. The new religion was now thoroughly established in Prussia; and in the following year Albert married Dorothea, daughter of the King of Denmark. Such was the origin of Ducal Prussia. The Pope declared Albert an apostate, and called upon the Emperor to punish his crime[21]; who subsequently placed him under the ban of the empire. Albert, however, found security in his remote situation, and in the protection of the King of Poland; for, though Sigismund was a zealous Catholic, the interest of his kingdom required the suppression of the Teutonic Order. Luther also endeavoured to persuade Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop and Elector of Mentz, to follow the example of his namesake and cousin, and convert his diocese into a temporal principality; a proceeding which probably he would

[20] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. i. S. 118.

[21] Raynaldus, an. 1526, t. xii. p. 604.

not have been averse to adopt, had not the putting down of the insurrection of the peasants relieved him from his fears that the spiritual principalities were coming to an end.

All these events greatly altered the situation of Luther, and determined the political character of the German Reformation. Instead of the man of the people, Luther became the man of the princes; the mutual confidence between him and the masses, which had supported the first faltering steps of the movement, was broken; the democratic element was supplanted by the aristocratic; and the Reformation, which at first had promised to lead to a great national democracy, ended in establishing the territorial supremacy of the German princes. The bold knights to whom Luther had formerly appealed, had vanished from his view: Götz von Berlichingen was in prison, Franz von Sickingen had died in the defence of his last stronghold; and Ulrich von Hutten had ended his eventful life in exile and poverty on a small island in the Lake of Zürich. The Reformation was gradually assuming a more secular character, and leading to great political combinations. We have already adverted to the Catholic assembly at Ratisbon in 1524; which, though its measures were purely defensive, and its views did not extend beyond the territories of the princes and prelates who had joined it, had nevertheless set the first example of party union. Both Catholics and Reformers had indeed for a while united to put down the insurrection of the peasants, in which they had succeeded without any assistance from the Imperial government; but after this had been effected, the old antipathies returned more strongly than ever. The evangelical party, who regarded the assembly at Ratisbon as a hostile league, had acquired great power and importance since the Elector John of Saxony, and Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, whose dominions extended from Cassel to the Rhine, had openly separated from the Romish Church. Besides these princes the new Duke of Prussia, the Counts of Hanau and of Oldenburg, the cities of Nuremberg, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Strasburg, and several others, comprehending a large part of Germany, had abolished the Catholic worship. None of these States heeded the commands of the Council of Regency, nor allowed the decisions of the Imperial Chamber to be executed: so that the question was no longer merely one of faith, but also of civil order.

In July 1525, some of the most zealous opponents of the Reformation, Duke George of Saxony, the Elector Joachim I. of Brandenburg, Albert Elector of Mentz, Duke Henry the younger of Wolfenbüttel, and Duke Eric of Kalenberg, met together at Dessau, to consult how the continued attacks upon Church and

State might be best arrested; and although there are no authentic records of this meeting, it cannot be doubted that resolutions inimical to the reformers were adopted. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, supposing that a formal league had been entered into by the Catholics, proposed to the Elector John of Saxony to form on their side a league of mutual security.

These negociations were brought to a conclusion at Gotha, in February 1526, and were ratified at Torgau on the 4th of March; whence this alliance has generally obtained the name of the League of Torgau. It was disapproved of by Luther; he thought that all such earthly means implied a distrust of God, who would without them protect and foster true Christianity, as he had done in the centuries of persecution. On the other hand, Duke Henry of Brunswick procured from the Emperor a rescript or exhortation, dated at Seville, March 23rd 1526, and couched in the strongest terms, in which Charles applauded the anti-Lutheran league, exhorted all prelates and Catholic princes strenuously to oppose the new doctrines, and promised that, after visiting Rome, he would himself come into Germany and assist in putting down the heretics by force of arms. The hopes of the Catholic party were excited to a high pitch by this letter, and Duke George openly asserted that it was in his power to become Elector of Saxony at any moment he pleased. The evangelical princes bestirred themselves on their side. The Landgrave of Hesse undertook to canvass the states and princes of Upper Germany in favour of the League of Torgau; but met with little success. The Elector Palatine, indeed, was favourable to the cause, but was not prepared openly to join the League. In Lower Germany the Elector of Saxony was more successful in his canvass, chiefly through his family connections; and at his invitation four Dukes of Brunswick, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and the Counts Albert and Gebhard of Mansfeld, assembled at Magdeburg on the 10th of June. The Emperor's letter from Seville, now first made known to these princes, struck them with alarm, and on the 12th of June they subscribed the League of Torgau; to which the town of Magdeburg, at the instance of its magistrates, was subsequently admitted as a party. The confederates declared that as their adversaries had contracted leagues and collected money in order to maintain the old abuses and to make war upon those who allowed the word of God to be preached in their dominions; so they, though without intending to annoy anybody, had confederated themselves to defend their subjects from unjust aggression, and to assist one another with all their power in case any

attack should be made on their religion. Thus a strong and compact evangelical alliance was established, and both parties were fully organised when the Diet of Spires met on the 25th of June.

The Elector John of Saxony appeared at Spires with the greatest splendour. He was attended by a larger number of mounted followers than any other prince, and had daily to provide for seven hundred mouths. He also distinguished himself by the magnificence of his banquets. The young Landgrave of Hesse was chiefly remarkable for the religious knowledge which he displayed, and is said to have shown himself better versed in Scripture than any of the prelates. Both he and the Elector John had adopted as their motto, *Verbum Dei manet in æternum*, which encircled the armorial shields affixed to their lodgings; and, in conformity with their religious pretensions, they had instructed their followers to observe the most decorous behaviour. When the proceedings were opened, the Archduke Ferdinand, who presided, and the commissioners by whom he was attended, at first insisted on the strict observance of the Edict of Worms. But since the date of Charles's letter from Seville, Clement having organised against the Emperor the Holy League[22], the relations between them had become completely altered, and they were now at open hostility with each other. In consequence of this change, Charles addressed a letter to his brother Ferdinand, July 27th, in which he instructed him to suspend the penalties enjoined by the Edict of Worms, to refer the religious question to the decision of a council, and to use his endeavours to obtain, with the help of the Protestant princes, a vote for a large army to serve against the Turks, whose inroads were now become in the highest degree alarming. Under these circumstances, the recess of the Diet was conceived in the most moderate tone (August 27th). The Emperor was requested to cause a general, or at all events, a national council, to be assembled within a year in Germany, and to visit that country himself; and it was resolved that till the council assembled, every member of the empire should so conduct himself with regard to the Edict of Worms as he should answer for it towards God and the Emperor; in other words, was to act as he should deem advisable. On the 17th of September, the Emperor addressed a violent manifesto to the Pope, in which he accused him of shedding Christian blood to gratify his arrogance and ambition, and called on him to convoke a general council.[23] A memorable point in the history

[22] Above, p. 468.

[23] Goldasti, *Polit. Imperial*, p. 990, sqq.

of Germany and the Reformation! Catholicism probably could not have subsisted in Germany had the Edict of Worms been formally withdrawn; while, on the other hand, if its execution had been insisted on, the evangelical party would not have been able to establish itself by legitimate and peaceful methods. The decree was immediately adopted in Saxony, Hesse, and the neighbouring countries, and during the two following years, in which Charles was more engaged with politics than religion, matters took their natural and unimpeded course, so that the Reformation soon gained a wonderful accession of strength.

Before the Diet of Spires was dissolved, alarming news had arrived of the march of Sultan Solyman towards Hungary with an enormous host; the fall of Peterwardein was already announced; yet the Diet, in its recess dated only the day before the fatal battle of Mohacs, contented itself with voting that an embassy should be sent to ascertain how matters really stood! Not a hand was stretched forth to avert the fate of Hungary, which, like Venice previously, was wholly abandoned to its own resources.

We have already brought down the affairs of Hungary and the Turks to the capture of Belgrade in 1521.[24] It was during this war that Ferdinand of Austria consummated his marriage with Anne, the sister of Louis, King of Hungary and Bohemia. Louis himself, after the Turks had retreated, solemnised his nuptials with Mary, the sister of Charles and Ferdinand, in the winter of 1521, and took upon himself the conduct of the government.[25] That youthful monarch was then only in his sixteenth year, and his feeble hand was unable to control the turbulent nobles of Hungary, who declined all military service, or, if they appeared at all when summoned, came in their coaches instead of armed and on horseback[26]; while they imposed impolitic and absurd taxes on commerce and manufactures in order to raise mercenary troops. Bohemia was in little better plight, and was moreover agitated by religious dissensions. Germany itself, like both these countries, was, as we have seen, little better than a turbulent oligarchy; and it is not therefore surprising that no advantage was taken of the respite afforded by Solyman's expedition to Rhodes in order to prepare against any future attacks of the Turks.

Fortunately for the Hungarians the Sultan was too much engaged during the next two or three years with the affairs of the Crimea and of Egypt to attack them, though a border warfare had continued to rage on the frontiers of Hungary since the capture of

[24] Above, p. 428. [25] Engel, B. iii. S. 229, f. [26] *Ibid*, S. 236.

Belgrade. Solyman had purposely abstained from concluding a peace, and he observed the same policy with regard to Persia, whose ruler, Thamasp, successor of Ismael, the founder of the Sofi dynasty, had formed an alliance with the Emperor Charles V., and with King Louis of Hungary. By the year 1525, Ahmed Pasha, the rebellious governor of Egypt, had been reduced to obedience, Asia Minor had been tranquillised, the power of Persia had been shaken, the revolts of the Janissaries had been quelled; the Osmanli army, wasted by the terrible siege of Rhodes, had been recruited to its pristine strength, and Solyman was at leisure to turn his attention towards the north. These results had been achieved principally through the vigilance and talents of the Sultan's Grand Vizier and favourite, Ibrahim Pasha, the son of a Greek sailor of Parga. Captured when a child by Turkish corsairs, and purchased by a Magnesian widow, who caused him to be instructed in several European and Asiatic languages, Ibrahim had early displayed considerable talent, and was fond of studying history; but it was his engaging countenance and a talent for playing the violin that introduced him into the seraglio, where he soon became the chief favourite of Solyman. Appointed Grand Vizier in 1523, he held that office till his fall and death in 1536; and much of the splendour and importance of Solyman's reign must be attributed to the influence of this remarkable man. His character formed a strange compound of cunning, audacity, and grandeur. Born himself a subject of Venice, his government was swayed by Venetian influence, the man whom he chiefly consulted being Aloysio Gritti, an illegitimate son of Andro Gritti, who was Doge of Venice from 1523 to 1528.

In 1525 Solyman commenced his preparations for invading Hungary in the following year; and he concluded an armistice for seven years with the King of Poland, so that Louis could hope for no assistance from that quarter. An alliance had been also contracted between France and the Porte.[27] A French embassy to the Sultan was intercepted by the Sandjak of Bosnia; the ambassador, whose name does not appear, was murdered, together with his twelve attendants, and robbed of all the valuable presents which he was conveying to the Sultan; among them a ruby of great price, which Francis had worn on his finger at the battle of Pavia. This ring was subsequently recovered, and was in the possession of Ibrahim in 1533. There is a lurking suspicion that this deed of violence was committed with the privity of Ferdinand, who appears to have

[27] On this alliance see Gevay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Gesch. der Verhältnisse zwischen Oestreich, Ungarn und der Pforte, im xvi. und xvii. Jahrhunderte*, 3 Lieferung, p. 21.

known that negociations were carrying on between Francis and the Sultan: and the Turks have, indeed, often expressed their horror at the assassinations committed by the House of Austria.[28] After this failure, Francis, while still a prisoner at Madrid, contrived to send a member of the Frangipani family as ambassador to Constantinople, who succeeded, before the end of 1525, in effecting an alliance between the French King and the Sultan. Francis pressed Solyman to invade Hungary whilst the French attacked Spain, to which arrangement the Sultan in general terms assented; for it was indeed a foregone conclusion in his mind.

Early in 1526, the most alarming tidings arrived in Hungary of Solyman's vast preparations for invading that kingdom. The Hungarian magnates, at continual feud with one another, were totally unprepared to resist; the lower classes, who had in great numbers imbibed the doctrines of Luther, justified themselves for not taking up arms, by appealing to one of his propositions, which had been condemned by Leo X. in his bull of excommunication, viz., "That to fight against the Turks is equivalent to struggling against God, who has prepared such rods for the chastisement of our sins."[29] Above all, the treasury, ever since the reign of Wladislaus, had been in a state of absolute exhaustion. So complete was this poverty, that the capture of Belgrade, five years before, was attributed to the want of fifty florins to defray the expense of conveying to that place the ammunition which was lying ready at Buda! The only resource was to borrow of the Fuggers, who lent their money on the security of the Hungarian mines, as they did to Charles V. on the mines of the Tyrol, Spain, and America. At length a Diet was appointed to assemble on the 24th of April. Solyman, after visiting the graves of his forefathers, and of the old Moslem martyrs, had set out the day before from Constantinople with a force of 100,000 men. The Hungarian nobles, instead of adopting energetic measures, did nothing but wrangle with their king, or rather with the Queen, who acted for him; for the disposition of Louis was idle and careless, and his slumbers were often protracted till noon. One of their

[28] See a letter addressed by Ferdinand to his brother, the Emperor, from Innsbrück, March 14th, 1525, in Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers, Karl V.*, B. i. S. 155; Cf. Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 311. The murder of the French ambassador is mentioned in a *Relatione* of Pierro Bragadino, the Venetian envoy at Constantinople, Dec. 6th, 1525, ap. Hammer, *Mém. sur les premières Relations diplomatiques entre la France et la Porte*, in the *Journal Asiat.* (1827), t. x. p. 23.

[29] This proposition, originally directed against Papal rapacity in levying money under pretence of a Turkish war, which was afterwards applied to other purposes, Luther subsequently endeavoured to explain and justify in his treatise *Vom Krieg wider den Türken*, published in 1528.

proposals she struck through, and endorsed with the words, "One King, one ruler of the country."[30] On the 19th of June not a gun or vessel was ready at Buda. Louis now revived an ancient custom, and sent round a bloody sabre, as a signal of the most imminent danger. With the consent of the Pope, church plate was sent to the mint to be coined; and it was indeed time, for the Papal Legate had been obliged to advance money to defray the expenses of couriers.[31]

Fortunately, Solyman's march had been retarded by a series of bad weather, and he did not reach Belgrade before the 9th of July. A flotilla of 800 vessels had conveyed up the Danube a large body of light-armed Janissaries. Peterwardein was taken on the 15th, the citadel on the 27th. A Hungarian council of war was still disputing at Tolna about the mode of operations, when the columns of flame which arose from the town of Essek, announced that the Turks had crossed the Drave, and were in full march upon the capital. The Chancellor, Broderith (or Bradarich), who accompanied this expedition, and who afterwards wrote an account of the campaign[32], in a letter from Tolna (August 6th), to the Queen, who was anxiously expecting the issue at Buda, tells her that he did not expect there would be a force sufficient to meet the enemy within twenty or thirty days. A twelvemonth, however, would scarcely have sufficed; for Solyman's army had swollen as it advanced, and, after his junction with Ibrahim, was said to number 300,000 men. Yet the young King of Hungary was compelled by his nobles to throw himself in Solyman's way, although he had not yet been joined by his two chief vassals, the Ban of Croatia, and John Zapolya, Voyvode of Transylvania, who was still at Segedin with his forces. With an army of little more than 20,000 men, the command of whom was entrusted to the brave but inexperienced Archbishop Tomory and George Zapolya, in the absence of his brother John, Louis awaited, in the swampy plain of Mohacs, the approach of Solyman's innumerable host. The King shared the opinion of Broderith, that it would be advisable to retreat to Tolna, and await the arrival of the large forces under John Zapolya. The Palatine and Tomory were, however, for an immediate combat, and communicated their rash enthusiasm to the army. On the afternoon of the 29th of August, the Turks began to descend from the hills which the Hungarian generals had left unoccupied. The Hungarians immediately attacked them; but their onslaught was conducted after the ancient fashion. They

[30] Engel, B. iii. S. 280. [31] *Ibid.*, S. 289, f. [32] In Katona, t. xix. p. 616, sqq.

trusted to their cavalry and their steel cuirasses; infantry and artillery they had little in comparison with the Turks; while Solyman, though regarded as a barbarian, had adopted all the appliances of the new art of war. His Janissaries were familiar with the use of fire-arms, and 300 pieces of ordnance bristled in his entrenched camp behind the hills. The leading Turkish squadrons were easily repulsed; their retreat, which was a mere *ruse*, was mistaken for a general flight; the Hungarian cavalry pursued them over the rising ground, and, undeterred by the prospect which now burst upon their view, of the immense extent and impenetrable strength of the Osmanli camp, charged up to the very tent of Solyman himself. They soon paid the penalty of their rashness. Mowed down by the fire of the Janissaries and of the Turkish artillery, they were thrown into disorder, and fled in turn. The young King, conducted by a Silesian nobleman, had crossed in his flight the muddy stream which traverses the plain of Mohacs, when his horse, in attempting to mount the opposite bank, fell backwards, and buried himself and his rider in the morass. The body of Louis, who was only in his twentieth year, was found some time after the battle. The flower of the Hungarian nobility perished on that fatal day, among them the brave Paul Tomory, and many other prelates who had exchanged the crosier for the sword. The Turks committed the most horrible massacre, in order to build up their accustomed pyramid of skulls, and burnt down the surrounding towns and villages. There was nothing to arrest Solyman's march to Buda, the keys of which were presented to him at Földvar; for the Bohemian forces, which, under Adam von Neuhaus and George of Brandenburg, had advanced as far as Raab, retreated when they heard of the overthrow at Mohacs. Solyman entered Buda September 10th. According to the Turkish historian[33], Solaksade, he told the nobles who humbled themselves before his throne at Pesth, that he should be willing to recognise and protect as their King, John Zapolya, the Voyvode of Transylvania, an announcement which doubtless had a great effect on the ensuing election. Solyman might probably have subjugated all Hungary, but he was called away by disturbances in Caramania; and after spending a fortnight in Buda, where he celebrated the feast of Bairam, he began his homeward march. He could not prevent a considerable part of the town from being burnt. He or his vizier Ibrahim carried off the famous library collected by Matthias Corvinus, together with three bronze statues of Hercules,

[33] In Hammer, B. iii. S. 62.

Apollo and Diana, which Ibrahim, who was at no pains to conceal his contempt for the Koran, boldly erected before his palace on the Hippodrome at Constantinople.[34] It is said that more than 200,000 Hungarians were either killed or made slaves during this invasion.[35]

The battle of Mohacs was one of those events which decide the fate of nations. By the death of Louis two crowns became vacant, the succession to which was a subject of vital importance to the future welfare of Europe; and as Solyman was detained the next two years (1527 and 1528) in Constantinople by his own affairs, and especially by the disturbances in Asia Minor, the Hungarians were left at leisure to settle the question among themselves. Ferdinand of Austria, who considered himself entitled to Hungary and Bohemia, both by the treaty of Presburg, and by his marriage with Anne, the sister of the deceased King[36], was employed, at the time of the battle of Mohacs, in quelling an insurrection of the peasants which had broken out at Salzburg contemporaneously with that in Suabia and Franconia, and had extended to Austria. He was not therefore in a condition to assert his pretensions by force of arms, and deemed it prudent to submit to the right of election claimed both by the Bohemians and the Hungarians. In both countries he was opposed by a rival candidate. The Bavarian Duke, William, who competed with him for the throne of Bohemia, was, however, from his intimate connection with the Court of Rome, with which the House of Austria was then at variance, regarded with an evil eye by the Bohemians, who were for the most part inclined to the doctrines of the Reformation; and in October 1526, Ferdinand being elected by a large majority of the three estates, that is, the nobles, knights, and citizens, and proclaimed king in full assembly, a solemn embassy was sent to Vienna to tender him the crown. On the 24th of February 1527, the anniversary of his brother's birth-day, he celebrated his coronation at Prague. The Bohemian States, however, made Ferdinand sign a deed called a *Reverse*, by which he acknowledged that he obtained the crown by their free choice, and not from any previous right. On the 11th of May he received at Breslau,—for Silesia as well as Lusatia then formed part of the kingdom of Bohemia, — the homage of the Silesians, and of those German princes who held Bohemian fiefs.

[34] Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 338.

[35] For this campaign, besides Broderith, in Katona, *loc. cit.*, see the Journal kept by Solyman himself, a translation of which will be found in Hammer, B. iii. S. 639, foll.

[36] See above, p. 361.

In Hungary Ferdinand had to contend with a more formidable rival in John Zapolya. After the death of his brother George, who was killed at the battle of Mohacs, John Zapolya was the richest and most powerful of the magnates, and possessed seventy-two castles in Hungary, of which the finest was Burg Trentschin, situated on a high cliff overhanging the river Waag. Notwithstanding his power, however, Zapolya was no true Magyar, but a Slavonian by origin, without much education, and destitute of talent, either for the cabinet or the field. The crown of Hungary is said to have been foretold to him at a very early age; and when, after the death of Wladislaus, the policy of the Emperor Maximilian deprived him of the hand of the deceased monarch's daughter, Anne, as well as of all share in the government, he fell into the bitterest discontent. But the results of the battle of Mohacs enabled him to assert his pretensions to the Hungarian crown. He was supported, as we have seen, by the recommendation of Sultan Solyman, as well as by the intrigues and money of Francis I. and of the Pope; above all he was at the head of a large force [37], which not having appeared at the battle of Mohacs, was still untouched, and which was necessary to the protection of the capital. Soon after Solyman's departure, John Zapolya was saluted King at Tokay; and on November 11th 1526, he was crowned at Alba Regia, or Stuhlweissenburg, by the Archbishop of Gran, with the sacred crown of St. Stephen; an object regarded by the Hungarians with a superstitious veneration.[38] A considerable party, however, devoted to the House of Jagellon, now represented by Ferdinand's consort, Anne, met in the same month at Presburg, and elected the Austrian Archduke for their sovereign. The possession of Bohemia enabled Ferdinand to raise forces to assert his claim. In vain did Sigismund, King of Poland, at a congress held in April 1527, at Olmütz in Moravia, endeavour to mediate between the rivals; in vain did Pope Clement VII., now the prisoner of the Emperor, excommunicate Zapolya at his dictation [39]; nothing could decide between them but the arbitrament of the sword. In the latter part of July, Ferdinand marched towards Hungary with an army of German troops under the command of Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg, Nicholas von Salm, and Count Mansfeld. On the 31st Ferdinand reached the half-

[37] Said to amount to 40,000 horsemen. Wolsey's Letter to Henry VIII., Oct. 1526. *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 184.

[38] The history of this crown, which was supposed to have been made by angels, and to have been presented by Pope Silvester II. to St. Stephen, sixth duke and first King of Hungary (ann. 1000), has been compiled by Peter of Reva, Count of Turocz, the keeper of the regalia in the beginning of the 17th century, and is published in Schwandtner, *Rer. Hungar. Scripp.* t. ii. p. 435, sqq. The possession of the crown was reputed to confer the rights of sovereignty.

[39] Katona, t. xx. p. 56, sqq.

ruined tower on the high road from Vienna to Buda, which marked the boundary between Austria and Hungary; and no sooner was he on Hungarian soil, than he dismounted from his horse, and in the presence of the Palatine Bathori, who, with 200 mounted nobles, had come to welcome him, he swore to observe the constitution of the kingdom, and the privileges of the different orders.

The frontier fortresses of Hungary were speedily reduced. As Ferdinand advanced, Zapolya, or King John, was deserted by many of his adherents, and being finally overthrown by Von Salm at the battle of Tokay, Ferdinand entered Buda on August 20th, St. Stephen's day.[40] King John, being now almost completely deserted, fled into Transylvania, and Ferdinand, having assembled the greater part of the nobility at Buda, caused himself to be again elected King, and received the crown at Stuhlweissenburg November 3rd. His consort, Queen Anne, was crowned on the following day. Meanwhile Zapolya had been employing himself in seeking for allies. He had dispatched a Pole named Jerome Lasczy, or A Lasco, to the courts of France and England; where, though he met with a favourable reception, he does not appear to have obtained any available succours. Wolsey advised his master to acknowledge the Voyvode's title as King of Hungary, and to encourage him as a *bogge*, or bugbear, in order to depress the power of Ferdinand: but to excuse himself from sending any aid and succours, by reason of the great distance between the countries and the cruel war then raging in Christendom. Towards the end of the year Zapolya sent Lasczy to Constantinople, where, with the assistance of the Venetian Gritti, who pretended to follow the trade of a jeweller, he succeeded in February 1528, in forming an alliance between Solyman and Zapolya, or as the Turks called him King Janusch; by the terms of which, the Sultan not only engaged to supply guns and ammunition, but also to undertake a fresh expedition into Hungary. King Ferdinand also sent ambassadors to the Porte to treat of peace, but as they ventured to ask back the places which the Turks still held in Hungary, they incurred from Ibrahim the bitterest scorn and anger, and were thrown into prison. When at last they were dismissed in March 1529, after a captivity of several months, Solyman bade them tell their sovereign that he was coming to visit him in person: and on the 10th of May, he again quitted Constantinople for Hungary with a large army. It was a pretension of the Turks, that wherever the horse of the Grand Signior had once trod, and he himself had rested for the night, the

[40] On the very day of his entry he published an edict against the printing of Lutheran and Zwinglian books. Engel, B. iv. S. 8.

Osmanli power was irrevocably established. Solyman had slept in the palace of Buda, and had only refrained from burning it because he intended to return thither: all Hungary, therefore, belonged to the Sultan.[41] As a last resource, Ferdinand dispatched another ambassador, provided with letters for Solyman and his vizier Ibrahim, couched in the most humble terms, and with instructions to offer a considerable sum under the name of a yearly pension, for that of *tribute* was too degrading. To such a point was Ferdinand content to humble himself! But it was now too late. Before the ambassador could reach Mettling on the Kulpa, towards the end of August, Solyman was again encamped with an innumerable host on the blood-stained plain of Mohacs. Here, where the pith of his countrymen had been destroyed, King John, at the head of a large body of Hungarian magnates, met the Sultan, and did him homage. He was received with great ceremony, and admitted to kiss the Sultan's hand; but the crown of St. Stephen, the palladium of Hungary, which had already adorned the heads of both competitors, was surrendered into Solyman's possession. Since the battle of Mohacs, the Turks had greatly extended their dominion in Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia; Jaicza, the last Hungarian bulwark in Bosnia, had fallen in 1528, and its surrender was followed by that of several smaller places in that and the adjoining provinces. There was nothing, therefore, to oppose the advance of the Turks; for Southern Hungary was in the hands of King John's party. On September 3rd 1529, Solyman again appeared under the walls of Buda, which capitulated after a resistance of five days: but in spite of his engagement, the Sultan was unable to save the garrison from the hands of his Janissaries. Here Zapolya, or King John, was again crowned by the hands of one of the Turkish generals.

Solyman in person now marched to Vienna, and invested that capital, while Ferdinand was anxiously waiting at Linz till the German princes should assemble round him with their promised succours. Even the Protestants,—for the German reformers had now acquired that name by their celebrated protest at Spires in the spring of this year,—had not withheld their assistance from King Ferdinand, and the Elector John of Saxony himself had sent 2000 men under the command of his son. The defence of Vienna against an army of 300,000 Turks with 300 guns, besides a strong flotilla on the Danube, is one of the most brilliant feats in the military history of Germany during the sixteenth century. The

[41] Engel, B. iv. S. 14.

van of the Osmanli cavalry appeared before Vienna September 21st, and in a few days the city was surrounded. A small number of Hungarians accompanied the Turkish army, but King John, who is said to have possessed neither military talents, nor even personal courage, remained at Buda with a garrison of 3000 Osmanlis. From the top of St. Stephen's tower the Turkish tents might be discerned scattered over hill and dale for miles, while the white sails of their fleet gleamed on the distant Danube. Solyman pitched his tent at the village of Simmering, on a spot now occupied by a powder magazine. Ibrahim Pasha, recently appointed seraskier, conducted the operations of the siege. The walls of Vienna were weak and out of repair, and had no bastions on which guns could be planted. The garrison, commanded by Philip of Bavaria, as representative of the Count Palatine Frederick, the Imperial commander-in-chief, consisted of 20,000 foot and 2000 cavalry, picked troops from various parts of Germany, including a few Spaniards. They had only seventy-two guns, but these were skilfully disposed. The citizens vied with the troops in valour. The heads of most of the noble Austrian families, the Schwarzenbergs, Stahrembergs, Auersbergs, Lichtensteins and others, took part in the sallies: among them the veteran Nicholas von Salm particularly distinguished himself. Solyman sent in a message, that if the garrison would surrender, he would not even enter the town, but press on in search of Ferdinand; if they resisted, he should dine in Vienna on the third day: and then he would not spare even the child in the womb. No answer was made; but the preparations for defence were urged on with a dogged resolution, though without much hope of success. The Osmanlis, however, had no well-concerted plan of operations. Their army, according to traditional usage, was divided into sixteen different bodies, to each of which a separate place and a definite object were assigned; and although they had made several breaches and mined a portion of the walls, all their assaults were repulsed. The last was delivered October 14th, and in the night they began to retreat. They had several reasons for this course. So large an army could not be provided for during any long continued siege or blockade, although their flour was conveyed to them by 22,000 camels; already at Michaelmas the Janissaries had begun to complain of the cold; and the forces of the empire and of Bohemia were beginning to arrive. The Turks in this invasion committed their usual barbarities, and wasted the country up to the very gates of Linz. They suffered much in turn in their retreat, as well from the weapons of their foes as from hunger and bad

weather, and did not reach Belgrade till November 10th. Solyman got back to Constantinople, December 16th.[42]

The peace of Barcelona and that of Cambray having liberated the Emperor's forces in Italy for action in Germany, Solyman deemed it prudent to treat Zapolya with liberality; as he passed through Buda in his retreat, he restored to that prince the crown of St. Stephen and other regalia, and exhorted the Hungarian nobles to be faithful and obedient to their new King, whom he charged with the defence of Hungary, promising him assistance in case of need. After the departure of the Turks, Ferdinand, who still retained Presburg, gained some successes over Zapolya, but was prevented from following them up with effect by want of money, and by Charles V.'s zeal against the Reformation, which engrossed all his attention, and the struggle thus degenerated into a petty civil war. Towards the end of 1530 Zapolya was besieged in Buda by Ferdinand's general Rogendorf, but without success. Ferdinand, who had been elected King of the Romans, and wished to devote his attention to the affairs of the empire, was now inclined for peace, and on the 31st January 1531, a truce of three months, afterwards prolonged for a year, was concluded. Solyman, after his retreat from Vienna, did not again appear in Hungary till 1532; but the further history of that kingdom must now give place awhile to that of Charles V. and the Empire.

[42] All the sources for this short but famous siege of Vienna, are collected together in one view by Von Hammer; *Wiens erste aufgehobene türkische Belagerung.* Mit 30 Beilagen. Pesth, 1829.

CHAPTER VII.

WHILE the negociations were still pending at Cambray[1], Charles left Spain for Italy, where he wished to carry out a general pacification on the basis laid down in the treaty of Barcelona, as well as to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pope. At the head of 8000 Spanish troops, and accompanied by most of the great nobility of Spain, he landed at Genoa, August 12th 1529, which republic was now under his protection.

With this voyage to Italy a new epoch commences in the life of Charles. During the last seven or eight years he had resided quietly in Spain, conducting everything through his ministers or generals, and though his armies had been gaining splendid victories, taking little or no personal share in affairs. Hence he had been accounted dull, and fit only to be governed; but in Italy, to the surprise of all, he began to show himself in quite different colours.[2] His backward nature had at length developed itself. He now began to conduct his own negociations, to lead his own armies, to appear in those parts of Europe where his presence was required. Yet though he had adopted as his device the words *plus ultra*[3], (still further), he continued to the last to be slow and cautious. All his deliberations were conducted with the greatest circumspection, and his first answers were generally ambiguous, in order that he might have an opportunity for reconsideration. Every resolution cost him a great deal of pains; couriers were often kept waiting a couple of days; but when once he had arrived at a decision, he pursued it with a firmness, which, as he himself allowed, often degenerated into obstinacy. He consulted nobody but Gattinara, and after his death in 1530, Perrenot de Granvella. A like character might be observed in Charles's physical constitution. Whilst arming himself, he would tremble all over; once armed, he was all courage—it was a thing unknown that an emperor had been shot.[4] A change was even remarked in his personal appearance. He had cut off the long flowing locks which had been the charac-

[1] See above, p. 494.
[2] See the *Relatione* of Micheli, ap. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 104.
[3] In allusion to the columns of Hercules, the *ne plus ultra* of the ancient world.
[4] Micheli, ubi supra, p. 109.

teristic of his family, under pretext of a vow for a safe passage, but in reality on account of a pain in his head.

While Charles was still at Genoa, ambassadors arrived from the Florentines, who were not aware that the Pope and Emperor had bargained away their freedom, and now applied to be put on the same footing as the Genoese, and to remain a republic under Charles's protection. But he repulsed them harshly, reproached them with their attachment to the French, and their animosity towards himself, and, agreeably to his engagement with Clement, insisted upon their recalling the Medici. Upon their refusal, the Prince of Orange was instructed to lay siege to Florence, which he accordingly invested, October 14th.

Florence did not fall without a struggle worthy of its ancient glories, and such as could have been inspired only by the love of freedom. The populace and the clergy, especially the monks of St. Marco, displayed a remarkable energy. Savonarola's republic was revived, the kingdom of Christ proclaimed. The superintendance of the fortifications was intrusted to Michael Angelo, who exhibited in them a skill which attracted the attention of Vauban a century and a half later; though in other respects the great artist did not display the qualities of a soldier. The Florentine army was commanded by two celebrated condottieri, Francesco Ferrucci, and Malatesta Baglioni. We shall here pursue the fortunes of Florence to their catastrophe. Ferrucci and Baglioni not only long defended the city, but even maintained themselves against the Prince of Orange in the field. At length, August 2nd, 1530, they were defeated in the battle of Caviniano, in which Ferrucci was slain, or rather murdered. The Prince of Orange [5] also fell in this engagement, and was succeeded in the command by Ferdinand Gonzaga, brother of the Duke of Mantua. After this defeat, Baglioni, now the sole Florentine general, who had formerly been Lord of Perugia, entered into secret negociations with the Pope, not, indeed, to regain his sovereignty at Perugia, but to recover his estates in that neighbourhood, and on the 12th of August, Florence surrendered by capitulation. The city was condemned to pay 80,000 gold crowns, to give hostages, to admit a garrison, and to accept such a constitution as might be agreed upon between the Emperor and the Pope. Although the Florentines were Guelfs, and had never admitted the jurisdiction of the Emperor, the constitution was published in an Imperial decree, October 28th. The forms of a republic were preserved, but

[5] As he died without issue, his rights and titles passed to the House of Nassau, into which his sister had married.

Alexander de' Medici was declared its head, with succession to his male heirs[6]; in other respects the ancient rights of the Florentines were confirmed, if such a confirmation could be of any value under a despotism. Alexander, a young man abandoned to every vice, subsequently married Charles's daughter Margaret, whom he had had by a Flemish mistress, named Margaret van Gest. Alexander's own origin was uncertain; for his mother could not tell whether he was the son of Pope Clement VII., of Lorenzo de' Medici, or of a muleteer.[7] Thus was terminated the anomalous constitution of Florence, which had been neither a pure republic nor an absolute principality. Francis had secretly encouraged the Florentines in their resistance; but lent no aid to those old and faithful allies. The Pope violated the capitulation to which he had agreed. The foremost citizens of Florence either died on the scaffold or were compelled to fly; an obnoxious preacher, named Foiano, was imprisoned by Clement in the dungeon of St. Angelo, where he was suffered to die of hunger. The genius of Michael Angelo procured him an amnesty: he was wanted to complete the frescoes of the Sixtine chapel.

From Genoa Charles proceeded by easy journeys to Bologna, which he entered in state, November 5th 1529. The Pope was waiting there to receive him, and at their first meeting, Charles, according to ancient custom, sunk on his knees before him and kissed his hands and feet. Clement made a sort of apology for accepting this ceremony, kissed the Emperor thrice, and thanked him for his favours. They lived several months in adjoining houses connected by a door, to which each had a key; and it was here that the pacification of Italy was arranged, from which only the Florentines were excluded.

The advance of Sultan Solyman upon Vienna this summer had, indeed, awakened hopes among the northern Italians that they should find in the Turks a counterpoise to the power of the House of Austria. Venice and Milan had entered into a closer league, and the war had been partially renewed in Lombardy; but after Solyman's speedy retreat, it was deemed prudent to abandon an opposition which at best would end only in trifling advantages.[8] The Venetians had, indeed, gradually become convinced that the period of their conquests was past for ever; and from this time a new era opens in their history, whose character is determined by their

[6] Lunig, *Cod. Ital. Dipl.* t. i. p. 1163. The title of Duke, borne by Alexander de' Medici, was derived from the Duchy of Penna, in the kingdom of Naples, which the Emperor had conferred on him.

[7] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. xvi. p. 88.

[8] Jacopo Pitti, *Apologia de Capucci*, MS. ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iii. S. 214.

relations to Spain. They accepted the terms kept open for them by the treaty of Barcelona, namely, to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope, to Charles all the ports in Apulia which they had taken during Lautrec's invasion of Naples, besides paying a considerable sum of money. Francis Sforza was cited to Bologna, and a treaty was concluded with him also, December 23rd, by which he was allowed to retain Milan, in consideration of a large payment, for the security of which the citadels of Milan and Como were retained. The Emperor granted Sforza a pardon, and in order to insure his fidelity, gave him the hand of his niece, a daughter of the King of Denmark. Pavia was erected into a county in favour of Antonio de Leyva for life. The Duke of Ferrara was admitted into the peace on his returning some of the towns which he had seized. Even the Duke of Savoy and the Marquis of Montferrat came to Bologna to swell the retinue of princes that waited on the Emperor; and Charles, in order to retain the former in his alliance, presented him with the county of Asti, the spoil of the King of France. The above-mentioned powers, together with King Ferdinand, formed with the Emperor what was called a perpetual peace, which was published January 1st 1530.[9]

For centuries no emperor had exercised such power in Italy as Charles at this juncture; all the Italian States seemed to exist only by his sufferance. Nothing was wanting to his dignity but the outward symbol, which was soon afterwards added. It had been his first intention to celebrate his coronation at Rome, and then to proceed to Naples; but he was induced to alter it at the pressing solicitation of his brother Ferdinand, who represented to him the necessity for his immediate presence in Germany. Charles's coronation seemed rather that of a Spanish King than of an Emperor of Germany. The only German prince present at it was Philip of the Palatinate, who had indeed acquired a name by the defence of Vienna, but held no official post. None of the Electors had been invited, and their functions were performed by Italian princes. The sceptre was borne by the Marquis of Montferrat, the sword by the Duke of Urbino, the crown by the Duke of Savoy. The procession was opened by noble Spanish youths, followed by the principal grandees of Spain, who vied with one another in the magnificence of their apparel; then came the heralds, and even these were not German, but of the principal

[9] *Tractatus pacis ligæ et perpetuæ confœderationis*, in Dumont, *Corps Dipl.* t. iv. pt. ii. p. 53.

Spanish provinces. Charles received the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pope on the 24th of February, the anniversary of his birthday. He was invested with the sandal and the Imperial mantle, rigid with jewels, which had been adopted from the Byzantine Court. Two days before he had been crowned with the iron crown of Italy. According to precedent he should have received the Lombard crown in the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, and that of the empire in the Basilica of St. John Lateran; but he persuaded the Pope to give him both at Bologna. This was the last Imperial coronation in Italy, nor had any taken place there for eighty years before.

While Charles was at Bologna he bestowed, as King of Naples, the islands of Malta and Gozzo on the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who, since their expulsion from Rhodes, had had no proper place of abode, and had become a burthen on the Pope.

Having thus effected the settlement of the Italian peninsula, which seemed wholly obedient to his power, Charles, about the beginning of April, set out for Germany, where his presence was required at the Diet which had been summoned to meet at Augsburg. Since the Diet of Spires in 1526, before described, till that in the same place in 1529, the affairs of the Reformers had remained in comparative tranquillity, and they had gained a considerable accession of strength: but they were now to be made the peace-offerings of the reconciliation between the Emperor and the Pope; the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy being, as we have said, one of the conditions of the treaty of November 1527. Charles's severities towards the Reformers in the Netherlands had given rise to the worst anticipations. On the 1st of August 1528, had appeared an Imperial decree for the assembling of a Diet the following year at Spires, couched in terms in the highest degree arbitrary and violent. The Emperor complained that the religious disputes in Germany prevented him from offering any adequate resistance to the Turks; he announced that, as the leading Prince of Christendom, he would no longer permit his commands to be disregarded, in allusion, of course, to the Edict of Worms; he forbade all innovations in religion, and formally annulled the recess of the Diet of Spires of 1526.[10] This arbitrary cassation of such an act, worthy of a Spanish cabinet, excited the greatest alarm and discontent among the adherents of the Reformation. There was, indeed, nothing very pointed in the recess in question; yet its very indefiniteness had given satisfaction, as betokening moderation and affording hopes of an ultimate

[10] The document is in Müller, *Historie von der evangelischen Stände Protestation*, Jena, 1705, S. 14 f.

adjustment. But this decree was calculated to bring matters to a violent issue. Some of the timid Reformers began to waver; the bold only put on a more determined front. John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse appeared at Spires, accompanied by their preachers and a large retinue of well-armed knights; and when, on the following Sunday, they caused the Evangelical service to be performed at their hotels, it was attended by more than 8000 persons.[11]

The Diet was opened March 15th 1529, by King Ferdinand, Frederick Count Palatine, Duke William of Bavaria, Duke Eric of Brunswick, and Bernhard Bishop of Trent, as Imperial commissioners. Pico, Count of Mirandola, was the Papal legate. The affairs of religion were referred to a committee, in which the Roman Catholics predominated. Their decision was, that a general council should be held in some German town within a year, or at most a year and a half, or failing that, a general assembly of all the German States for the settlement of all religious disputes; and as the articles of the last Diet of Spires had been much misunderstood, and occasioned great mischief, it was resolved that where the Edict of Worms had been admitted, it should continue to be obeyed, and that in places where it had been rejected, and where there might be much danger in absolutely abolishing the reformed tenets, all further religious innovations should, as far as possible, be guarded against till the general council alluded to should assemble;—that in particular the doctrine against the real presence should not be accepted by the States of the Holy German Empire, nor allowed to be openly preached; that the offices of the mass should not be done away with, and that in places where the new doctrines were predominant, nobody should be prevented from hearing or performing mass.[12] There were other articles, but these were the principal.

The Lutheran Princes and States, on the other hand, objected, that such resolutions could not be made and enforced by a mere majority; that it was not the fault of the dissentients, if the general council had been so long delayed; that the resolution authorising the new doctrines to subsist only where they could not be abolished without disturbance, showed that they were regarded as only fit to be rejected, and that their abolition would be sought wherever disturbances were not anticipated to follow;—it was not satisfactory that all further propagation of the truth was forbidden,

[11] Marheineke, *Gesch. der deutschen Ref.* B. ii. S. 396.

[12] The whole of the proceedings of this Diet are in Luther's *Werke*, t. xvi. (ed. Walch). Cf. Sleidan, lib. vi.

and that the mass, which had been proved to be ungodly, was to subsist in conjunction with the reformed worship, whilst, on the other hand, the reformed worship was not allowed to subsist along with the mass; that the restoration of the priests and their property would cause the greatest confusion; that the expression, God's word was to be preached according to the exposition of the doctors of the Church, was ambiguous, as it left undetermined who expounded it rightly; and that to accept these resolutions would be altogether detrimental to their party.

The Diet treated these objections with the greatest contempt. The Lutherans were ordered to conform to the opinion of the majority; and when they retired awhile to consult among themselves, King Ferdinand and the other Imperial commissioners suddenly left the assembly and could not be induced to return. The Lutherans then drew up (April 19th) that celebrated protest, embracing the grounds of objection just specified, which procured for them the name of PROTESTANTS—an appellation first applied at a later period by the papal Nuncio Contarini to the whole body of the Reformers, and accepted by them as a title of honour. The protest was signed by John, Elector of Saxony, the Margraves of Brandenburg and Anspach, the Dukes Ernest and Francis of Lüneburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, and fourteen Imperial cities. The subscribers required that this protest should be inserted among the acts of the Diet; and they sent a copy of it to King Ferdinand, who refused to accept it. On the 22nd of April the Lutherans were again required by George Truchsess to submit to the majority; and it was intimated that, in case of refusal, their names could not be appended to the recess. They were likewise requested not to publish the protest, as it would occasion great difficulty; but permission was given to insert it in the acts of the Diet, and to forward it to the Emperor. The Reformers, however, subsequently published it, with a solemn appeal to the Emperor and a future general council.

Charles had expressed his disapprobation of the protest while he was still in Spain, and the Protestants therefore sent a deputation to him in Italy to justify the step which they had taken. The envoys found him at Piacenza, on his road to Bologna; when he expressed to them his former disapprobation, refused to receive the protest, and manifested great displeasure when they placed it on the table at which his secretary sat: and he and his Spanish courtiers were so highly offended when Michael Kaden, one of the deputation, handed in to the orthodox Emperor, the head of Catholic Christendom, a treatise of Protestant tendency

which had been intrusted to him for that purpose by the Landgrave of Hesse, that the envoys were kept for a time in durance, till at last they contrived to effect their escape.[13]

By his subsequent coronation oath, the Emperor bound himself to be the constant defender of the Papal supremacy and of the Roman Catholic Church; at the same time, however, he pressed upon the Pontiff the necessity for calling a general council in conformity with the recess of the Diet of Spires. Clement did not meet this proposition with a direct negative. He contented himself with insinuating a variety of doubts and objections; intimated that some of the questions raised by the Protestants had already been decided by general councils; that others were perverse and incapable of solution; that the See of Rome, indeed, had nothing to fear from a council, since its authority was founded on Scripture, and had been confirmed and augmented by every successive assembly of the church; but that the Emperor should consider whether such a proceeding might not prove derogatory to his own power and dignity, and whether some more convenient method might not be discovered for settling these disputes. Charles replied, that important questions could not surely be insoluble; that the strength or weakness of each opinion would be discovered by discussion; and that an end might thus at last be put to controversy by the drawing up of some well-considered articles of faith. The Court of Rome, however, evaded any further agitation of the question, and, as a last resource, the Emperor resolved to summon another Diet at Augsburg. One serious objection to a council Clement had omitted to state in his arguments. At the first serious report of such a measure, all saleable offices in the Roman Court fell considerably in price, and with difficulty found purchasers.[14]

Meanwhile, since the Diet of Spires, the greatest diversity of opinion had prevailed among the Protestants respecting their future course. The Landgrave Philip and the more zealous Reformers were for supporting the new doctrines by force of arms; and with this view Philip, who was inclined to the tenets of Zwingli, was desirous of bringing about an alliance of the Protestant towns of Switzerland and Suabia with himself and the Elector of Saxony.

Some of the Suabian and South German towns, as Ulm, Strasburg, and others, although they had joined the Lutherans in

[13] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iii. S. 178.

[14] "Gli ufficii, solo con la fama del concilio sono inviliti tanto, che non se ne trovano danari."—*Lett. anon.* al. archiv. Pimpinello, *Lettere di Principi*, t. iii. p. 121. Cf. Pallavicini, lib iii c. 7.

signing the protest, were inclined to the doctrines of Zwingli rather than of Luther; and it was through Bucer and Capito, ministers at Strasburg, that the Landgrave Philip chiefly hoped to effect a union between the German and Swiss Reformers. But Luther's bitter animosity against the Zwinglians left but little hope of such a result. He and Zwingli had attacked each other with personal animosity in their writings; nevertheless, Philip, with the view of effecting a union, and thus strengthening the Protestant cause, invited them both, with other doctors on each side, to a conference at Marburg. After considerable reluctance, and not before he had obtained a safe conduct, Luther at length consented to this meeting, which took place on the first three days of October 1529. Zwingli here displayed a much more liberal spirit and larger political views than the great Reformer of Germany. On fourteen out of fifteen points of discussion he was ready to make concessions; and although on the fifteenth, which concerned the eucharist, he could not yield his opinions, still he was anxious that it should not stand in the way of any political alliance. Luther, however, who regarded the "Sacramentaries," as he called Zwingli's followers, with aversion and horror, would listen to no accommodation: the meeting was broken up by the sweating sickness, and, like most such religious conferences, the members parted only with feelings more embittered. With all his merits, it must be allowed that Luther's reading of Scripture was somewhat narrow and sectarian. He would abide only by the *literal* sense, even where it forced him to adopt a jargon not easily intelligible, as in his doctrine of the eucharist. Yet the Elector John the Steadfast, who, in spite of his noble qualities, was of a phlegmatic temperament, which he sometimes stimulated with a little drink, submitted himself implicitly in these matters to his theologians, and would connect himself with none who would not accept the doctrines of Wittenberg in every point: a bigotry which was a source of weakness to the Protestant cause.

The Diet appointed to be held at Augsburg was now approaching. The invitations to it, which were drawn up while the Emperor was at Bologna, were couched in the mildest terms; they breathed nothing but benevolence, and offered a complete contrast to the mandate of 1528, annulling the recess of the diet of Spires; since the issuing of which, the Turks had appeared before the walls of Vienna. But for Solyman and his Janissaries, the Reformation would probably have been crushed in its infancy, and the Turks must undoubtedly be regarded as having contributed to its success. It was now deemed expedient by the Emperor to

try the method of conciliation, and all threats were therefore omitted, which would have marred the effect intended to be produced: counsels which appear to have been instilled into the Emperor by his father-confessor, Garcia de Loaysa, cardinal-bishop of Osma and Siguenza, who had accompanied him into Italy, and in whose advice he reposed the greatest confidence.[15] In case, however, this method should fail, it had long been determined to resort to force on the first favourable opportunity. The death of Gattinara, who expired at Innsbrück while accompanying Charles to Augsburg, was an unfortunate event for the Protestants. He had long been an opponent of the Papal policy, and would probably have modified the views of the Emperor.

Charles descended into Germany from the Tyrolese Alps like a foreigner — almost like an enemy. He had not, as we have seen, invited the Electors to his coronation, nor had they been consulted in the treaties effected with the Italian powers; on which account they afterwards made a formal protest, that if there should be anything in those treaties that now or hereafter should militate to the disadvantage of the holy German Empire, they would not have consented to it. Still more offensive to the Protestant Princes was the manner in which Charles had treated their ambassadors at Piacenza. It could hardly but be plain to them that the Emperor, in spite of his assumed mildness, would act as despotically in Germany as in Spain or Italy, if he had but the power. The opening of the diet had been fixed for May 1st, and towards the end of April those who had been summoned to it began to assemble at Augsburg. The Landgrave Philip came attended by 120 horse. The Lutheran clergy were represented by Melanchthon. Luther still lay under the ban of the empire, and it was therefore thought advisable, in order to avoid all possible offence and danger, that he should remain behind at Coburg, on the borders of the Elector's dominions, where he would be near at hand in case his advice should be required. Here he was lodged in the upper story of the castle, and constantly guarded by twelve troopers. The Emperor having lingered in Lombardy, the Tyrol, and Bavaria, did not arrive at Augsburg till the 15th of June. He entered the town on a white Polish stallion, under a tri-coloured canopy, borne by six councillors of Augsburg, amidst the firing of cannon, the ringing

[15] *Briefe an Kaiser Karl V. geschrieben von seinem Beichtvater in den Jahren*, 1530—1532, p. 34. These letters, found in the Spanish archives at Simancas, have been published by Dr. Heine. When Charles proceeded into Italy, Don Garcia remained to watch over his interests at Rome, where all the threads of European politics at that time united.

of bells, the waving of colours, and the strains of martial music. Charles was dressed from head to foot in a Spanish costume: his appearance was splendid, his bearing affable, yet dignified. At his side rode King Ferdinand and Campeggio, the Papal legate. When he had approached within fifty paces, the assembled Electors and princes dismounted from their horses, but the legate and other prelates kept their mules. It was observed, however, that when the legate gave the blessing the Protestant princes remained standing, although the Emperor fell on his knees.

Before the proceedings of the Diet commenced, the Emperor caused the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Francis of Lüneburg, and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, to be summoned to a private apartment, where they were requested, through King Ferdinand, to put a stop to the discourses of their preachers. The elder princes were shocked at this demand, yet held their peace. The young Landgrave, whose blood was warmer, defended the preachers, affirming that they taught nothing but the pure word of God as understood by St. Augustine. At this reply the colour mantled on the Emperor's cheeks, and he caused his demand to be repeated still more emphatically. But he was dealing with men of sterner stuff than the Italian princes. Margrave George now came forward. "Sire," he exclaimed, "rather than swerve from God's word, I would kneel down here and submit to have my head cut off." Charles, who had for a moment forgotten his assumed policy of mildness, was reminded of it by these words, and answered in his broken Low German, "*Lieber Fürst, nit Kopf ab, nit Kopf ab!*" (Dear Prince, not head off, not head off!) The Protestant princes, however, at last consented to silence their preachers, but not before Charles commanded the opposite party to do the same.

On a later occasion, Charles endeavoured to alarm the Elector of Saxony by threatening that he would not grant him investiture of the electorate to which he had succeeded, nor sanction the marriage of his son with the Princess Sibylla of Clèves, if he opposed the Edict of Worms and deserted the orthodox church. But John steadfastly replied, that by the constitution of the Empire his investiture could not be refused, and that, even before the attempt was made, it must be shown that his creed was not that of true Christianity.

The Diet was opened on the 20th of June by a solemn procession and mass. The Emperor, under a hot sun, in a heavy purple mantle, his head uncovered, and a wax taper in his hand, piously followed the host, which was borne by the Archbishop of Mentz.

None of the Protestant princes attended this ceremony except the Elector of Saxony, whose office it was, as high-marshal of the empire, to carry the sword of state before the Emperor; but he took care to show that he was present at mass only by virtue of his function. The Lutheran question formed, of course, the chief business of the assembly, though that respecting the Turks was put first. The Protestants had thought it advisable, in order that their real tenets might be known, to draw up a Confession of their faith, to be presented to the Diet by way of manifesto. This was the celebrated Confession of Augsburg, the symbol of the Lutheran faith. The preparation of this document had been intrusted to Melanchthon, who not only possessed a more ready and elegant pen than Luther, but also a temper more flexible and conciliating. It was drawn up with the undeniable design of approaching as nearly as possible the Roman Catholic faith. The aim of it is purely defensive; the Lutheran doctrines are justified, but those of Rome are not attacked. The line of separation from the Zwinglians is drawn quite as strongly as that from the Papists. The former sect were multiplying very fast in Germany, and seem to have been regarded with some jealousy. Most of the citizens of Augsburg belonged to it.

After Melanchthon's Confession had been examined by several theologians and approved by Luther, it was subscribed by the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, Dukes Ernest and Francis of Lüneburg, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and the Deputies of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. It was read on the afternoon of Saturday, June 25th 1530, in the chapel of the Archbishop of Augsburg's Palace, where the Emperor was residing. Charles wished it to be read only in Latin, but the princes reminded him that in Germany the German language might be allowed. None, however, were admitted into the chapel but princes or deputies. The Electoral Chancellors, Brück and Bayer, stood forth in the middle of the chamber one with a German, the other with a Latin, copy. The reading of the former, which occupied nearly two hours, was listened to with deep silence and attention, and was performed in so loud a voice that many in the court below could hear. The documents were then handed to the Emperor's secretary, but Charles himself stretched out his hand for both, keeping the Latin copy himself, and handing the German one to the Imperial Arch-chancellor. Before the conclusion of the Diet, the Confession was also translated into

[16] Chytræus, *Saxonia*, p. 318 sqq.

Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, as many foreign princes were anxious to know the real tenets of the Protestant party. The towns of Strasburg, Memmingen, Constance, and Lindau, handed in a separate Confession, called the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*[17], which differed from that of Augsburg only in a word or two respecting the Lord's Supper.

After the Lutheran Confession had been read, the Emperor inquired whether the Protestants had anything further to advance. To answer such a question unconditionally, either in the negative or affirmative, would have been dangerous, and the Protestants therefore, contented themselves with saying that they could admit nothing that was at variance with their Confession; that the document just read contained all their principal tenets; and that they did not wish to render the examination of it more difficult, nor to invite the charge of punctilious obstinacy, by a useless enumeration of minor points. Eck, Cochlæus, and a few other of Luther's most zealous opponents, were then commissioned to draw up a reply to the Confession; which work they performed in a manner so diffuse, intemperate, and unsatisfactory, that the assembly rejected the paper. Another answer, after being subjected to a long and severe scrutiny, was read before the Diet August 3rd. Although this paper only contained a reassertion of the usual Roman Catholic arguments in favour of transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, the invocation of saints, &c., it was solemnly proclaimed that the Protestants, after this exposition of their errors, must conform in all points to the Church of Rome; and that in case of refusal, the Roman Emperor, as protector and guardian of the Church, would feel himself himself compelled to resort to further measures.

As the Protestants could not accede to this decision, a committee of sixteen members was appointed, with the view of settling the points in dispute: but these peace-makers fell themselves into the most violent altercations, gave one another the lie and almost came to blows. The Landgrave Philip saw the uselessness of remaining any longer at Augsburg, and on the evening of the 6th of August set off homewards, without taking leave of the Emperor, or even communicating his intention to his Protestant brethren.[18] This sudden step alarmed the Catholics, who thought that Philip had taken it in concert with his party, and with the intention of appealing to arms. The Archbishop of Mentz and the Franconian bishops feared that their neighbour, the Landgrave, might attack their dominions under pretence of religion;

[17] That is, "the Confession of the Four Towns."

[18] Luther's *Werke*, B. xvi. S. 1630 ff.

and even the Emperor and King Ferdinand were alarmed for the latter's Duchy of Würtemberg, as it was known that Philip was in close alliance with Ulrich, the banished Duke. The Emperor, at first, caused all the gates of Augsburg to be guarded, to prevent the flight of any more of the princes; but, on the representation of the Elector of Saxony, this step was discontinued.

A smaller committee was now appointed to discuss the contested points, and then another still smaller: both with the same unsatisfactory result. Charles, who had not considered how hard a thing it is to reconcile religious differences, and now found that through the firmness of the Protestants, his interference had exposed the weakness of the Imperial dignity, lost his temper, and even descended to threats. The means of conciliation had been exhausted, yet he was not in a condition to resort to force. He had with him but some 1400 German and Spanish infantry; nor, if he appealed to arms, could he rely on the support of even the Catholic princes[19], who were already jealous of the grasping spirit displayed by the House of Austria, especially in the seizure of the Duchy of Würtemberg; and they would not have stood by Charles in an attack on the German constitution and the freedom of the Diets. The Dukes of Bavaria in particular, since their defeat in the Bohemian election, owed a grudge against Austria, which had been increased by the frustration of a plan formed against the Emperor by the Pope and the French King, during the late war, of placing the Roman crown on the head of the Bavarian Duke William. Nay, the devotion of the Bavarian family towards the Church of Rome had been thrust so much into the background by their jealousy of the House of Austria, that, as they had before entered into negociations with Ferdinand's opponent John Zapolya, so they were now minded not to deprive themselves of the possibility of an alliance with the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. Nor were these views unknown to the Emperor.[20]

The phlegmatic Elector John himself at length lost all patience, and, on the 20th September, asked the Emperor's leave to depart from Augsburg. He had been half a year absent from his dominions, and it was with difficulty he could be persuaded to stay a few days longer to hear the Emperor's decision respecting the Protestant demands. It sounded something like a declaration of war, and its ill effect was increased by the harsh and ungracious

[19] That an appeal to arms had been seriously contemplated appears from an opinion given by Erasmus to the Legate Campeggio, in which sixteen reasons are given against it. Cœlestin, *Hist. August. Conf.* ap. Menzel, B. i. S. 201.

[20] Stumpf, *Baierns Polit. Gesch.* B. i. S. 58.

manner in which it was delivered by the fanatical Joachim I. of Brandenburg. A period till the 15th of April following was to be allowed the Protestants to reunite themselves to the Catholic Church; in the interval, they were to attempt no further innovations, to print no new religious works, to entice or protect no subjects of other states, to concede to their own subjects of the Roman Catholic persuasion the free use of their worship, and to repress the Sacramentaries and Anabaptists. The Emperor, on his side, engaged to induce the Pope to summon, very shortly, either a general or a national Council.[21] To this decision Joachim added some threats of his own, which, however, were disapproved of by the other Roman Catholic princes.

The Diet was continued amid further wranglings and threats on the part of the Emperor. The Catholic majority advised Charles to issue a new decree, grounded on the Edict of Worms; and, if the Elector of Saxony and his adherents should refuse to obey, to summon them before him, adjudge the proper penalty, and proceed to its execution. The Recess was accordingly drawn up to this effect, and published November 22nd. The Emperor announced therein his determination to execute the Edict of Worms; numerous instances of its violation were adduced and condemned, whether by Lutherans, Zwinglians, or Anabaptists; the maintenance of the ancient rites and doctrines was enjoined; the jurisdiction of the spiritual princes was reasserted; and the Imperial attorney-general was instructed to proceed legally against the disobedient. The Imperial chamber was reconstituted, the assessors increased from eighteen to twenty-four, and bound to act in pursuance of the Recess.

The Protestant deputies put in a declaration that their lords and constituents would not subscribe the Recess; neither would they contribute to the Turkish contingent, nor to the maintenance of the Imperial chamber. The Saxon and Hessian ambassadors quitted the Diet before the publication of the Recess.

Such was the conclusion of the famous Diet of Augsburg, the proceedings of which put the finishing hand to the constitution of the Lutheran church, and arrayed one half of Germany against the other. Charles, however, gained one of his objects. The majority of this Diet granted an "*eilende Hülff*," or hasty succour, of 40,000 foot and 8000 horse, for the Turkish war, which was double the number usually voted. They were to be available, too, not only for that year, but any subsequent one in which they might be

[21] See the second Recess of the Diet; in Luther's *Werke*, B. xvi. S. 1925 ff.; Chytræus, *Saxonia*, p. 323; Sleidan, lib. vi.

required; and their term of service was extended, in case of need, from six to eight months.[22]

The Augsburg Confession was advantageous to the Protestants in two ways: it helped to disseminate juster notions respecting their tenets, and at the same time served as a rallying signal and bond of union. The measures which the Emperor was preparing to take soon impressed them with the necessity of forming a closer league. They looked with suspicion on the projected abolition of the Council of Regency, the alterations in the Imperial chamber, and the preparations making to prosecute them at law. The House of Austria had long seen that from the inefficiency of the Council, it would either be necessary to choose a new administrator or to recur to the vicars of the empire, one of whom was the Elector of Saxony; and, in order to avoid this alternative, the Emperor had resolved to make his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans. This was, indeed, one of the reasons that had induced Charles to receive the Imperial crown at Bologna, as it would obviate an objection which Maximilian had experienced on a similar occasion; namely, that as he himself was not a crowned Emperor, the dignity of King of the Romans was not vacant.

Under the apprehension of these measures the Protestant princes assembled at Smalcald towards the end of December 1530, with the view of entering into a league for their mutual defence, and the protection of their religious liberties. It was an anxious question for the Elector John, the head of the Protestant party, whether he, with a small strip of land on the Elbe and the little territory of Thuringia, should oppose himself to the Emperor, who had just subdued the King of France and pacified Italy, and who was moreover closely connected with the majority in the empire. The idea seemed absurd; and he was further hampered by the doubt whether he had a right to resist. The younger and more vehement Landgrave of Hesse had already decided both these questions in the affirmative, and soon after his departure from Augsburg had concluded a separate league with Zurich, Basle, and Strasburg. Luther, in the Castle of Coburg, out of the bustle and tumult of affairs, had taken a cooler and broader view of the political horizon than his sovereign, and did not at all participate in the somewhat desponding feelings of the Elector.[23] My Lord

[22] *Reichstagsabschiede*, ap. Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, B. ii. S. 707.

[23] It is to the period of his sojourn at Coburg that his celebrated hymn, *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*, which breathes the true spirit of religious confidence, may with all probability be referred.

Par ma foi, as he called the French king, would, he thought, never forget Pavia; my Lord *In nomine Domini*, (the Pope) besides being a Florentine, could not have any agreeable reminiscences of the fate of Rome; the Venetians still remembered the injuries of Maximilian; the union of these powers with the Emperor, therefore, belongs to the chapter of *non credimus*.[24] Even the opinions which Luther had drawn from Scripture respecting the unlawfulness of resisting the Emperor, underwent considerable modification at Smalcald. The jurisconsults showed that Germany was no monarchy, but an oligarchy; that while the Imperial dignity was elective, the Electors were hereditary; that the States reigned along with the Emperor, who was therefore no monarch. These reflections sufficed to banish Luther's scruples, in so far at least, that he left the jurisconsults to act as they thought proper.

The LEAGUE OF SMALCALD was signed December 31st by the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Lüneburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the two Counts Mansfeld, and the cities of Magdeburg and Bremen. At subsequent meetings in the spring and summer of 1531 the league was joined by other States, especially the towns of the Tetrapolitan Confession, and others both in North and South Germany, as Lübeck, Brunswick, Göttingen, Ulm, &c.; so that it finally included seven princes, two counts, and twenty-four cities. It was a confederacy for mutual defence for a term of six years. John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse were ultimately chosen its leaders.

The Elector of Saxony drew up a protest against the election of Ferdinand as King of the Romans, which was presented by his son John Frederick to the Emperor at Cologne, whither he had proceeded after the breaking up of the Diet of Augsburg[25]; but it produced no effect. It had been at first contemplated to deprive the Elector of Saxony of his vote, as a heretic, under the bull of Leo X.; but the other Electors would not agree to a stroke which might next fall upon themselves. The five Roman Catholic Electors, the Palatine, Brandenburg, Mentz, Trèves, and Cologne, had been easily gained by gifts and promises; and Ferdinand himself, as King of Bohemia, had a vote. He was elected January 5th 1531, and two days afterwards crowned at Aix la Chapelle. In his capitulation he pledged himself to observe the Recess of the Diet of

[24] *Brief an Teutleben*, 19 Juni 1530, Luther's *Briefe*, Th. iv. S. 37 (De Wette).

[25] Charles, before he left Augsburg, made the Fuggers, the rich bankers of that city, by whom he had been magnificently entertained, counts of the empire; a step altogether unprecedented. Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 142.

Augsburg. From this time forwards, Charles left the government of Germany mostly to his brother, requiring only to be consulted in things of the last importance. The Dukes of Bavaria, having themselves pretensions to the empire, had viewed with a jealous eye the election of Ferdinand to be King of the Romans, and, on the 24th of October 1531, they entered into an alliance at Saalfeld with the confederates of Smalcald, in so far as regarded the protest against Ferdinand's election. The latter, however, soon found that his new title did not give him more power than that possessed by any other prince of the empire.

Charles's attention was also directed at this time to the appointment of a new ruler in the Netherlands, his aunt Margaret, who had long directed the affairs of those countries with great prudence and success, having died on the 1st of December 1530. He installed in her place his sister Mary, widow of Louis the late King of Hungary; and, in order to see her authority firmly established, he remained some months in Brabant and Flanders.

Although Francis I. was burning the Protestants in France, and though Henry VIII. had entered into a controversy with Luther, in which he had been assailed with the most virulent abuse by that Reformer, the confederates of Smalcald did not hesitate to appeal to those two monarchs to support them against the Emperor; and such is the power of political interest to cement together the most opposite and even personally hostile parties, that their application was received with favour. Francis was ready to employ any instrument, whether infidel Turk or German heretic, that would but afford him the means of annoying and weakening Charles. With this view he had connected himself with the Genevese, and also made advances to Zwingli, who was not backward in courting the alliance of the French king. Towards the end of 1530, Zwingli had sent to Francis, together with a project for a treaty, his book entitled *A brief and clear Exposition of the Christian Faith*, in which that most liberal and enlightened of all the Reformers did not hesitate to assign a place in heaven to such heathens as Socrates, Aristides, and Cato. Francis, however, declined Zwingli's proposals, for fear of offending the Catholic cantons. Zwingli did not long outlive these transactions, having been killed in the battle of Kappel, October 12th 1531. He had persuaded the Zurichers to take up arms against the four original Forest cantons, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, and Lucerne, together with their ancient adherent Zug, all which had remained inflexibly attached to the Church of Rome, and had rejected the application of the reformed cantons in favour of toleration. Zwingli, impa-

tient of waiting for his allies, went out with less than 2000 men against the Catholic host of 8000. They met at Kappel on Mount Albis, about three leagues from Zurich, and in the bloody battle which ensued the men of Zurich were defeated with great loss. Zwingli was struck down by a stone, and after being trampled on by the flying host, was found after the battle, under a tree, by two of the enemy. One of them called upon him to invoke the name of the Virgin, and Zwingli, who was already on the point of expiring, having refused, the man thrust a pike through his throat. Next day Zwingli's body was quartered and burnt, and the ashes scattered to the winds.

Francis had no cause to hesitate in allying himself with the German Protestants and other malcontents, and he came to an understanding on this subject with Henry VIII., between whom and the Emperor the question of the divorce was every day widening the breach. Francis despatched an envoy to the German princes, and, on May 26th 1532, an alliance was concluded at Kloster Seyvern, near Munich, between Saxony, Hesse, Bavaria, and France, to oppose the recognition of Ferdinand as King of the Romans; and Francis engaged to deposit 100,000 crowns with the Dukes of Bavaria.[26] At the same time he renewed his alliance with Zapolya. These machinations were, however, defeated by the threating attitude assumed by the Turks, which induced the Emperor to negociate a peace with the Protestants.

To check the progress of the Turks, and to coerce the German Lutherans into obedience, were the two principal objects of Charles's reign, and to these his other policy was made subservient. But, as the former was the more pressing of the two, he was often obliged to sacrifice his animosity against the Protestants in order to avert the danger threatened by the infidels; and it was from this cause that he entered into the negociations just alluded to with the confederates of Smalcald, which terminated in the religious peace of Nuremberg.

The Emperor and his brother Ferdinand, guided apparently by the counsels of Charles's father-confessor, the Cardinal-bishop of Osma and Siguenza, had, indeed, previously attempted to effect a peace with the Turks, which would have left their hands free to act against the Protestants in Germany. Ambassadors had been despatched to Constantinople in the autumn of 1530 who were empowered to offer to Solyman an annual tribute, disguised under the name of a pension, of 100,000 ducats, if he would enter into a

[26] Stumpf, *Diplom. Gesch. Baierns*, B. i. S. 93 f.

peace, and restore to Ferdinand all Hungary with the exception of Belgrade. There seemed to be no prospect of wresting Hungary from Zapolya by force of arms, who towards the close of the year had been in vain besieged in Buda. An attempt to assassinate him was not calculated to help Ferdinand's cause, and adds one more blot to the dark suspicions against the House of Austria. Habardanacz, who had on a former occasion been Ferdinand's ambassador to the Porte, penetrated into Buda with the design of taking Zapolya's life; but, being discovered by the dagger concealed in his sleeve, was, according to the usage of Turkish law, sewed in a sack and cast into the Danube.[27] After a siege of six weeks the attempt on Buda was abandoned, and, on the 31st of January 1531, a truce of three months was concluded with Zapolya, which was afterwards extended for a year. The Hungarians of each party were weary of the contest, and even talked of choosing a third king who might be recognised by both sides.

The Vizier Ibrahim received Ferdinand's ambassadors and their proposals with cool contempt. Hungary did not belong to Ferdinand, nor even to Janusch Kral (King John Zapolya), but to the Sultan; nay, Vienna also was his, and all that Ferdinand possessed in Germany. The demands of the ambassadors were met by a counter one, that Ferdinand should surrender all the Hungarian fortresses which he still occupied. They were told that another expedition was preparing, and that the Sultan would come in person to meet the King of Spain,—such was the only title with which the Porte condescended to honour Charles. The title of Emperor belonged to Solyman himself; he was the chief of the Roman Empire, and he cherished the idea of making Constantinople the capital of the world.

In the spring of 1531, Ferdinand, whose advice had always great weight with his brother, strongly urged upon Charles the necessity of defending Hungary, grounding himself principally on its importance to the safety of Germany and Italy[28], and he strongly recommended that the Protestants should be conciliated. The Emperor accordingly opened negociations with the confederates of Smalcald, through the Elector of Mentz and the Elector Palatine, which led to what has been called the First Religious Peace, or Peace of Nuremberg, concluded at that city in July 1532, and ratified August 2nd, at the Diet then sitting at Ratisbon. The principal articles were: That the Protestants should not be molested on account of their tenets; that they should be permitted to preach

[27] Katona, t. xx. p. 362.

[28] His *Letter*, in Gévay, No. 97.

and publish the doctrines contained in the Confession of Augsburg, and in the Supplement and Apology; that they should retain the benefices of which they were in possession; that the jurisdiction of the Imperial tribunals in religious matters should be suspended; and that some Protestant advocates should be introduced into the Imperial chamber. On the other hand, the Protestants engaged not to protect the Zwinglians and Anabaptists; to preserve their respect and obedience for the Emperor; to aid him with their property and counsels, and contribute to the succours to be raised against the Turks. These terms were to be in force till the holding of a general council, or in its default, of a new assembly of the States of the empire, and the violation of them was to be attended with the same penalties as attached to breaches of the public peace.[29]

By this treaty the Protestants obtained a temporary toleration for their opinions; but by submitting their tenets to the decision of a council, instead of asserting them unconditionally, they ultimately strengthened the Emperor's hands against themselves, as they thus afforded a pretext for reopening the whole subject. The danger, however, was pressing, and the success of the Turks would have effectually disposed of the question of liberty of conscience. The peace was regarded with horror by Joachim of Brandenburg and other Catholic zealots; nor, on the other hand, was it approved of by the Landgrave of Hesse, who thought that the Protestants had thereby deprived their party of all chance of future increase. His ambassadors at first refused to sign; but he at length found himself obliged either to comply or to stand alone. The Emperor pressed the states assembled at Ratisbon, to raise the contingent granted by the Diet of Augsburg to 60,000 men. This demand was refused; though the princes and states showed an unusual alacrity in raising the forces voted. John Frederick especially, son of the Elector of Saxony, who, during the mortal illness of his father, had conducted the negociations for the peace, zealously displayed his attention to the Emperor by providing a good force, which he proposed to lead in person; but this offer was declined. He succeeded to the electorate on the death of his father shortly afterwards (August 16th 1532).

At this Diet of Ratisbon was passed the famous *Caroline Code*, so named after the Emperor. It made a complete reform in the criminal jurisprudence of Germany. Hitherto every petty sovereign and state had exercised the arbitrary privilege of inflicting

[29] Luther's *Werke*, B. xvi. S. 2237; Hortleder, *Handlungen und Auschreiben*, B. i. Kap. ii. S. 67 ff.

capital punishment, and often under the most dreadful forms of torture. By this code not only was the severity of the criminal law much mitigated, but also a uniform scale of punishments established throughout the empire.

Charles had not confined his demands for assistance against the Turks to his Protestant subjects in Germany; he had also applied to other European states, and especially to the King of France, who was bound to assist him by the terms of the treaty of Cambray; and an application to that effect had been made to Francis by the Imperial ambassador early in 1531. Such a demand was not likely to be heard with equanimity, and the manner of it disgusted Francis still more than the substance. The French forces raised were to be under the command of the Emperor, who, it was intimated, would be still better pleased with a money payment only, instead of troops.[30] Francis gave vent to his displeasure at this demand in a remarkable letter to De Dinteville, Bishop of Auxerre, his ambassador at the Papal court[31]; in which he expressed his astonishment that he should be asked for money instead of troops, when it was well known that he and his forefathers had always been accustomed to march at the head of their own forces; nevertheless he was ready, as soon as the Pope wished it, to appear in Italy with 50,000 foot, 3000 horse, and the necessary artillery, — no obscure threat that his pretensions in that country were not yet abandoned. He remarked that he was not disposed to enter into a war with the Turks merely for the private quarrels of others; especially as the Emperor and King Ferdinand might have obviated all danger by making a peace with King John (Zapolya); and he expressed his own readiness to enter into such a treaty. He had, indeed, long before this, as we have already seen, made an alliance with Zapolya which he now further strengthened. It happened that Hieronymus Lasczy, King John's ambassador, was at the French court when the Emperor made the demand just mentioned, through whom Francis offered John the hand of Isabeau, sister of the King of Navarre, as well as a sum of money; but with the hypocritical admonition that it was not to be employed against any of the French king's allies, and in no case was Zapolya to avail himself of the succour of the Turks.[32] A little after the preceding letter, however, Francis addressed another

[30] *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, t. i. p. 503.

[31] This letter (dated Jan. 25th 1531) is published for the first time in the *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, t. i. p. 184 sqq. Comp. Gaillard, t. iv. p. 185.

[32] *Mém.* de M. du Bellay, liv. iv. (Petitot, t. xviii. p. 127 sqq.); Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xi. p. 400.

to the college of cardinals (February 2nd), in which he said that he should want his troops himself, as Barbarossa, the Turkish pirate, was about to make a descent on Provence with twenty-six sail.[33]

Francis did, indeed, subsequently endeavour to prevent Solyman's invasion of Hungary in 1532, though with no design of serving the Emperor or King Ferdinand. He saw that the danger with which they were menaced from the Turks served in reality to increase their influence and power, by obliging them to conciliate the Protestants, and, towards the end of 1531, he despatched Rincon to the Porte, to dissuade the Sultan from his contemplated enterprise. His ambassador, however, having been detained by illness at Venice and Ragusa, did not meet with the Sultan till he was already at Belgrade, when Solyman observed, that if he now returned, it would be said that it was for fear of "Charles of Spain."[34]

These things serve to show the nature of the relations between Francis and the Porte. The French king, ever since his captivity, had been on the most friendly terms with Solyman. In 1528 the Sultan confirmed to the French and Catalan merchants their commercial privileges in Egypt; and, in the same year, Francis seems to have been desirous of extending his protection to the Christians in Jerusalem,—one of the earliest traces of the pretension still asserted by the French nation to protect the Christian subjects of the Porte. Solyman granted them the use of the churches in Jerusalem, except the chief one, which had been converted into a mosque. Francis appears to have entertained the idea of going in person to Constantinople, to render the Sultan homage and thanks for the aid promised during his captivity, and then paying a visit to the holy sepulchre.[35]

Charles's applications to the Pope and the Venetians for succour against the Turks were as fruitless as those to Francis, and he was thus driven to rely on his own resources. Never had an Imperial army been so numerously and so promptly assembled. On the plain of Tulln between Linz and Vienna, Charles found himself at the head of about 80,000 men, mostly Germans, but with an intermixture of Italians, Spaniards, and Netherlanders. Of this army 24,000 men had been contributed by the Protestant states.

Solyman began his march from Constantinople, April 26th 1532, with all the magnificence of Oriental pomp. A long train of 120 cannon was followed by 8000 chosen Janissaries, and by droves of camels carrying an enormous quantity of baggage. Then came

[33] *Négociations, &c.* t. i. p. 190.
[34] *Ibid.* t. i. p. 207.
[35] Gévay, *Urk.* 1530, p. 44.

2000 horsemen, the Sipahis of the Porte, with the holy banner, the eagle of the Prophet, gorgeously adorned with pearls and precious stones. Next in the procession were the Christian tribute children educating by the Porte, habited in cloth of gold, having long locks like women, and scarlet caps with white feathers, all bearing similar lances, artfully worked after the fashion of Damascus. Then was borne in state the Sultan's crown, followed by his domestics, 1000 men of gigantic stature, the handsomest that could be found, armed with bows and arrows; some of whom held coupled hounds, while others carried hawks. In the midst of them rode Solyman himself, in a crimson robe trimmed with gold and a snow-white turban covered with jewels, mounted on a chesnut horse, and armed with a superb sword and dagger. The procession was closed by the Sultan's four viziers, among whom Ibrahim was conspicuous, and the rest of the nobles of the court with their servants.[36] Thus did Solyman inaugurate his march. On the way he was joined by troops from all quarters, so that when he entered Hungary in June his army was estimated at 350,000 men.

Ferdinand had resolved to try the effect of another embassy, which found the Sultan at Belgrade. Rincon, the French ambassador was also there. The Austrians were conducted through a lane of 12,000 Janissaries to Solyman's tent, where they found him sitting on a golden throne; near him was his magnificent crown made at Venice at the cost of 115,000 ducats; before the legs, or pillars, of his throne were two gorgeous swords, in sheaths set with pearls; also bows and quivers richly ornamented. The ambassadors estimated the value of what they saw at 1,200,000 ducats. Their errand was of course fruitless. The Sultan seemed only anxious to know the distance to Ratisbon, where the Diet was then sitting; and, on being told that it was a month's journey on horseback the shortest way, he expressed his determination to go. The ambassadors were detained two months among the Turks, and compelled to follow their movements.

On the 20th of July the Turks crossed the Drave at Essek, on twelve bridges of boats. The march of Solyman through Hungary resembled a progress in his own dominions. The fortresses sent him their keys as he approached, and he tried and punished the magnates who had deserted Zapolya. The Turkish fleet also ascended the Danube as far as Presburg; at which point, Solyman, instead of directing his march towards Vienna, turned to the south,

[36] *Venetian Chronicle*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iii. S. 408.

and leaving the Neusiedler lake on his right, took the road to Styria. On the 1st of August he arrived before the little town of Güns. This insignificant and ill fortified place was destined to inflict upon Solyman the most humiliating disgrace ever experienced by the overweening pride of Oriental despotism since the memorable invasion of Attica by Xerxes. All that pomp and splendour of Eastern warfare, all those myriads of Turkish troops, led by the Grand Seignior in person, were detained more than three weeks by a garrison of about 700 men, of which only 30 were regular troops, and those cavalry. Under the command of Nicholas Jurissich, who had been one of the Austrian ambassadors to the Porte, this heroic little band repulsed no fewer than eleven assaults, and the Sultan was at length obliged to content himself with a capitulation, by which ten Janissaries were allowed to remain an hour in the place in order to erect a Turkish standard. This delay, and the defeat by Sebastian Schärtlin of a body of 15,000 Turkish horse who were to enter Austria by the Sömmering Pass, proved the saving of the country. The French and Venetian ambassadors in Solyman's camp advised him not to venture with an army thus weakened and discouraged a general engagement with Charles's fresh and well organised forces, and the diversion caused by Andrew Doria with his fleet in the Morea served to support this advice; who, after capturing Koron, Patras, and the two castles which defend the entrance of the Gulf of Lepanto, the Dardanelles of the Morea, had landed his troops, and excited the Greeks to revolt. After investing Grätz, which was well defended, Solyman reluctantly abandoned an enterprise for which he had made such vast preparations, and on the success of which he had so proudly relied. Charles was prevented from pursuing the retreating enemy by the lateness of the season, the want of provisions, the sickness which began to prevail among his troops, and the desire of several of the princes to return to their homes; yet, on the whole, his first appearance at the head of his armies had been attended with considerable glory and success. The subsequent dispersion of the Imperial army much annoyed King Ferdinand, who had hoped to recover with it the whole of Hungary, Belgrade included: but the German leaders would not listen to such a proposal; it was not in their instructions, nor, with the majority of them, would it have been popular. For fear of such an event, however, Solyman, at the request of Zapolya, left 60,000 men behind at Essek.[37] In the following year (June 22nd 1533) a

[37] The principal authorities for this Turkish expedition are Katona, t. xx. p. 811 sqq.: Solyman's *Journal*, in Hammer, B. iii. Schärtlin's *Lebensbeschrei-*

peace was concluded at Constantinople between Ferdinand's ambassadors and the Porte, by which the former was to retain all that he held in Hungary, and make what terms he pleased with Zapolya.[38]

After the retreat of the Turks, the Emperor again passed into Italy on his way to Spain, and had another interview with the Pope, at Bologna, in December 1532; when the treaty of 1529 was confirmed and extended, and an alliance formed with the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara and the republics of Genoa and Sienna, for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Italy. Clement, who was now intriguing with Francis, manifested great unwillingness to enter into the Emperor's views. He was offended with Charles on many accounts, and especially by a decision which he had given that the House of Este should hold Ferrara as a fief of the Church and Modena and Reggio as fiefs of the Empire. Charles pressed the Pope to summon the council so often demanded, and Clement was obliged, though very unwillingly, to issue a fresh proclamation for that purpose.[39]

While the Emperor was confronting the Turks in Germany, Henry VIII. and Francis I. had an interview at Boulogne. They felt that they should render themselves odious by taking an open part against Charles at such a juncture, and in the treaty which they concluded, October 28th 1532, they even agreed to oppose with an army of 80,000 men "the damned violence of the Turk." It was stipulated however, in one of the articles "that they should take the road which seemed best to them;" upon which Charles observed, that, while the Turk was in Hungary, the two monarchs would go and meet him in Italy.[40]

Henry's motive for courting the French king at this period was his still increasing quarrel with the Pope, and consequently with the Emperor also, on the subject of his divorce. When Henry, by the advice of Cranmer, resolved to refer this question to the universities of Europe, he remitted the payment of the 500,000 crowns which Francis had engaged to pay for the Emperor, as the latter's penalty for the breach of his promise to espouse Mary, and he allowed the other debt of 400,000 crowns to be discharged in the course of five years; for which considerations Francis employed himself in procuring a favourable verdict for the English

bung; Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*; B. iv. S. 36 ff.

[38] Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 744.

[39] The best account of the transactions at Bologna is in Pallavicini, lib. iii. c. 12; cf. M. du Bellay, liv. iv.; Gaillard, t. iv. p. 203.

[40] Du Bellay, *ib.* p. 128 sqq.; Gaillard, *ib.* p. 187; Le Grand, t. i. p. 232 sq.

monarch from those universities which his influence could reach; using for that purpose sometimes bribes and sometimes threats, as in the case of the university of Paris.[41] During the interview between the two monarchs, the subject of the divorce was much discussed. Henry had brought Anne Boleyn, now Marchioness of Pembroke, with him to Calais, where he repaid Francis's hospitalities at Boulogne, and where the French king danced with that fascinating heretic. Henry quoted Scripture, and ecclesiastical history to prove that his marriage with Catharine was invalid; and he endeavoured to inspire Francis with all that hatred of the Pope which had so recently taken possession of his own bosom. The French king was at once surprised and amused at this, to him, incomprehensible display of so much passion combined with so profound a submission to the authority of the Church; and he advised Henry to marry Anne at once, without further ceremony. He himself, indeed, though negociating with Clement for political ends, was half inclined to throw off the Papal yoke. He was grievously sensible of his own poverty; he looked with an envious eye on the riches of the Gallican Church; and he observed that the sovereigns of Denmark and Sweden had acquired a great accession of power by the peaceful reformation accomplished in their dominions. But his views were still directed towards Italy, where the assistance of the Pope was necessary to his schemes. Henry, who had no such projects, weary at length of so many years of fruitless pleading, resolved to take the advice of Francis; and although the Pope, at the instance of the Emperor during their interview at Bologna, had issued a bull prohibiting Henry from cohabiting with Anne Boleyn[42] (December 23rd 1532), he nevertheless privately celebrated his nuptials with her (January 25th 1533); soon after which, Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, having pronounced the sentence of divorce against Catharine, Anne was solemnly and publicly crowned (June 1st 1533).

In the course of the same year, Francis drew still closer his relations with the Pope. Ever since June 1531, negociations had been carrying on for a marriage between the French king's second son, Henry Duke of Orleans, and Catherine de' Medici, whose birth we have already recorded; but they were not brought to a conclusion till the time of the Emperor's second sojourn at Bologna, when Clement, irritated by Charles's conduct towards him, and especially

[41] Sleidan, though a Protestant, attests the belief that the opinions of the Sorbonne, and of several universities, were bought (lib. ix. p. 220, ed. Frankf. 1620). Those of some of the French and Italian universities will be found in Rymer, t. xiv. p. 391 sq.

[42] Raynaldus, t. xiii. p. 264.

by his pressing the demand for a council[43], agreed to meet the French king at Marseilles in the following autumn, and there to arrange the nuptials.[44] Francis had demanded that a principality should be erected in favour of the bridal pair, to consist of Pisa, Leghorn, Reggio, Modena, Rubiera, Parma, and Piacenza; also Urbino, and even Milan and Genoa; and that the Pope should assist in reconquering these places. Clement found these demands reasonable enough, and was willing to satisfy them when an opportunity offered; only he would not speak out about Milan and Genoa. These arrangements were of course kept as secret as possible. The interview agreed upon took place at Marseilles, towards the end of October 1533, and lasted three weeks. The Pope himself performed the nuptial ceremony, October 25th, and bestowed his benediction on the youthful pair. Henry Duke of Orleans, who, by the death of his elder brother, subsequently became Dauphin, and then King of France, was at this time 15 years of age; Catherine de' Medici was about two years younger, and is described as short, thin, and plain, with the large eyes peculiar to her family.[45] Francis ceded all his claims in Italy to his son. Charles V., who could at first scarcely believe that Francis seriously contemplated debasing the royal blood of France by mixing it with that of the Medici, so recently mere private citizens of Florence, took no steps to prevent the marriage.

The news of Henry VIII.'s marriage had reached Rome some months before this meeting (May 12th), whither it had been transmitted in all haste by Queen Mary, Regent of the Netherlands, to the cardinals of the Imperial faction. Only a few years before Clement had himself advised Henry to such a step; but he was not then, as now, under the immediate influence of the Emperor: besides Henry had set at nought the omnipotence of Rome, by neglecting the inhibitory Bull. He was immediately cited to appear at Rome either in person or by proxy, although it had been understood that no such step should be taken before the interview at Marseilles. It might be anticipated that, when the news of the divorce pronounced by Cranmer at Dunstable should arrive in Rome, the last and most terrible sentence of the Church would be fulminated. But Henry had now irretrievably committed himself, and it was no longer possible to retreat. He resolved therefore to

[43] Francis wrote to the Bishop of Auxerre, his ambassador at Rome, that he and his ally, Henry VIII., would either further or oppose the Council, according as the Pope demeaned himself. *Lettres du Roi François I.* in Camusat, *Mélanges Hist.* p. 173.

[44] *Relazione* di Soriano, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. i. p. 118.

[45] *Ibid.* vol. iii. App. p. 302.

blunt the edge of the Papal weapons by anticipating them, and, on the 29th of June, he made a formal appeal, before the Archbishop of York, from the expected sentence of the Pope to the next general council.[46]

The news of the divorce produced a violent scene between the Pope and the English ambassadors at Rome. One of them, Bonner, the future notorious Bishop of London, who could ill control his tongue, made use of such intemperate language, that Clement threatened to boil him in a cauldron of lead. Henry, however, exhorted him to be firm, and to dispute the matter point by point[47], and on further deliberation, the Pope thought it prudent to reserve for awhile the last blow. By a brief published July 12th Cranmer's sentence of divorce was declared illegal and null; but though the King by his disobedience had incurred the penalty of excommunication, the fulmination of it was deferred till the end of September, to allow him the opportunity of resuming his former position. Henry at this time endeavoured to establish friendly relations with the Elector of Saxony and the German Protestants; and with that view despatched Vaughan as ambassador to the Court of John Frederick at Weimar; who, however, met with so cool a reception, that he soon took his departure.[48] The German Lutherans were now at least temporarily reconciled with the Emperor, and were not disposed to give him any new cause of offence.

The Duke of Norfolk, Henry's ambassador to Francis, if he failed to persuade that monarch to abandon his intended interview with Clement, was ordered to return home instead of proceeding to Marseilles, that he might not be compelled to be present where the Pope was, his master's enemy.[49] Bonner, however, followed the Pope from Rome, and arrived at Marseilles on the 7th of November, with Henry's appeal. He has left a graphic description of the Pope's anger on receiving it, and of many other particulars which occurred at this conference, in a letter to the King[50], dated No-

[46] The substance of this appeal is given by Mr. Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 123 sqq. The original is in Rymer, t. xiv. p. 476.

[47] Henry VIII. to Bonner, *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 485.

[48] Vaughan to Henry VIII. *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 503. Vaughan to Cromwell, *ibid.* p. 509.

[49] *Ibid.* p. 493 sqq.

[50] In Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. *Records*, No. 23. When Bonner announced that he was the bearer of such an instrument, "the Pope," he says, "having this for a breakfast, only pulled down his head to his shoulders, after the Italian fashion," and bade him come in the afternoon, as he was going into Consistory. When Bonner read the appeal at the hour appointed, Clement "fell in a marvellous great choler and rage, not only declaring the same by his gesture and manner, but also by words." He strove to conceal his anger, which, however, was visible by many tokens. "And one among others was taken, here for infallible with them that knoweth the Pope's conditions, that he was continually folding up and unwinding of his handkerchief, which he never doth but when he is tickled to the very heart with great choler."

vember 13th. Francis appears to have made strong representations to the Pope in favour of Henry. Before the meeting broke up, Clement went so far as to say that, if the King of England would, only by a mere matter of form, acknowledge the Papal jurisdiction, he would pronounce sentence in his favour, as he believed his cause to be just; he even waived the citation to Rome, and offered to appoint a court to sit at Cambray: but Henry, who, not without reason, suspected that the Pope might still deceive him, rejected the offer; and subsequently, in a letter to Francis I., he very forcibly pointed out how much the Pope had committed himself by acknowledging the goodness of his cause, yet refusing to do him justice without extorting conditions.[51] Such a proposition on the part of Clement shows, however, how much he trusted that his connection with Francis would render him independent of the Emperor.

These events were followed by that memorable session of the English Parliament, early in 1534, which abrogated the Papal jurisdiction in England. The law was mitigated in favour of suspected heretics. The act abolishing annates, which had been begun, but left unratified, now received the royal assent; a proceeding which also involved a reform in the appointment of bishops; for as no annates were to be sent to Rome, so no pallium and bull of investiture were to be expected thence. The crown had already usurped from the chapters the appointment of bishops, and the Pope's share in the transaction had also become a mere shadow. The *congé d'élire* was now restored to the chapters, but it was accompanied with a nomination by the crown, to be made absolute within twelve days, under pain of incurring a *præmunire*. Thus the chapters regained a merely nominal freedom; while the appointment of the crown was left wholly uncontrolled. Peter's pence and other tributes to Rome were abolished; and unless the Pope did the King justice within three months, his jurisdiction in England was to cease altogether. The session was wound up by the Act of Succession, by which the King's marriage with Catherine was declared invalid, Cranmer's sentence of divorce confirmed, the marriage with Anne Boleyn pronounced lawful, and the issue of it appointed to succeed to the crown.

Scarcely was the session terminated, when the news arrived in England (April 7th), that the Pope had pronounced judgment against the King. Through the mediation of the Bishop of Paris, Clement had been induced to defer his sentence to the 23rd of

[51] Henry's *Letter* to the French King, in Foxe, *Acts and Monum.* vol. v. p. 110.

March, and Henry, meanwhile, appears to have agreed to the terms proposed; but his courier, with letters of confirmation, having been accidentally delayed on the road, Clement, at the instigation of the Spanish cardinals, who, since the treaty of Barcelona, possessed supreme influence in the Roman Curia, declared the King's first marriage valid, and he himself excommunicate, if he refused to obey this judgment.

In pursuance of this sentence, the Emperor was to invade England within four months, and depose the King. Large bodies of troops were actually assembled in the Netherlands; Francis offered Henry his assistance, and that summer, the Channel was guarded by the French fleet.[52] But although Queen Mary had assumed in the Netherlands a very hostile attitude, it was plain, from many symptoms, that the Emperor would be loath to come to extremities with England, and these demonstrations were in fact followed by no result.

The die was now irrevocably cast. The Papal authority in England was abolished by the convocation, which was still sitting, on the same day that the news of the Pope's decision arrived. On the 25th of June, a royal proclamation was issued against the Pope's supremacy; and in the next session of Parliament, in November 1534, it was abrogated by an act which substituted that of the King in its stead.

Before this last formal blow to the Papal authority, Clement had expired. He died towards the end of September—the exact day is uncertain. He had given no marked occasion for scandal: he was naturally grave, diligent in business, and full of ambition; but false and insincere. Although his capacity was large, his judgment was often perverted by timidity; and he was indeed, on the whole, one of those characters frequently met with in life; an excellent adviser in a subordinate situation; but paralyzed by irresolution when the responsibility of decision fell upon himself. During his Pontificate, Papal Rome experienced the most serious disasters it had ever sustained. Clement had seen his capital in the hands of the enemy, and himself a prisoner; he had beheld the complete establishment of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, and the separation of England from the Roman See; which last misfortune must have wounded him more than any other, as he could not but be sensible that it was chiefly attributable to his own misconduct.

In choosing Clement's successor a severe struggle ensued between

[52] Froude, vol. ii. p. 219.

the French and Imperial parties, which terminated in the election of Alexander Farnese, a man devoted to neither (October 12th 1534). He assumed the title of Paul III. Farnese was a Roman by birth, of good abilities and education. He had studied under Pomponius Lætus at Rome, and at Florence in the gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici; yet he was not free from the superstition of astrology, so prevalent in that age. He was of an easy, liberal temper, fond of magnificence, and very popular at Rome; yet, after all, perhaps his chief recommendations to the conclave were, his age of sixty-seven, and the many rich benefices which his elevation would cause to be distributed among the cardinals. Like most of his predecessors, he was addicted to nepotism, and he openly acknowledged an illegitimate son and daughter. It was he who founded the Farnese palace.

On the question of the divorce Farnese had always been on Henry's side, and even after the passing of the final sentence, had advised its reconsideration. After he had ascended the Papal throne, overtures for a reconciliation were made to Henry, both through the French King and indirectly from the Pope himself. But Henry was resolved not to be again deceived, and rejected all these offers.[53] Paul III. therefore issued, early in November 1535, a bull of excommunication against the King, in which, besides the usual revolting penalties contained in those spiritual fulminations, Henry was deprived of his throne, his offspring by Anne Boleyn were declared infamous, his subjects were released from their obedience, and exhorted to take up arms against him, all his treaties with foreign princes and powers were pronounced null and void, and the nations of Europe were called upon to make war upon him till he should be reduced to obedience to the Holy See.[54]

The death of Clement sadly interfered with Francis's designs upon Italy. These had taken a more definite form ever since the death of his mother, Louisa, when he found himself the heir of a larger sum than he had ever before possessed; and from that time he commenced his preparations. One of the most important of them, was the placing of the French army upon a new and more effective footing, especially by the raising of seven legions of French infantry, each of 6000 men (1534); a force for which France had relied hitherto upon foreigners.[55] But the jealousy of the nobility prevented this plan from being carried out to its full extent.

Francis, however, made his first attacks on the Emperor in Germany. After his treaty with the Pope at Marseilles, he had

[53] Froude, vol. ii. p. 339.
[54] Raynaldus, t. xiii. p. 370 sqq.
[55] Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xi. 427 sq.

despatched M. de Langey into that country to form an intimate alliance with the princes who were dissatisfied with King Ferdinand's election, and, in particular, to support the restoration of the Duke of Würtemberg, whose expulsion we have already recorded, as well as the usurpation of his dominions by the House of Austria. In January 1534, Francis himself had an interview with the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the chief supporter of Ulrich, at Bar-le-Duc, when he agreed to advance 125,000 dollars for the affair of Würtemberg, but under pretence of purchasing Mümpelgard, in order that he might not openly violate the peace of Cambray. He had previously paid down 100,000 crowns to the Dukes of Bavaria, in pursuance of the former treaty respecting the election of the King of the Romans; and he engaged to pay a third of the expenses of any war that might arise. The restoration of the Duke of Würtemberg we shall have occasion to relate further on.

Besides the death of Clement, another reason which induced the French King to postpone awhile his meditated invasion of Italy, was the expedition preparing by the Emperor against the corsairs of Barbary; for he felt that to attack Charles at a juncture when he was performing a service beneficial to all Christendom would draw upon himself the execration of Europe.

For many years the coasts of Spain and Italy had been infested by Mahometan pirates. The Knights of St. John, to whom, as we have said, the Emperor had ceded Malta and Gozzo, were quite unable to keep them in check. The danger and inconvenience had much increased since Hayradin, or Chaireddin, surnamed Barbarossa, the son of a Lesbian potter, had by his talents and bravery become the commander of a considerable fleet, and had succeeded to the kingdom of Algiers on the death of his elder brother Horuc, by whom it had been seized. To Barbarossa resorted, as their proper leader, the renegades and freebooters of Southern Europe, and especially the oppressed Moriscoes of Spain. Barbarossa had not even spared the coast of Provence, and in 1533 Francis had concluded with him a separate truce. His subsequent appointment as the Sultan's admiral brought him into friendly relations with Francis, who contemplated making use of his fleet, in order to recover Genoa, engaging in return to second the enterprises of the Turks. Nay, the French King even sent an ambassador to Solyman, pressing him to terminate his Asiatic wars, and act in person against the Emperor.[56] This alliance with the infidels, merely for the purposes of his

[56] *Négociations, &c.* t. i. p. 253 sqq.

selfish ambition, must ever stamp Francis with a certain infamy. The states that bordered on the Turks, as Venice, were compelled to keep on terms of friendship with them for their own security; nay, even the French King's defensive alliance with Solyman may be in some degree excused on the plea of its necessity against the overwhelming power of the House of Austria: but this offensive league, a shameless aiding and abetting of those atrocities which called down the execration of Europe, has no such justification. On the coasts of Italy and Spain, and for some miles inland, no father of a family could retire to rest in the confident security of finding his wife and children in the morning. The corsairs sometimes had a commission from a pasha, a bey, or a renegade, to procure them a certain female, and in this way they would carry off the daughters even of persons of rank and station. In 1534 Barbarossa had infested the coasts of Naples and Sicily with his flying squadrons, inflicting a good deal of temporary damage; then, after plundering the coasts of Sardinia, he passed over to Tunis, and on pretence of punishing Muley Hassan for his tyranny, took possession of his kingdom.[57] After this increase of Barbarossa's power, nobody could sleep in safety from Messina to Gibraltar. The Spaniards, in particular, were loud in their complaints, and Charles, who had been residing in Spain since 1533, was obliged to dismiss for awhile the politics of Europe, and to direct in person all his forces against Africa, in an expedition which assumed the appearance of a crusade. Before he embarked at Barcelona, the Emperor visited the shrine of our Lady of Montserrat, walking in the procession with uncovered head; while the admiral's ship displayed for its ensign a crucifix with John and Mary standing by.

The only aid which Charles received was from Portugal; not indeed, from King John, but from his brother Louis, who furnished twenty-five ships, and 2000 men fully equipped, besides sixty transports. Francis was applied to for aid, but declined to take any part in the enterprise, although there were many French prisoners in Tunis. The army which assembled at Cagliari, under the command of the Emperor in person, consisted of 25,000 foot and 2000 horse, composed of Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese. The expedition sailed in June 1535, and on the 16th arrived at Porto Farina, near the ancient Utica. The Goletta, the fortress which protects Tunis, was easily taken by storm. On the 20th Barbarossa was defeated in a pitched battle, and put to

[57] Hadschi Chalifeh, *Maritime Wars*, p. 49; cf. Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 436 sq.

flight, and five days afterwards Tunis was captured, with the help of the Christian slaves. In these operations Charles displayed not only personal courage, but also the qualities of a good general. Muley Hassan was restored to his dominions, under a treaty by which he engaged to put down piracy, to leave all Christians unmolested, to allow them the free use of their worship, and to pay an yearly tribute of 12,000 ducats.[58]

Having achieved this brilliant conquest, the Emperor re-embarked, August 17th, and landed at Palermo on the 4th of September. Thence he proceeded to Naples, where he spent several months, and celebrated the carnival with fêtes and tournaments, in which he himself combated in a Moorish dress. His success seemed to have inspired him with new sentiments; and he appears at this epoch as the chivalrous cavalier, whilst Francis, his once more brilliant rival, was sinking down into the crafty negociator. It was during his stay at Naples that Charles confirmed the marriage of his natural daughter, Margaret, with Alexander de' Medici, a man stained with every vice. Hippolytus de' Medici, who, after the death of Clement VII., had become the head of that family, had, at the instance of some leading Florentines, preferred a long list of complaints against his relation Alexander to the Emperor, who was then at Tunis. Charles promised to inquire into the charges, on his return; but meanwhile Alexander bribed the Cardinal's cup-bearer to poison him (August 10th 1535). The charges were nevertheless pursued; Alexander was cited to Naples; yet, though condemned by a tribunal, he was suffered to retain his power, and in June 1536 celebrated with royal pomp his marriage with Margaret. The Florentines offered Charles large sums of money to annul the treaty which he had entered into with Clement, and to restore the republic; but though he rejected their proposals he seems to have put some check to the tyranny of Alexander.[59]

After the Emperor's return from Tunis, Francis resolved to invade Italy, for which, what he called the murder of his ambassador Maraviglia, or Merveilles, served as a pretext. This man, without any publicly accredited post, had been employed by Francis as a sort of spy at the court of the Duke of Milan, and Charles had required Sforza to dismiss him; but an opportunity arose to put him out of the way in a more effectual manner. Some of Maraviglia's people had killed Count Castiglione in a street brawl[60]

[58] Dumont, *Corps Diplom.* t. iv. pt. ii. p. 128.

[59] Varchi, *Storia Fiorent.* lib. xiv.; Jovius, lib. xxxiv.

[60] According to another version, Castiglione had been commissioned to make away with Maraviglia, and was killed while breaking into his house. Schlosser, B. xii. S. 199. Cf. Gaillard, t. iv. p. 247 sqq.

(July 1533); and Maraviglia was consequently arrested, and, after a summary process, executed. This act was a pledge of reconciliation between Charles and Sforza, and the latter now received the Emperor's niece in marriage, as previously arranged by treaty. Francis, on the other hand, chose to regard the execution of Maraviglia as a breach of the law of nations, and loudly demanded satisfaction both from Sforza and the Emperor. Sforza had no doubt acted with precipitation and injustice; but Francis, from the causes already mentioned, had postponed his demand of redress till the Emperor's return; refusing, in the mean time, the most humble apologies on the part of Sforza, and the most liberal offers of reparation. The death of Sforza, October 24th 1535, put matters on a new footing. He was the last of the ducal branch of his house, and left the Emperor his heir, who took possession of Milan as an Imperial fief, and appointed Antonio de Leyva to the government of it. The French King now shifted his ground. He pretended that, by the treaty of Cambray, he had renounced his claims to the Milanese only in favour of Sforza; that they were consequently revived by the death of that prince without issue; and on this pretence, he demanded investiture from the Emperor. Instead, however, of following up this demand, by striking a vigorous blow, he suffered the Emperor to amuse him some months with fruitless negociations. Charles held out the hope that he would confer the Milanese on the French King's third son, the Duke of Angoulême, except in the case that the latter should succeed to the crown of France; whilst Francis wished to procure it for his second son, who had married Catherine de' Medici, and on the condition that he himself should first hold it during pleasure.

Meanwhile, however, Francis, unwilling that his large forces should remain unemployed, resolved to seize Savoy. It is said that Clement VII. first suggested this idea to him during the interview at Marseilles, pointing out that all his former Italian expeditions had failed for want of a proper base of operations. Such a step was now all the more necessary to his contemplated invasion of Italy, as Duke Charles III. of Savoy, although uncle of Francis, belonged to the party of the Emperor, and was indeed his brother-in-law, having married Beatrix of Portugal, sister of the Empress. The French King had at hand several pretexts for hostilities. He complained that the Duke had mediated an alliance between the Emperor and the Swiss; that he had refused to lend the castle of Nice for the interview between himself and the Pope; that he had sent the Prince of Piedmont to be educated at Madrid; that he had lent Bourbon jewels, which the latter pawned to raise troops;

that he had written to Charles to congratulate him after the battle of Pavia, &c. More particularly was he offended that the Duke, or rather his consort Beatrix, had accepted the county of Asti, which Francis had been compelled to renounce by the peace of Cambray; a proceeding which he regarded almost as a personal affront.

Besides all these grievances, Francis set up a claim to part of his uncle's dominions. Louisa, his mother, was the second child of Duke Philibert, and by his first wife; his uncle, Duke Charles, was the third child, but second son, and by a second wife. Charles, however, had now been thirty years in possession, having succeeded to the dukedom on the death of Philibert in 1504; Louisa and her husband, the Duke of Angoulême, had renounced all pretension to Savoy at the time of their marriage; although, without such renunciation, the claim of the male heir was preferable, the succession being regulated as in France by the salique law. Francis pretended indeed that this law had been abrogated on the marriage of his grandmother, Margaret of Bourbon, with Philip of Savoy; but he could never produce the deed of abrogation. Nevertheless he sent Poyet, President of the Parliament of Paris, to make the following demands on his uncle: a payment of 180,000 crowns, the dowry of his grandmother; La Bresse, the ancient apanage of his grandfather Philip, together with its revenues for the last forty years; Asti and Vercelli, as possessions of the House of Orleans; the county of Nice, the barony of Faucigni, and several domains in the marquisate of Saluzzo, as ancient fiefs of Dauphiné and Provence; nay, even Turin itself and great part of Piedmont, as having formerly belonged to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis. Duke Charles offered to refer his nephew's claims to arbitration; but Francis interpreted this offer as a refusal, and declared war against him.[61]

Covert hostilities had already taken place between France and Savoy. It had been the object of Duke Charles's reign to obtain possession of Geneva, the feudal sovereignty of which had been ceded to the House of Savoy at the beginning of the fifteenth century by Odon de Villars, Count of Geneva; but the Genevese had, as we have seen, protected themselves from the attempts of the Duke by an alliance with Friburg and Bern. Farel, the precursor of Calvin, having however abolished Popery at Geneva in 1535, Friburg abandoned the alliance, and the Duke renewed his attempts upon the liberties of the city. Francis had dispatched two small expe-

[61] Guichenon, *Hist. de Savoie*, t. ii. p. 211; Gaillard, t. iv. *Dissert.* p. 512.

ditions to the aid of the Genevese for the purpose of annoying his uncle; but both had been defeated by the vigilance of the Duke's officers, and these checks had increased the ill-humour of the French King.

In February 1536, the admiral Chabot de Brion, Francis's lieutenant-general, marched against Duke Charles at the head of a French army. La Bresse and Savoy were soon overrun; the Duke abandoned Turin on the approach of Chabot, and took refuge at Vercelli, and all the country as far as the Dora Grossa was speedily subdued. De Brion even crossed that river, and was preparing to attack Vercelli, when the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had arrived at the French camp, April 18th, forbade him to do so, on the ground that as Vercelli properly belonged to the Duchy of Milan, an attack upon it would be a virtual declaration of war against the Emperor.

Charles, meanwhile, had proceeded from Naples to Rome, which he entered April 5th, and there learned the progress of the French arms in Savoy. On the 17th of the same month, he gave an audience to the French ambassadors in the presence of the Pope and assembled cardinals, when he recapitulated in a long speech all his former grounds of complaint against Francis; and he concluded by making three proposals: that the French King should accept Milan for his third son, the Duke of Angoulême, and evacuate Savoy; or that Francis should meet him in a duel, to be fought in their shirts with sword and dagger, the vanquished to renounce all pretensions either to Burgundy or Milan, as the case might be, and to undertake the extirpation of heresy and the conquest of the Turks; or thirdly, to decide their differences by a war. Francis treated the challenge as a joke; but it is singular that the King who passed for a model of chivalry, should have twice declined to meet the Emperor, whose renown has been thought to rest chiefly on his diplomacy.

During these negociations, Charles had collected an army of 50,000 or 60,000 men in Lombardy, with 100 guns, besides another in the Netherlands for the invasion of Picardy, while some bodies of troops on the northern frontiers of Spain threatened Languedoc. By the aid of the Marquis of Saluzzo, who went over to the Imperialists, Fossano was taken, and Charles now called a council of war to deliberate concerning the invasion of France itself. The Marquis del Guasto and Don Ferrante Gonzaga strongly dissuaded him from the enterprise; Antonio de Leyva as strongly urged it[62], affirming that it had been foretold to him that

[62] P. Jovius, lib. xxxv.

he should die in France, and be interred at St. Denis. The Emperor referred the question to the decision of the army, who, with a unanimous shout of approval, declared for the invasion. The Var was crossed July 25th, the anniversary of Charles's victory at Tunis. Elated with his rapid success, the Emperor inquired of La Roche du Maine, the commandant of Fossano, how many days' march it might be to Paris? "At least a dozen days of battle," replied La Roche, "if the aggressor be not vanquished on the first."[63]

Francis had neglected the defence of his frontiers, and as the danger approached, resorted, by the advice of Montmorenci, to a barbarous method of defence. The whole district between the sea and the Durance, the Alps and the Rhone, was laid waste; the mills were destroyed; the crops burnt; the wells corrupted; the towns, even Aix itself, the capital, dismantled and abandoned. Three places only, Arles, Tarascon, and Marseilles, were to be defended against the enemy. Such was the misery which the reckless ambition of Francis had drawn down upon one of his finest provinces. On the other hand, Charles might have been warned by the fate of Bourbon how difficult an enterprise he had undertaken, though he could hardly have anticipated the desperate measures adopted by the French. The death of the Dauphin Francis at this juncture (August 10th) seemed to open a prospect of accommodation. Charles intimated that, if the French King would demand Milan for the Duke of Angoulême, peace might still be made. Francis, however, was not content with such an arrangement, nor was he disposed to give up his conquests in Piedmont. A projected attempt upon Arles was abandoned; Avignon, which was inclined to the Emperor, had been seized by Montmorenci, who took up his head-quarters there, whilst Francis himself was at Valence higher up the Rhone. The march of the Imperialists was therefore directed on Marseilles, to which siege was laid August 25th. Want of provisions, however, and an epidemic among his troops, soon obliged Charles to raise it, and on the 10th of September, he began a disastrous retreat, leaving behind him a considerable quantity of guns and baggage. In one respect the prediction of Antonio de Leyva was accomplished, he left his bones in France—a man in whom the qualities of a great general were deformed by avarice, cruelty, and superstition. Fortunately for the Imperialists they were not pursued by Montmorenci, or hardly one could have escaped; their loss, as it was, is said to have been 30,000 men.

[63] G. du Bellai, liv. vi.

Garcilasso de la Vega, one of the best pastoral poets of Spain, fell in this retreat. He was fired upon by some peasants posted in a tower in the village of Muy, who, from his brilliant equipage, mistook him for the Emperor. Charles arrived at Genoa towards the end of November, fatigued, unwell, and dispirited, and immediately sailed for Spain. The Imperialists were also repulsed on the northern frontiers of France. Nassau had penetrated as far as Péronne, the siege of which he was forced to abandon, September 11th, about the same time that the Emperor also commenced his retreat.

The French still held possession of Piedmont. Turin had not even been attacked, and the French garrison had made successful sorties for eight or ten miles round. These campaigns do not convey a very high idea of the art of war in that age. In spite of the more extended use of artillery and of regularly disciplined troops, warfare still somewhat partook the character of a marauding expedition, nor were those expedients yet adopted by which alone conquests can be secured as well as made. One of the chief causes of this was no doubt a want of funds to keep regular armies for a long period in the field.

The death of the Dauphin occasioned in Francis either real or affected suspicions of the most horrible description. The image of the Emperor constantly haunted his mind as the chief cause of all his misfortunes, and this morbid impression, heightened probably by the actual presence of Charles in France, suggested to Francis the idea that his son had been poisoned. The Dauphin's cupbearer, Montecuculi, was arrested and subjected to the torture, who, being a person of feeble and nervous temperament, said all that was suggested to him while racked with pain, and confessed that he had been suborned by De Leyva and Gonzaga, at the indirect suggestion of the Emperor himself, to poison the French King and his three sons. Montecuculi was condemned to be quartered alive; and Francis, attended by his whole court, feasted his eyes with the spectacle of the execution. The only colourable evidence against the accused was that a MS. treatise on poisons had been found in his possession. It is difficult to imagine that Francis could seriously have believed in the Emperor's guilt, and, indeed, at a later period and in cooler moments, he appears to have dismissed the thought. The circumstances of the Dauphin's death suffice to account for it from natural causes,—he had drunk a glass of iced water when heated with playing at tennis.

CHAPTER VIII.

ABOUT this time, Germany was the scene of one of the most extraordinary triumphs ever achieved by fanaticism.

Since the execution of Thomas Müntzer, the anabaptists, to avoid the persecutions to which they were exposed in Germany, had taken refuge in East Friesland, Westphalia, and the Netherlands, where they made many converts. Early in 1534, Ian Matthys, or Mathiasen, a baker of Leyden, who had imbibed the anabaptists' tenets, and laid claim to supernatural powers, accompanied by his disciple Ian Bockelsohn, repaired to Münster, the capital of Westphalia, where they were hospitably entertained by Bernhard Knipperdolling, one of the leading citizens. The striking dress, the enthusiastic bearing of the two Hollanders, made a great impression, especially on the nuns, among whom they found their first converts; married women next began to slip into the meetings, bringing their jewels and trinkets as offerings to the prophet and pledges of their devotion. The men were at first alarmed and angry, but, as it happens in such matters, were themselves at length drawn in and converted. The epidemic soon became irresistible. Matthys, who was thought to possess a supernatural potion with which he charmed all those whom he baptized, gradually acquired so much power that he could set the town council at defiance; and on the 8th of February a struggle for the mastery took place. The anabaptists, mostly strangers, were arrayed in the market-place; the magistrates and unconverted citizens seized the streets leading to it and the gates of the town; a pitched battle seemed inevitable, when, at the last hour, a capitulation was entered into, by which it was arranged that each party should enjoy its own creed, but pay obedience to the civil magistrate. After such a trial of their strength the sect of the anabaptists naturally went on increasing. New followers streamed to Münster from all parts: wives without their husbands, husbands without their wives; sometimes whole families together; all the profligate knaves and half-witted persons in the neighbouring provinces. The fanaticism was increased by the conversion of one Rottmann, an educated clergyman, who promised those who joined

the sect that they should obtain tenfold what they abandoned. At the ensuing election of magistrates, all offices were filled by enlightened brothers, mostly mechanics, and Knipperdolling was chosen burgomaster. On the 27th of February an armed assembly met in the council house for prayers, when suddenly the prophet, starting up as from a profound sleep, exclaimed that all unbelievers must be driven from the city. "Away," he cried, "with the children of Esau! the inheritance belongs to the children of Jacob!" and his voice was answered on all sides by the cry, "Begone, ye Godless!" On that bitter winter's day, when snow mixed with rain was pelting through the air, all who would not deny their baptism, young and old, men, women, and children, were driven through the gates, where the last penny was taken from them, often the miserable savings of a long life; and the anabaptists having now sole possession of the city, established their spiritual republic. All the rights of property were abolished, and everything was put together into one common stock, concealment being punished with death. Yet everybody continued to exercise his trade, which was looked upon as a sort of office; food and drink were provided at the public expense; and the two sexes, or, as they were called, the brothers and sisters, sat at separate tables, and ate in silence, while a chapter was read from the Bible.

These proceedings had naturally excited alarm among the neighbouring princes; and in April, the Bishop of Münster invested his capital with an army raised among his own subjects, as well as in the Duchy of Clèves and the Electorate of Cologne. The siege, however, made but little progress. The garrison was animated with all the fury of enthusiasm; the very children had been taught to shoot with the bow, in which they had acquired great dexterity. Matthys, who was no sham enthusiast, having made a sally at the head of a few ill-armed followers, in the full confidence of driving the enemy before him, like one of the heroes of Israel, was slain with all his followers, and the mantle of the prophet now devolved to his disciple, Ian Bockelsohn, the son of a headborough at the Hague, who, after wandering about the world, had settled down as a tailor at Leyden, where he afterwards opened a wine and beer shop. Bockelsohn, or John of Leyden, who was of a goodly person, well spoken, fiery, and enthusiastic, began his administration by appointing a council of twelve elders, six of whom sat alternately in tribunal every morning and afternoon, and whatsoever they ordered was done. John of Leyden introduced plurality of wives, though not without a struggle, many among the anabaptists themselves viewing such a custom with a natural repugnance; some even opposed it with

arms, but being driven into the town hall, were forced to surrender, and cruelly put to death. John of Leyden was now chosen king, and reigned supreme and despotic. Thrice a week he sat with crown and chain on his throne in the market-place, and held his tribunal; while Knipperdolling, who had been appointed executioner, stood a step lower, bearing the sword of justice. Bockelsohn had already twelve wives, when, having courted a thirteenth, who refused his addresses, he beheaded her with his own hands and trampled on her body, while his wives stood around singing "Glory to God in the highest!"

The Bishop of Münster's army was at length re-enforced by some Imperial troops, and the city being completely invested, began to suffer all the extremities of famine; till on the night of June 24th 1535, with the assistance of some within, it was taken by assault. Rottmann and many others perished in the conflict. Bockelsohn, Knipperdolling, and an associate named Krechting, were taken alive and executed, after having their flesh torn with red-hot pincers, and enduring the most dreadful tortures. The first confessed his errors. Their skeletons were then placed in iron cages, affixed to the tower of St. Lambert's church.[1]

These excesses were detested alike by the moderate of all persuasions. Towards the end of 1535, the Protestants renewed and extended the League of Smalcald, which now received several accessions, and especially that of Ulrich, Duke of Würtemberg, whose restoration had been effected by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse with the assistance of French gold; but not till after the dissolution of the Suabian League, in December 1533, which had frustrated several attempts for that purpose. Philip of Hesse, after his interview with Francis in January 1534, raised an army of 25,000 men with the money supplied by that monarch, and totally defeated the forces of King Ferdinand at the decisive battle of Lauffen, near Heilbronn, May 13th. The rest of Würtemberg was soon reduced, and Ulrich reinstated in his duchy. Ulrich's son Christopher had been kept a close prisoner by King Ferdinand, the usurper of the duchy, under pretence of educating him, and in the autumn of 1532 Charles had resolved to carry him into Spain; but on the way through the Tyrol he contrived to escape, and, after many dangers, got safely into Bavaria, where he was protected by the dukes, his maternal uncles.

[1] Respecting the anabaptists of Münster, see Hermann von Kersenbroch, *Narratio de Obsidione Monasteriensi*, in Mencke, *Scripp.* t. iii. no. 23; Jochmus, *Gesch. der Kirchen-Ref. zu Münster* (Münster, 1825).

The affairs of Würtemberg were settled by the peace of Cadan [2], June 27th 1534. Ferdinand waived his claim to the duchy, though with the salvo that it should be regarded as an arrière fief of the empire, dependant on the House of Austria. On the other hand, the confederates of Smalcald, who were parties to this treaty, consented to recognise Ferdinand as King of the Romans, stipulating, however, that for the future none should be elected to that dignity without the unanimous concurrence of the Electors. But this transaction owes its chief importance to its effect upon the state of religion in Germany. It was agreed that the Imperial Chamber should no longer exercise any jurisdiction in matters relating to the church, and that all previous decrees in contravention of this principle should be annulled. Würtemberg was immediately reformed, and thus this revolution must be regarded as forming an epoch in the rise of German protestantism. The Reformation was soon afterwards established in Holstein, Pomerania, the March of Brandenburg, and other places.

Besides Würtemberg, the King of Denmark (as Duke of Holstein), Barnim and Philip of Pomerania, George and Joachim of Anhalt, and the towns of Kempten, Frankfort, Augsburg, Hanover, Hamburg, and others, acceded to the League of Smalcald at its renewal in 1535. The King of France also joined it, and the King of England declared himself its protector. The League was renewed for a term of ten years, and the direction of its affairs was divided half-yearly between the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, with the title of Captains-General.

At the same time John Frederick of Saxony caused a new Protestant Confession to be drawn up by Luther and other divines, under the name of the Articles of Smalcald, which were essentially the same as those of the Confession of Augsburg, but much more strongly worded, betraying the hand of Luther instead of that of Melanchthon, and at the same time revealing the consciousness of the Protestants of the strength which they had acquired. In particular the Pope was loudly abused, stigmatised as the anti-Christ, and represented as under the dominion of avarice, pride, lust, and other evil passions.[3]

Whilst Francis was favouring the Protestants of Germany, where he thought that such a course would be injurious to the Emperor, he was persecuting those in his own dominions with circumstances of the greatest cruelty; though it must be admitted that he had received great provocation from the intemperate zeal of some of

[2] A town in Bohemia. The treaty is in Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 119.

[3] Luther's *Werke*, Th. xvi. S. 2326, 2323.

the new converts, which was condemned even by the more moderate of their own party.[4] Placards containing gross and violent attacks upon the mass and other articles of the Roman Catholic faith, which Féret, a servant of the King's apothecary, had caused to be printed at Neufchatel, were posted up in the streets of Paris, some even on the Louvre, nay, on the very door of the King's apartments at Blois. Montmorency and Cardinal Tournon persuaded Francis, who was naturally incensed at the audacity displayed in these placards, that this was a commencement of anabaptism in France, and as his orthodoxy laboured at that time under considerable suspicion from his connection with the German Protestants, with Henry VIII., and also with the Turks, he seized the opportunity to vindicate it in the cruellest and most signal manner. Some victims had been already made in November 1534; the 29th of the following January was signalised by a solemn *auto-da-fé*. The image of St. Genevieve, together with her relics, as well as those of the other martyrs preserved at Paris, as St. Germain, St. Méry, St. Marceau, St^e. Opportune, St. Landry, St. Honoré, the head of St. Louis, and all the relics of the St^e. Chapelle, were carried through Paris in solemn procession, followed by the King on foot, his head uncovered, and bearing a taper in his hand. His three sons, and the rest of the royal family, the great officers of state, cardinals, bishops, and others, bearing lighted flambeaux, the Council, the Parliament of Paris, and all other public bodies, joined the procession, which went to Notre Dame to hear a solemn mass. Francis afterwards dined at the Evêché, where, in the presence of a numerous company, he declared in an animated speech, that he would sacrifice with his own hand any of his children who might be infected with the new heresies. In the evening six wretches, who had been convicted of them, were burnt by means of a machine so constructed as to dip them repeatedly in the flames, till the fire having at length consumed the cords, they fell in and perished. Others to the number of twenty-four were afterwards sacrificed in like manner. At the same time an edict was published for the extirpation of Lutheran and other heretics, as well as for the suppression of printing; but the latter does not appear to have been acted upon. These persecutions, which were continued till May with increasing atrocity, caused many Reformers to fly from Paris, and among them John Calvin, destined afterwards to play so distinguished a part at Geneva.

[4] Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* liv. i. p. 10 (ed. 1841).

To the confederates of Smalcald, who were naturally revolted at this conduct of their pretended ally, Francis excused himself by alleging that the persons burnt were rebels rather than schismatics, and not Lutherans, but "sacramentaries." He even held out the hope of a union between the Church of France and the Lutheran Church of Germany; and in an autograph letter, January 28th 1535, invited Melanchthon to Paris, to discuss with his doctors the question of the eucharist: but John Frederick, who mistrusted the pliability of Melanchthon's temper, forbade him to accept the invitation. Such quarrels are, however, easily accommodated, when the interests of both parties are the same, and at present neither Francis nor the Lutherans were disposed to part.

On his way back to Paris, after the retreat of the Emperor from Provence, Francis had been met by James V. of Scotland, who had come to demand the hand of his eldest daughter Madeleine. The alliance of that youthful monarch was sought by the three greatest sovereigns of Europe. Henry VIII. offered James his daughter Mary, but on condition that he should declare himself, after Henry's own example, supreme head of the Scotch Church; a step which the Scottish King was not prepared to take. The Emperor offered him a choice among three of his female relatives, including also his cousin Mary, for whom he promised to procure the crown of England. Charles, however, since the death of his aunt Catharine, in January 1536, had been renewing his advances to Henry VIII.; and the French King, sensible that his influence in that quarter was declining, determined to strengthen himself by an alliance with Scotland: with which view he offered James the hand of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendôme. Resolved to judge for himself, the Scottish King paid a visit, *incognito*, to Vendôme, in September 1536. The lady did not come up to his expectations; but he saw on this occasion Madeleine, the eldest daughter of Francis, then 17 years of age; a mutual passion is said to have ensued, which the French king found it difficult to oppose; the royal lovers were married January 1st 1537, and after some months spent in fêtes and rejoicings, arrived in Scotland, May 28th. Unfortunately, however, a consumptive malady, to which Madeleine was subject, made rapid progress in the harsh climate of Scotland, and soon carried her off (July 7th). James was now pressed by his clergy to marry again. He had already cast his eye on Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville, and he despatched Cardinal Beaton and Robert Maxwell into France to demand her hand. Henry VIII., who was again a widower, by the death of Jane Seymour in childbed, October 13th

1537, endeavoured to disappoint James by making proposals for Mary himself; but Francis, much to his chagrin, preferred the suit of the King of Scots. This marriage, however, which was to be fraught with such momentous consequences both to England and Scotland, was not consummated till the summer of the following year.

Francis meanwhile had been preparing for new wars. In a *Lit de Justice*, held in January 1537, "Charles of Austria" was summoned to appear before the parliament of Paris, to do homage for Flanders and Artois, which, it was alleged, through Charles's violation of the treaty of Cambray, were again vested in the French King. Such a citation, before the conquest of Flanders, was simply ridiculous; Charles of course failed to appear, and was condemned as a faithless and contumacious vassal. The views of Francis embraced, besides an attack on the Netherlands, large operations in Italy, to be assisted by an invasion by Sultan Solyman. The French envoy La Forêt had concluded with the vizier Ibrahim, in January 1536, an alliance, which, under the appearance of a commercial treaty, was in fact a political league; and it was arranged that, in 1537, Barbarossa should transport an Osmanli army into Apulia for the conquest of Naples, while Francis should cause a diversion in the north, by entering Lombardy with 50,000 men.

Want of vigour on the part of the French King — perhaps even some secret stings of conscience — prevented these plans from being carried out to their full extent. Francis's efforts were first directed towards the Netherlands. He, and Montmorenci his lieutenant-general, opened the campaign towards the end of March, and took without much difficulty Hesdin, St. Pol, and St. Venant; when the King, with an inconceivable supineness, and content apparently with very small successes after such vast pretensions, dismissed great part of his army, sent another part into Piedmont, and hastened back to Paris to enjoy his pleasures (May). Count Buren, the Imperial general, now appeared in the north with an army of 35,000 men, retook St. Pol, captured Montreuil, and laid siege to Terouenne. Francis hastily reassembled his army, which, under the Dauphin Henry and Montmorenci, was marching to the relief of Terouenne, when proposals of peace were made by Queen Mary, the Flemish Regent; and on the 30th of July, a truce of ten months was signed at Bomy by her and her sister Eleanor, Queen of France.

Solyman, meanwhile, in pursuance of his engagement, had assembled a vast force at Avlona, whence the coast of Otranto may be discerned, and Barbarossa was in readiness to transport the

Turkish army with a fleet of 100 sail, which had been joined by the French admiral, the Baron St. Blancard, with twelve galleys. All Italy was in consternation. Pope Paul prepared to fly from Rome; the garrisons were strengthened in all the ports belonging to the Roman States; Andrew Doria, the Imperial admiral, was compelled to put into Messina to escape Barbarossa's fleet, and left the coasts of Apulia exposed to the descents of the Turks. Barbarossa landed 10,000 cavalry near Otranto, but, being unprovided with artillery, they could effect nothing against the larger towns, and contented themselves with making an attempt on Castro, wasting the open country, and carrying off about 10,000 persons into slavery.[5] Francis, however, neglected to appear in Italy at the appointed time, and Solyman, therefore, did not follow up the invasion. The events just related took place in the summer, and it was not till the end of September, that Francis prepared to enter Italy. By the 31st of October, the French had penetrated as far as Rivoli, and were desirous of engaging the enemy, when Francis, jealous of his generals, and even of his own son, sent them a message to await his arrival. The prospect of peace may, however, have been the chief cause of his inactivity. After the truce of Bomy, negociations had been continued at Monçon, in Aragon; and on the 16th of November the plenipotentiaries at Monçon signed a truce of three months, to be published in Piedmont by the 27th. The two armies were to be disbanded, and each power was to retain the territory which it held at the time of the publication of the armistice. It was also agreed that plenipotentiaries should be appointed to consider and adjust a definitive treaty of peace.

Pope Paul III., who, like the Emperor, was desirous of arresting the progress of the Turks, as well as of putting an end to the schism which distracted the Church, neither of which objects could be effectually accomplished so long as Europe was disturbed by the disputes of Charles and Francis, had long been endeavouring to bring their wars to a termination; and in these projects he was seconded by the Emperor's sisters, the Queens of France and Hungary. The aged Pontiff did not shrink from fatigue and danger in order to promote a design which he had so much at heart. He had also, it is true, some personal interests to forward. After the example of his predecessor, he wished to form connexions both with the Emperor and the French King, by marrying into their families his two grandchildren, Octavius and Victoria,

[5] *Négociations*, &c., t. i. p. 330 sqq.; Paruta, *Ist. Venez.* lib. viii. p. 686.

the offspring of his son, Peter Louis Farnese, a sort of Cæsar Borgia in miniature, whom he had made Duke of Camerino by seizing that place because it had fallen to a female. With these views, Paul arranged a meeting between Charles and Francis at Nice, where a definite pacification might be settled. Francis readily agreed to an interview which offered him a chance of gaining his ends by negociation instead of arms; and the Emperor, on his side, felt the burthen of supporting at once a war with France and with the Turks, and endeavouring at the same time to re-establish the Imperial authority in Germany. His finances were far from flourishing. The Sovereign of half Europe, as well as Mexico and Peru, could not raise money enough to pay his mercenaries. The Netherlands were his true Indies; but his subjects there, though able, were not always willing to pay, and serious symptoms of revolt had manifested themselves at Ghent on the subject of taxes.

When Paul arrived at Nice, May 27th 1538, he found that the Duke of Savoy was not inclined to admit either himself or the Monarchs into the only town which the fortune of war had left him. The Pope was obliged to take up his abode in a Franciscan convent in the suburbs; the French King established his quarters at the village of Villanuova, about two miles from the town, while the Emperor was fain to abide in the little port of Villafranca, in the galley which brought him. Paul could not prevail upon Charles and Francis to see each other, and he therefore received the visits of both in turn, and acted as mediator between them. A mutual mistrust, not unnatural after all that had passed between them, possessed the minds of the two Sovereigns. They could not persuade themselves that any agreements would be faithfully observed; and under these circumstances the only method for obtaining a peace seemed to be to enter into no prospective conditions at all, but to treat on the basis of *uti possidetis*. Such a method was highly favourable to Francis, as it would give him Savoy and a great part of Piedmont, a possession almost as valuable as the Milanese, and much more conveniently situated with regard to his own dominions. Charles, indeed, felt some shame, though Beatrix was dead, in thus abandoning his brother-in-law, the Duke of Savoy, whatever feelings Francis might entertain in stripping his uncle. The wounds of political morality, however, are soon salved, and, as commonly happens in such cases, the helpless party was sacrificed. One of the conditions of the proposed peace was, that Francis should join the Holy League against the Turk, recently concluded between the Pope, the Emperor, and Venice; but Francis was not inclined

to an open and public breach with the Grand Signior[6], and a truce of ten years was therefore substituted for a regular treaty of peace (June 18th). Both parties thought, and probably with reason, that such a truce was as likely to be observed, and to last as long, as a more formal treaty. Thus Bresse, Savoy, and half of Piedmont, occupied by Francis, remained in his hands, while the rest of Piedmont and the Milanese were retained by the Emperor. Hesdin was restored to the French, but Francis yielded respecting Guelderland, and recognised the Duke's promised reversion to the Emperor. The county of Nice alone was left to the Duke of Savoy. The Pays de Vaud was retained by the Swiss, and Geneva preserved its newly acquired liberty—a circumstance by which both monarchs unconsciously sowed the seeds of future revolt in their own dominions, by enabling that city to become the seat of Calvin's reformation. Such is the Nemesis of subtle and grasping politicians. Francis also obtained Mirandola, and altogether his position was vastly improved by this treaty when compared with that of Cambray.[7] Charles of Savoy was abused as well as robbed. It was said that he had drawn his misfortunes on his own head by his want of complaisance to his powerful visitors, although his reluctance to admit a foreign garrison during the congress was natural enough under the circumstances. Early in the following year the truce was converted into a "perpetual peace,"[8] by the treaty of Toledo (January 10th).

Paul III. succeeded during these conferences in effecting one of his matrimonial projects. Margaret of Austria, the Emperor's natural daughter, had in the preceding year become a widow, through the assassination of her husband, Alexander de' Medici. The roving eyes of that tyrannical and licentious prince were often directed towards the purest as well as highest among the Florentine ladies, and not content with robbing them of honour, he publicly boasted of his success. But his kinsman, Lorenzino, who shared and assisted his pleasures, meditated, under the cloak of that base office, the means of procuring the supreme power for himself. Alexander had been captivated by Lorenzino's still young and handsome aunt, the wife of Leonardo Ginori, but had long sought her favour in vain, when Lorenzino pretended that he had procured him an assignation. Blinded by lust, Alexander suffered himself to

[6] *Relazione* di Niccolo Tiepolo, in Tommaseo, *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur les affaires de France au xvi^e siècle* (*Doc. Ind.*) t. i. p. 214 sqq.

[7] Dumont, t. iv. p. ii. pt. 169, sqq.

[8] A magnificent title frequently used in those days, and ridiculed by Leibnitz in the preface to his *Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus*, where he cites with approbation the sign of a Dutch shopkeeper, the picture of a cemetery, with the inscription, *A la paix perpetuelle!*

be enticed into a dark and secret chamber, where, as he lay expecting the promised fair one, he was set upon by Lorenzino and a hired assassin, and stabbed to the heart (January 6th 1537). Want of resolution, however, prevented Lorenzino from reaping the fruits of his crime. Struck with remorse and horror at what he had done, instead of rousing the people and putting himself at their head, he fled precipitately to Bologna, and thence to Venice. The Florentines, by the advice of Cardinal Cibò and Francis Guicciardini, now placed the youthful Cosmo de Medici, a descendant of the younger branch of the family, at the head of their affairs, and the choice was subsequently ratified by the Emperor. Cosmo caused Lorenzino to be murdered at Venice, in 1547. In process of time he reduced all Tuscany under his dominion; and in 1569 Pope Pius V. gave him the title of Grand-Duke of Tuscany, which was afterwards confirmed to the son of Cosmo by the Emperor Maximilian II.

Cosmo was himself desirous of marrying his predecessor's widow, as a means of securing the Emperor's favour, and establishing his own position at Florence; but Paul succeeded in obtaining her hand for his grandson Octavius Farnese, and the marriage was celebrated soon after the conference at Nice. His scheme for marrying his granddaughter, Victoria, to Antony of Bourbon, son of Charles Duke of Vendôme, was not successful. Francis promised, indeed, to second the Pontiff's views; but Antony married Jeanne d'Albret, only child of Henry King of Navarre and Margaret sister of Francis I., and became the father of Henry IV. of France.[9]

The refusal of Charles and Francis to see each other at Nice had impressed their respective Courts, as well as the Pope, with the idea that, though from necessity they had agreed upon a truce, they were still at deadly enmity, and that the war would be renewed at the first opportunity. This, however, was an erroneous notion. Their unwillingness to have an interview at Nice seems to have arisen from a wish not to expose their plans before witnesses, and it is probable that the two monarchs had already arranged there a future meeting. However this may be, Francis lingered after the breaking up of the conference at an abbey in the diocese of Nîmes, where the arrival of the Imperial fleet at Aigues Mortes being announced to him (July 14th), he immediately mounted his horse and rode to the coast. A boat conveyed him to the Emperor's galley, and Charles helped him with his own

[9] Jeanne was first married July 15th 1540, being then only 12 years of age, to William de la Marck, Duke of Clèves, Berg, and Juliers; but the marriage was never consummated, and was afterwards annulled.

hand to ascend the side. "Brother, behold me once more your prisoner!" exclaimed Francis, as he set his foot upon the deck. This mark of confidence was returned on the following day by the Emperor, who paid Francis a visit on shore. Queen Eleanor embraced, alternately, a brother and a husband, and the oblivion of past offences appeared to be so complete that even Andrew Doria was presented to Francis. During the few days that the Sovereigns remained here, they had long interviews, to which only the Queen, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Constable Montmorenci, were admitted on the side of France, and on that of the Emperor, Granvella, Keeper of the Seals, and the Grand-Commander Govea. On the 17th of July, the King conducted the Emperor to his galley, and the meeting terminated.

The scene just described is calculated, at first sight, to fill us with astonishment. A little previously, Francis had solemnly condemned the Emperor as a rebellious vassal, nay, had even accused him of poisoning the Dauphin; whilst Charles had publicly challenged the French King to mortal combat, with every mark of aversion and contempt. The explanation of this altered policy is chiefly to be sought in the influence acquired, at this period, by Montmorenci. That prince, a man of harsh, overbearing, and arrogant character, but possessing considerable administrative ability, had recently been elevated to the dignity of constable, which, since the treason of Bourbon, had remained in abeyance; and, being a bigoted Roman Catholic, he was naturally inclined towards the policy of the Emperor, the consistent and persevering foe of the heretic and the infidel; while the course hitherto pursued by France had necessitated leagues with the Lutherans and the Turks. Francis, effeminated by luxury and debilitated by disease [10], was more than ever inclined to intrust to other hands the reins of government; though in the temporary, but violent, reactions from his lethargy of pleasure, one idea, the dream of his life, still haunted him — the recovery of the Milanese. This Montmorenci taught him to expect, not from arms, but negociation; and Francis was sufficiently humbled, or sufficiently indolent and enervated, to seek from the good-will of his rival an object which he had in vain attempted to wrest from him by force. In a letter dated from Nîmes (July 18th), only a day or two after the interview at Aigues Mortes, he declared that thenceforth the affairs of the Emperor and his own should be the same.[11]

[10] Soon after the interview at Aigues Mortes, he was laid up at Compiègne by a fresh attack of a disgraceful malady, brought upon him, it is said, by the singular revenge of an injured husband, which wasted his faculties and shortened his days. L. Guyon, *Leçons diverses*, ap. Martin, t. viii. p. 254.

[11] *Archives Curieuses*, t. iii. p. 26.

The change in the policy of France soon became manifest. Two of the questions discussed at Aigues Mortes seem to have turned on the affairs of religion, and the conduct to be observed towards England. There being no longer any reason to conciliate the German Protestants, the severity of the persecutions in France was redoubled. An inquisitor at Toulouse, who had been converted by the very persons whom he was appointed to punish, was burnt in that town (September 10th 1538); and on the 10th December following appeared an edict against the Reformers, far more severe than any hitherto published. Nor was it long before the German Lutherans received intimation of this change. Montmorenci signified to Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, that he must not attack the neighbouring Catholic bishops—which, indeed, he was not contemplating — unless he wished to draw down upon himself the indignation of France.[12]

The French policy with regard to England was also completely altered, and seemed to be now founded on the presumption that a reconciliation between Henry VIII. and the Emperor was impossible. As there appeared to be no longer any need for courting the friendship of the English monarch, Francis even began to consider whether it might not be for his interest to break completely with Henry. The obligation to pay 100,000 crowns a year, according to the treaty of Moore, was irksome; the payment had been suspended with Henry's consent, in consideration of the distress of France consequent on the Emperor's invasion; and after the truce of Nice, Francis, whose practice it was to observe treaties no longer than was convenient, began to question altogether the validity of the debt. Several causes of coolness had sprung up between the two monarchs. We have already alluded to Francis's refusal of Henry's suit to Mary of Guise. That was not the only French princess with whom Henry entertained matrimonial projects. He had also thought of another daughter of the house of Guise, and of Mademoiselle de Vendôme; but before making his choice, he wished to see all these ladies at Calais. So unchivalrous a proposal excited the derision of Francis, whose minister wrote to Castillon, ambassador at the English Court:—"The King has laughed at the conferences they have had with you on this subject. It seemed, he says, as if in England they selected their wives like their ponies; that is, to get together a good quantity, make them trot, and take that which will go the easiest."[13] Henry's

[12] Sleidan, lib. xii.; Ribier, *Lettres et Mém. d'État*, t. i. p. 423.

[13] *Letter* of M. Bochetel to Castillon, in Le Grand, *Hist. du Divorce*, t. iii. p. 638. The method would, however, have saved trouble in the case of the "Flan-

passion, indeed, could not have been very violent, as he was at the same time soliciting the hands of the widow of Duke Sforza and of Queen Mary, the Emperor's sister.

If Henry was regarded by Charles and Francis with an evil eye on account of his heresy, the same cause naturally excited a great deal more indignation at Rome. After the execution of Anne Boleyn, indeed, both the Pope and the Emperor had endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the English King, and Charles seems to have pursued that object down to the very time of the conference at Nice. From some diplomatic papers still extant[14], it appears, that even while at Villa Franca in the summer of 1538, the Emperor made proposals to Henry for a league against France. The scheme seems to have been connected with the marriage before alluded to, between Henry VIII. and Charles's niece, the widowed Duchess of Milan, as well as with a plan for making the Emperor's son-in-law, Don Louis of Portugal, Duke of Milan, and giving him the hand of the English princess Mary. But after Charles's close alliance with France all these projects vanished, and in Nov. 1538 we find Henry complaining of his coldness.[15] In the same year Paul III. renewed against Henry his bull of deprivation. That Pontiff dreamt of nothing less than hurling the English monarch from his throne by means of the new alliance between the Emperor and France. The scheme was fomented by the intrigues of Cardinal Reginald Pole, who, as a member of the House of York, had some pretensions to the English crown, and who, in the true spirit of the Popish hierarchy, while thus conspiring against his sovereign and benefactor, affected to give out that it was only from his love for Henry and for that prince's own good, that he was striving to reduce him into obedience to the Pope.[16] The French Court entered into the plan. There was undoubtedly discontent in England, which Castillon, the French ambassador, represented to be such, that if the Emperor and the Kings of France and Scotland combined together, it would be easy not only to dethrone Henry, but even to conquer and partition his kingdom; the northern part of which, as far as the Humber, might then be given to Scotland, the Emperor, taking the midland counties between the Humber

ders mare." Henry VIII. seems to have inherited from his father his niceties and peculiarities respecting the fair sex, to judge from the minute and amusing instructions given by Henry VII. to his ambassadors to observe and report upon the person of the young Queen of Naples (1505), whom he then thought of marrying. See the *Memorials of Henry VII.*, edited by Mr. Gairdner for the Rolls Commission, p. 223 foll.

[14] MS. in Brit. Mus., ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 487.

[15] *Harl. MS.* p. 59, *ibid.* p. 490.

[16] His *Letters* to Cromwell, in Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. *Records.* no. 53. He had adopted the same style in his book, *Pro Ecclesiasticæ unitatis Defensione.*

and the Thames, and Francis the southern part as far as Wales. Charles declined the proposal on the ground that his first care must be to reduce the Lutherans and Turks; adding, however, that he should see with pleasure the enterprise undertaken by Francis, who had not, like himself, to contend with domestic enemies. But Francis, or rather the Constable, was not disposed to enter upon it alone, and Pole and his patron the Pope were obliged to adjourn the project.

The agitation of these schemes, however, occasioned Henry a good deal of alarm. In March 1539, an embargo was laid on the Flemish shipping in English ports. The English coast was fortified under the King's personal inspection, the fleet was increased to 150 sail, and levies of troops were made throughout the kingdom.[17] It was the same danger that induced Henry to draw closer his alliance with the confederates of Smalcald, and with that view also, under the guidance of Cromwell, to contract his unfortunate marriage with Anne of Clèves. But this subject requires a few words of explanation.

We have already mentioned[18] that in 1505 the Archduke Philip obtained possession of Guelderland and Zutphen. He did not, however, hold them long. Charles d'Egmont escaped from custody and recovered his dominions, which he retained with the support of the French; and when, in 1508, the League of Cambray was formed, he was provisionally confirmed in them, though he was compelled to give up a few places. Like Sickingen in Germany, Charles d'Egmont was a sort of robber-prince and breaker of the public peace; his dominions became the resort of all the unquiet spirits of the surrounding districts; and, being constantly supported by France, he caused the Flemish government a great deal of trouble and anxiety. In 1528, however, Charles V. compelled him by the treaty of Gorcum to engage that he would appoint the Emperor his successor in Guelderland and Zutphen, in case he himself should leave no heir; and this arrangement was recognised by Francis I. in the treaty of Cambray (1529). But in spite of these engagements, Charles d'Egmont made in 1534 a formal donation of his dominions after his decease to the King of France, in consequence of which a French envoy repaired to Guelderland, and received an oath of fidelity from the commandants of the principal fortresses. Among the people of the country this step was highly unpopular. They wished to be the vassals neither of

[17] Hall, p. 827 foll.; *Despatches* of Marillac, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iv. S. 181.

[18] Above, p. 246.

Francis nor of Charles, and they turned their eyes on a neighbouring prince, John III., Duke of Clèves, who had the nearest pretensions to the inheritance, although the Duke of Lorraine also asserted a claim in right of his mother Philippina, sister of Charles d'Egmont. In 1538 the Duke of Guelderland, at the instance of his states, entered into a treaty with John III., by which he engaged to leave his dominions to the latter's son, William, surnamed the Rich, and by the death of the Duke in June, William came into possession the same year. In the following February he also became Duke of Clèves by the death of his father John. His possessions now extended from the Werre to the Meuse, and along both banks of the Rhine from Cologne to the neighbourhood of Utrecht; for his father had obtained Berg, Jülich, and Ravensberg by marrying the daughter and heiress of the last duke. Sibylla, a sister of this powerful prince, was married to John Frederick the Elector of Saxony, and in 1539 Henry VIII., by the advice of the Protestant members of his council, married Anne of Clèves, another sister; a step which proved the downfall of Cromwell, and eventually drove the King into the arms of the Catholic party.

After the failure of Barbarossa's attempt on Italy, Solyman turned against Venice the preparations he had made for the conquest of Naples; in which design he was encouraged by the French envoy, La Forêt. In August 1537, the Turkish armament assembled at Avlona was directed against Corfû. The attack was, however, repulsed; Solyman was compelled by disturbances in Asia to withdraw great part of his forces, leaving only enough to besiege Napoli di Romania and Malvasia, the chief towns held by the Venetians in the Morea. Barbarossa with his fleet, closely followed by the French squadron under St. Blancard[19], proceeded to attack the islands of the Archipelago and the Ægean, most of which fell during this year and the next into the hands of the Turks. The Holy League, effected in 1538, proved of little benefit to the Venetians. Doria, who seems to have cared little for Venetian interests, performed nothing worthy of his ancient renown, and in March 1539, the republic concluded a three months' truce with the Porte, which was subsequently prolonged till the end of September, for the purpose of negociating a peace. In these negociations, Rincon, a Spanish adventurer, who had succeeded Marillac as French envoy at Constantinople, pretended to second the Venetians, but only to betray them. He had purchased from the secretaries of the Council of Ten and of the *Pregadi*, the secret

[19] St. Blancard's entertaining journal of the cruise is published in the *Négociations, &c.* t. i. p. 340 sqq.

that the Venetian government was resolved on a peace at any price; and this intelligence he communicated to the Porte. Hence in the treaty at length concluded in November 1540, the hardest terms were insisted on by the Sultan; and besides Napoli di Romania, Malvasia, and other places, the Venetians were compelled to cede all the islands captured by Barbarossa and to pay 300,000 ducats: conditions which so reduced the power of the haughty republic that she was obliged to place herself as it were under the protection of France.[20]

After his interview with Francis at Aigues Mortes, Charles had proceeded into Spain, where he soon became involved in disputes with the Cortès. The Spaniards, and especially the grandees, murmured at the increased burthens to which they were subjected, as well as at the drain of their best troops for enterprises in which the nation had no concern; and the Cortès refused to vote a larger sum than 40,000 ducats. The grandees, headed by the constable Velasco, otherwise a staunch adherent of the house of Austria, were highly offended at a plan of Charles's to introduce an excise to which their order would be subject. Velasco insisted that the payment of taxes was the badge of the peasantry; that to impose them on the nobles not only curtailed their privileges, earned by the blood of their forefathers, but even derogated from their honour; and he offered the inconvenient and almost insulting advice, that in order to better his circumstances Charles should remain at home and diminish his expenditure. The nobles, he maintained, were bound merely to serve the King at their own expense in his wars, and that only in defence of Spain. Charles, finding that he could obtain no more from the Cortès, civilly dismissed them in February 1539. But by this parsimony they eventually lost all their influence. This was the last general assembly of the Cortès, for Charles forbore to summon a body from which he could obtain so little, and consequently to consult them on public affairs. The Cortès were henceforth composed only of the deputies of eighteen towns, who were convened *pro formâ* to grant the taxes to which the commonalty were subject.

The Spanish nobles now retired to their country seats, or shut themselves up in their palaces; quadrangular buildings in the Moorish fashion, without windows towards the street, and enclosing a court planted with trees. They were men of vast possessions, some of them having incomes of 100,000 ducats or more, with 30,000 families dependent on them. They were haughty beyond

[20] Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, B. ii. S. 807.

imagination. Each of them kept his little court, which was often adorned with a splendid body-guard of 200 men. Their consorts were served by ladies on their knees; the page who handed the cup remained kneeling till his mistress had finished drinking. Being excluded from public affairs, the nobles squandered their revenues in rivalling one another in magnificence; they lost all their martial habits, ran into debt, and reduced themselves at last to fear the monarch whom they had once caused to tremble. Charles V. seldom held a court; Philip II. knew how to keep the grandees at a distance; and both would trust only those whose fidelity, like that of the Duke of Alva, was beyond all suspicion.[21]

As the Emperor had thus to contend in Spain with the pride and power of the nobles, so he had to repress in the Netherlands the factious spirit of his commercial subjects, which had also been roused on the question of taxation. We have already alluded to the refusal of the citizens of Ghent to pay an impost that had been levied on them. In 1537 Mary Queen of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands, had obtained from the states assembled at Brussels a vote of 1,200,000 florins, the payment of which was proportionally allotted to the various towns and provinces. To this assessment all submitted except Charles's native city, Ghent, which, by means of its guilds and the exertions of Van Artevelde had achieved a democratic constitution and asserted the right of levying its own taxes. The population of Ghent was divided into three classes: the *Poorters*, or rich, the mechanics and the proletarians. Of these the last two had in certain cases a voice in the government of the city, and they now refused to make any money payment, though they offered to find troops according to ancient custom, while the *Poorters* declined both the one and the other; in consequence of which refractoriness, Mary directed all citizens of Ghent to be arrested, wherever they might be found. From this order Ghent appealed to Charles, who, however, refused to hear the case, and referred it to the Grand Council of Mechlin, by which the citizens were condemned. The latter now rose in open revolt, expelled the nobility and Imperial officers, put their city in a posture of defence, and in 1539 sent deputies to the King of France to solicit his protection as their sovereign; which, indeed, he had claimed to be when, as already related, he had two years previously, in a solemn *Lit de Justice*, summoned the Emperor to appear before him as his vassal. But the views of Francis were now completely changed. His present policy was to court, instead of

[21] Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 221 ff.

to oppose, the Emperor, and he not only refused this demand for aid, but even acquainted Charles with the plans of his rebellious subjects, although they had been communicated to him in the strictest confidence. At the same time he renewed an offer which he had made some months before, that the Emperor should travel through France in case his presence was required in Belgium.

Charles accepted this offer, but it is impossible to believe that for the mere convenience of it he consented to surrender the Milanese. The story rests on the authority of Du Bellay [22], who has been copied by other writers. It is difficult in such cases to prove a negative, but a little reflection will show the utter improbability of the tale. The revolt had been going on two or three years; it did not extend beyond Ghent and one or two smaller towns, and could easily have been put down without Charles's presence, whose only object in going thither was to make the punishment of his rebellious fellow-townsmen more signal and conspicuous. He saved no time by passing through France, the journey, from the ceremonies attending his reception, having occupied a quarter of a year! If he was averse to a long sea voyage, yet even the route through Italy and Germany would not have occupied three months, and there was nothing to deter him from it, as he was then on very good terms with the German Protestants. Indeed, he accepted the offer of Francis with reluctance, and only because the refusal would have betrayed a want of confidence [23]; for besides the danger of being seized as a hostage, he foresaw that it would expose him to the importunities of the French court. The invitation, like the betrayal of the citizens of Ghent, was clearly a part of Montmorenci's policy to obtain from the gratitude of Charles what force had failed to extort, and Francis's much extolled generosity merely an attempt to sell at an exorbitant price a very common act of hospitality.

Charles set out in October 1539. The King's two sons and the Constable Montmorenci met him at Bayonne, when the latter offered the two princes as hostages for the Emperor's safety; but Charles would not hear of it, and insisted on their accompanying him on his journey. The meeting of the two sovereigns at Loches was celebrated with magnificent *fêtes*, which were repeated at

[22] *Mémoires*, liv. viii. (Petitot, t. xix. 295.)

[23] This appears from a letter from Charles to his sister, the Queen of Hungary. Madrid, September 30, 1839:—"*Puisque l'on est venu à tant, fault démonstrer entière confidence* du dit Seigneur Roy et des Srs., et passer le plus légèrement et diligemment que faire se pourra, *excusant de rien traicter là*, comme à la vérité, ne conviendroit, ni le voudroit faire, sans avoir parlé au Roy, Mgr. notre frère, et à vous."—Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1842, p. 561.

Amboise, Blois, Orléans, and Fontainebleau, but surpassed by the entry into Paris, January 1st 1540. In the midst of these festivities many little accidents occurred to disconcert and alarm the Emperor. An officious perfumer nearly stifled him with smoke; the Chancellor Poyet was awkward enough to knock down a large piece of wood on his head and wound him severely; and the Duke of Orleans, jumping suddenly with French vivacity on the crupper of his horse, embraced him tightly, and told him to consider himself a prisoner. Brusquet, the court fool, asserted his pre-eminence in this play of wit. He kept what he called a book of fools, in which he wrote the name of Charles V. for having ventured into France. "But what," asked Francis, "if I let his Majesty depart unmolested?" "In that case," replied Brusquet, "I shall rub out his name and insert yours." These pleasantries were, however, seasoned with importunities respecting the Milanese, which more than counterbalanced, says Brantome [24], all the honours and good cheer which the Emperor experienced.

Charles crossed the frontier towards the end of January 1540, and entered Ghent without opposition on the 24th of February, his birthday. Although the leaders of the revolt, as if unconscious of any criminal act, did not attempt to escape, the Emperor proceeded against them with great severity. The bell of Roland, that formidable tocsin, which had so often called the inhabitants to arms, was destroyed; the sheriffs and principal citizens were obliged to ask pardon on their knees, bareheaded and barefooted; twenty of the popular magistrates were executed, and all of them deposed, their places being supplied by persons devoted to the Emperor's service; the ancient privileges of the city were suppressed, and a citadel erected on the site of the ancient Abbey of St. Bavon, in order to coerce the inhabitants, the fines levied upon them serving to defray the expense of building it. Oudenarde and Courtrai, which had partaken in the revolt, were also punished. Thus an end was put to the liberties of Ghent, for which she had so often fought. Her commercial prosperity vanished with them, and passed away to Antwerp; her republican spirit to Holland, where new Arteveldes were soon to arise.[25]

Charles had scarcely set his foot in the Netherlands, when the two French ambassadors who had accompanied him, demanded for their master the investiture of Milan, as the price of his passage

[24] T. ii. *Discours*, 46, p. 254 (ed. 1822).

[25] For the revolt of Ghent see Jean d'Hollander, *Discours des Troubles advenues en la Ville de Gand*, 1539, in Hoynck van Papendrecht's *Analecta Belgica*, t. iii. pt. ii. p. 263 sqq.; Arendt, *Der Genter Aufstand vom Jahre*, 1539; in Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1842. On Charles's passage through France, Ribier, t. i. p. 487 sqq.

through France. Nettled at this demand, Charles begged that they would first suffer him to attend to his own affairs; stated that he could enter into no discussions without consulting his brother Ferdinand, whom he expected to meet in the Netherlands; and when further pressed, denied entirely having made the promise imputed to him. When the subject was renewed at Ghent, Charles declared, that he would never consent to cede the Milanese to France, and thus sever the chain of connection between his own dominions; but he offered to marry his eldest daughter to the Duke of Orleans, and to give her as a dowry, either his Flemish possessions, together with Burgundy, or the Charolais, or else the Milanese: a proposition that was rejected by Francis. Both parties, however, announced their intention of observing the truce of Nice. The Emperor, after waiting some months to ascertain whether Francis was inclined to renew the negociations, invested his son Philip with the Milanese at Brussels, October 11th 1540.[26]

Montmorenci's policy, which had thus completely failed, ended in his own disgrace. Early in 1541, he found himself compelled to quit the court, and retire to Ecouen; yet during the six years in which he lived in retirement, he continued to enjoy the favour of the Dauphin. Meanwhile Francis, vexed with his disappointment, and ashamed of the truckling part which he had been made to play, began to meditate an occasion to renew the war with the Emperor. This was not long in offering itself: but before we relate the events of the next campaigns, we must direct our attention for awhile to the affairs of the German Protestants, as well as of the Turks; with both of whom Francis now strove to draw closer the bonds of union and friendship.

[26] Ribier, t. i. p. 542 (522); Gaillard, t. iv. p. 8; Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 140.

CHAPTER IX.

The efforts of Pope Paul III. had been directed to the establishment of peace in the Church as well as between the Emperor and France. He had dispatched nuncios to the Protestant as well as the Catholic princes of Germany, in order to bring about an understanding respecting a general council, and on this subject the nuncio Vergerio had had an interview in Saxony with Luther, but without much success. In June 1536 Paul issued briefs for the assembly of a council at Mantua in May of the following year. The assembly was, however, opposed on various grounds by the Kings of France and England, and by the Duke of Mantua himself, as well as by the German Protestants, who objected to an Italian town. The latter were not of course any better pleased with the substitution of Vicenza, where the Papal legates, Campeggio and Aleander, nominated to preside over the council, actually remained several months; but the war having then broken out between the Emperor and France, not a single prelate appeared. The Reformers had now begun to question altogether the expediency of a council, and required that it should at least be composed, as in ancient times, not only of priests, but also of princes and the representatives of the States; and that the Pope should appear in it not as a judge but as a party.[1]

The Emperor's endeavours to support the Pope's authority had only tended still further to alienate the Protestants. The Imperial Chancellor, Held, who was dispatched to back the representations of the Papal nuncio, Vorstius, to the confederates of Smalcald, behaved intemperately, and the debates which ensued were violent and unsatisfactory. Held subsequently travelled about the country canvassing against the Protestants, and at length succeeded in organising a Catholic League, called the Holy League of Nuremberg (June 1538). The principal members of this confederacy, which was established for a term of ten years, were King Ferdinand, Duke George of Saxony, the Dukes of Bavaria, the Archbishops of Mentz and Salzburg, with a few other Catholic

[1] Sarpi, *Storia del Conc. Trident.* p. 74 sqq. (ed. 1619).

princes. This league was the more alarming to the Protestants on account of the truce concluded at the same time between Charles and Francis at Nice. It was subsequently confirmed by the Emperor at Toledo (May 20th 1539), who contributed to it 50,000 florins.[2]

In the spring of that year a conference took place at Frankfort between the Elector Palatine on the part of the Emperor, and Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, as representative of the league of Smalcald. The latter prince, who succeeded to the Electorate in 1535, was as warm in the Protestant cause as his predecessor, Joachim I., had been in support of the old religion. At this meeting a sort of truce was arranged for a period of fifteen months, by which it was agreed that the decree of the Diet of Nuremberg, and the edict of pacification issued at Ratisbon in 1532, should continue to be observed till the next Diet, and that meanwhile the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chamber in religious matters should remain suspended. In the interim the disputed points of doctrine were to be amicably discussed by some eminent doctors selected from each side, and a report rendered to the next assembly of the States; and although the Pope annulled this convention as derogatory to the authority of the Holy See, it nevertheless continued to be observed.

About the same time the Protestants gained an accession of strength by the death of George, Duke of Saxony (April 17th 1539). That prince, as we have seen, was a violent opponent of the Reformation; and as his two sons had died, he appointed by his will, that in case his brother and successor Henry, surnamed the Pious, a zealous Protestant, should attempt to introduce any innovations in religion, the Emperor and King Ferdinand should assume the administration of his dominions. These, which must be carefully distinguished from the Saxon Electorate, were vested in the younger, or Albertine branch of the Saxon family, who, as Margraves of Misnia and Thuringia, possessed extensive territories, including the towns of Leipsic, Dresden, &c. Henry, however, succeeded without opposition, and immediately began to introduce the Lutheran religion into that part of Saxony. The most eminent divines were invited to Leipsic, and among them Luther himself, who soon abolished the Popish worship; much to the satisfaction of the people, who had long been Protestant at heart. The latter creed now prevailed almost universally from the Baltic to the Rhine.

[2] Sleidan, lib. xii.; Pallavicini, lib. iv. cap. 2.

As arranged at Frankfort, a disputation between Papist and Protestant doctors was held at Worms in November 1540, in the presence of Morone, the Papal nuncio, and of Granvella, who had recently been appointed Imperial Chancellor, in place of the intemperate Held. The disputation was chiefly conducted by Dr. Eck on the part of the Romanists, and by Melanchthon on that of the Protestants, but soon became involved in such subtleties on the question of hereditary sin, that by the advice of Granvella the Emperor adjourned the discussion till the meeting of a Diet at Ratisbon in the ensuing spring.

This year is remarkable for the institution of the Order of the Jesuits, the scheme of which had been submitted by Ignatius Loyola to the Court of Rome in 1539. The Pope referred the matter to a committee of three cardinals, who gave it their approval, chiefly on account of the vow of implicit obedience (September 27th 1540). At the commencement of 1541, the order counted only ten members.[3]

The Emperor, in his accustomed plain and unostentatious manner, opened in person the Diet which assembled at Ratisbon, in April, 1541. Cardinal Contarini, a member of the Oratory of Divine Love, a man of great learning as well as warm religious feeling, attended the assembly as Papal legate. Luther was also present. Contarini made large concessions; but it was soon evident that the discussion would be, as usual, fruitless, and the Emperor dissolved the Diet (July 28th). Francis I. protested to the Papal ambassadors against the concessions made by Contarini, which were also viewed with suspicion at Rome; and Paul annulled all the acts of the colloquy on the ground, that a secular assembly was not competent to discuss religious matters. The Roman Catholics and Reformers, however, came on this occasion more nearly to an accommodation than at any previous or subsequent period.[4] The Pope and his legate, as well as the Dukes of Bavaria, now pressed upon the Emperor the necessity of putting down the Protestants by force of arms; but Charles, who had still need of their services against the Turks, was disposed to act with more moderation. He replied that he had neither money nor power for such an enterprize, and he issued a declaration which left matters nearly on the same footing on which they had been placed by the religious peace of Nuremberg.

[3] Raynaldus, t. xiii. p. 517 and 566. We shall return to this subject.

[4] The reader will find a more detailed account of the religious proceedings at the Diets of Frankfort, Worms, and Ratisbon, in my *Life of Calvin*, ch. iii.

Besides the Turks, an enemy nearer home, the powerful Duke of Clèves and Guelderland, induced the Emperor at this period to court the friendship of the Protestant princes. In 1540, after Charles had punished Ghent, and a new war threatened to break out between him and Francis, both monarchs had sought the alliance of Duke William, and Francis had succeeded in enticing him with the promise of the hand of Jeanne, only daughter of Henry d'Albret, though the French court had already formed the plan of uniting what remained of Navarre to the crown; which indeed was afterwards effected by the marriage of Jeanne to Antony of Bourbon, first prince of the blood.

It was with a view to his relations with the Duke of Clèves that Charles, while still at Ratisbon, concluded a treaty with the Landgrave Philip of Hesse (June 13th). The Landgrave had been for some time on a friendly footing with Queen Mary, the Regent of the Netherlands, who was herself suspected of a leaning towards the Protestants. She was the leading supporter in the Imperial Court of an anti-French and anti-Roman policy, and her only wish was to see Germany united under the Emperor.[5] Charles, by his treaty with Philip, granted him an amnesty for all his former enterprizes against the House of Austria, whilst on the other hand the Landgrave promised to embrace the *political* party of the Emperor, and to oppose any alliance of the League of Smalcald with France or England; and more particularly not to admit the Duke of Clèves into the league, nor to support him in any manner; nay, if the Emperor should be attacked, to assist him, if necessary, in person.[6] In the following July, Charles also concluded a treaty with Joachim II. of Brandenburg, in which the latter promised to stand by the Emperor in the affair of Clèves, and to assist him in recovering the contested territories. He further engaged to embrace the Imperial party in the question of Ferdinand's election, which was now again mooted; he agreed to oppose all recruiting for France, and he assured Charles of his entire devotion. The Emperor, on his side, permitted the Elector of Brandenburg to maintain the Protestant religion in his dominions, till the assembling of a council, or till the States should have come to a better decision. The reformed worship that had been established in Brandenburg was thus in a measure legalised, and the Elector cheerfully undertook neither to overstep what had been already done, nor to join the League of Smalcald. An attempt to bring over the Elector of Saxony proved unsuccessful.

[5] Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 332.
[6] Abstract of Treaty ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iv. S. 225.

There was another cause besides his friendship for the Flemish Regent, that induced the Landgrave of Hesse to conclude with the Emperor the treaty just mentioned. Philip had one of those not uncommon temperaments in which amorousness combines with the fervour of devotion; and as his consort, Christine, daughter of Duke George of Saxony, though she had borne him several children, was distasteful to him both in temper and person, he sought in unlawful love a solace for his domestic unhappiness. His frequent transgressions were, however, accompanied with as frequent a repentance, and in this struggle with Satan, he at length hit upon one of those compromises which sometimes present themselves to minds constituted like his. He determined to cover his sins with a cloak of legality, and to sanctify his concubinage with the holy name of matrimony. At the court of his sister at Rochlitz he had been captivated by Fräulein Margaretha von der Saal, but the young lady, under the guidance of her mother, resisted all his unlawful advances. Philip now applied himself to consult the Scriptures, and in the books of the Old Testament it was not difficult to find passages that seemed to justify a plurality of wives. Christine, who appears to have been of an easy temper, gave her formal consent in writing to her husband's second marriage (December 11th 1539), with the reservation, in other respects, of her own rights and those of her children. Philip's conscience, however, was not satisfied without the sanction of the theologians, and he appealed to Luther and Melanchthon as the fountain heads of gospel lore, the very Popes of the Reformation. The case was difficult. It was hard to sanction bigamy, harder still to lose so staunch and powerful an upholder of the Protestant cause as the Landgrave of Hesse. The paper in which they answered his application contains all the reasons which could be urged against it, and looks like a dissuasion; yet they withheld not their consent, and were parties to the bigamy, but under the seal of confession, and with the injunction of the strictest secrecy.[7] We can here discern but little difference between these Protestant doctors and Pope Clement VII., when he advised Henry VIII. to take an additional wife.

Bigamy, however, is not only a moral and religious crime: it is also a legal offence; and the Landgrave began to fear that the Emperor and the Imperial tribunal might find in it a fresh handle for pursuing him. Under this apprehension, he first endeavoured

[7] "Quodsi denique Vestra Celsitudo omnino concluserit adhuc unam conjugem ducere, juramus id secreto faciendum. . . . Hinc non sequuntur alicujus momenti contradictiones aut scandala; nihil enim est inusitati, Principes concubinas alere." — Luther's *Briefe*, Th. v. S. 241. (De Wette.)

to draw closer his alliance with the Elector of Saxony, and engaged to aid him in matters not provided for by the League of Smalcald, as the affairs of John Frederick's brother-in-law, the Duke of Clèves, provided the Elector would, in turn, support him in his new marriage, which he consummated in March 1540. The strict principles of the Elector forbade him, however, to enter into such an arrangement, and Philip, in consequence, threw himself, as we have seen, into the arms of the Emperor. His marriage, of course, soon became publicly known, and occasioned great scandal. Melanchthon, who was then on the point of proceeding to the Diet at Hagenau, was so mortified and alarmed by the part which he had played in the business, that he was seized with a dangerous illness; and it required all the consolations of Luther, who was of a more robust frame of mind, to restore his confidence and self-possession.

The moderation displayed by Charles at Ratisbon tended to conciliate the Protestants, who engaged to assist him against the Turks. They wished him to undertake the war in person; but Charles was then meditating another expedition to Africa, to repress the dreadful devastations committed on the coasts of Italy and Spain by Hassan Aga, commandant of Algiers, a renegade eunuch in the service of Barbarossa, and he therefore intrusted the conduct of the war against Solyman to his brother Ferdinand. The peace with the Porte before mentioned[8], in 1533, to which the Emperor was not a party, had left many things unsettled, and early in 1534, Cornelius Duplicius Schepper was despatched to Constantinople to make, if possible, a more satisfactory arrangement. He found a very altered state of things. Aloysio Gritti had lost great part of his influence; the power of Ibrahim himself was fast sinking, against whom a formidable party, headed by Barbarossa and Junisbeg, the interpreter to the Porte, had arisen in the divan. Schepper's efforts were unavailing. In the last audience granted to him, the Sultan repeated that Hungary belonged to himself, that Janus Kral (King John) was merely his slave, and acted only in his name, and he warned Ferdinand not to undertake anything against that potentate.[9] Soon afterwards Gritti was despatched to Hungary as the Sultan's plenipotentiary, and entered Transylvania at the head of 7000 men. He was, however, hated and suspected, as well by the party of Zapolya as of Ferdinand; 40,000 men rose in arms, overpowered his little army,

[8] Above, p. 551.

[9] Gévay, p. 57. As a specimen of the political morality of the age, it may be mentioned that the ambassador (Schepper) had hired a bravo to blow up Barbarossa in his galley.

and delivered Gritti himself to the executioner. This act naturally roused the anger of Solyman, and left no room for a peaceful solution of the points in dispute. Ferdinand sent ambassadors both to Ibrahim and the Sultan, then in Bagdad, to clear himself from blame, by charging Zapolya with the execution of Gritti; but Solyman would not accept his excuses, and demanded reparation. From this time, however, Zapolya began to sink in reputation with the Porte. Junisbeg, whom the Sultan had despatched to inquire into the circumstances of Gritti's murder, was gained over by King Ferdinand, with the promise of a pension; and Zapolya was condemned to pay 1,200,000 ducats, partly for arrears of "pension" due to the Porte, and partly for valuables belonging to Gritti on which he had seized. It was soon after the return of Junisbeg to Constantinople, that the Vizier Ibrahim was murdered, in consequence of some secret court intrigue.

Meanwhile, as the Turkish hordes were pressing on from Bosnia towards Essek, Ferdinand's general, Katzianer, advanced with an army of about 24,000 men, mostly Germans, to keep them in check; but being surrounded by the Osmanli cavalry, he was compelled to a disastrous retreat, in which he lost all his artillery (November 1536), while his army was dispersed and almost entirely cut up.

After this no warlike movements of any importance occurred for some time. In 1538, the Emperor and Ferdinand concluded a peace with Zapolya, which cost the latter the loss of the Sultan's confidence. By this treaty, Charles and his brother consented to recognise Zapolya as a brother, that is, as a king, and to concede to him all the territory of which he then stood possessed; but on condition that after his death, whether he left children or not, his dominions should revert to Ferdinand.[10] In September 1539, Hieronymus Laszczi, who had now deserted the service of Zapolya for that of Ferdinand, repaired to Constantinople as the latter's ambassador; but before any negociations could be concluded, the state of things was completely changed by the death of Zapolya (July 21st 1540). He had married in the previous year, Isabella, daughter of Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, who had borne him a son only nine days before his decease; and a party immediately sprung up in favour of the infant prince, at the head of which was Martinuzzi, or brother George, Bishop of Grosswardein. Some of Zapolya's former supporters, however, as Gregory Frangepani, Peter Pereny, and others recognised Ferdinand. French intrigues

[10] Engel, B. iv. S. 53 sq. The treaty is in Katona, t. xx.

were now revived; the amicable policy of Francis towards the House of Austria had, as we have seen, terminated at this period; and the French envoy at Constantinople induced the Hungarian ambassadors themselves to beg of the Sultan, that in case the throne of that country became vacant, the Duke of Orleans should be elected to it.[11] An end was now abruptly put to Lasczi's negociations, who was imprisoned and put on short allowance; and war was declared against Ferdinand.

In June 1541, Solyman in person began his march towards Hungary, and entered Buda without resistance (August 25th 1541), before the forces voted by the Diet of Ratisbon, under the command of Count Fürstenberg, could come up. A Turkish government under a pasha of three tails, was now established in the Hungarian capital, the principal church was converted into a mosque, and Buda remained in the hands of the infidels near a century and a half. Zapolya's queen and infant son were ejected from the palace, and sent to Lippa on the other side of the Theiss. After a three weeks' sojourn in Buda, where he received and contemptuously dismissed another embassy from Ferdinand, Solyman returned homewards and reached Constantinople November 20th. On this occasion, Ferdinand offered to hold Hungary as tributary to the Porte; but the proposition was spurned by Solyman, who even demanded a yearly tribute for Austria.[12]

It was during this time that Charles was conducting his unfortunate expedition to Algiers; but before relating that event we shall pursue the affairs of Hungary to their catastrophe. The rapid progress of the Turks had created a panic in Germany, and the Diet which assembled at Spires early in 1542, voted with unaccustomed alacrity, a force of 40,000 foot and 8000 horse, the command of which was intrusted to Joachim II. of Brandenburg. With part of these troops Joachim marched to Pesth, which had a garrison of 8000 Osmanlis; but after cannonading the town, and in vain attempting to bring his men to the assault, who were in a state of mutiny for want of pay, he found himself compelled to retreat. In 1543, Solyman again appeared in Hungary, and after a short stay at Buda, laid siege to Gran. The garrison made a brave defence, till the gilt cross on the cathedral having been shot away, they were struck with a superstitious terror, and surrendered (August 10th). Tata and Stuhlweissenburg next fell, the latter after a brave defence, expiated by the massacre of nearly all the population. In 1544, Wissegrad

[11] *Letters* of the Bishop of Montpellier to Francis I. and Rincon, *Negociations, &c.* t. i. p. 443 sqq.

[12] Engel, B. iv. S. 76.

was taken, the ancient and magnificent seat of royalty; after which, and the capture of some castles near Tolna, the Turks carried the war into Croatia and Slavonia. Ferdinand's troops gained some partial advantages, but on the whole his prospects were hopeless. In 1545 he concluded a truce with the Pasha of Buda, and sent an ambassador to Constantinople to arrange the terms of a peace. After lingering negociations, Solyman, whose views were then directed towards Persia, at length consented to a truce of five years (June 13th 1547), guaranteeing the maintenance of the *status quo*, on condition of Ferdinand paying to the Porte a yearly tribute, disguised under the name of a "pension," of 30,000 ducats. The government of the Turkish conquests in Hungary, like other territories under the dominion of the Porte, had been already divided into Sandjaks, which were at first twelve in number, as Buda, Gran, Stuhlweissenburg, Mohacs, Fünfkirchen, &c.

The Emperor, as we have said, had resisted the solicitations of the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541, that he should lead the Imperial troops in person against Solyman, in order that he might conduct his long-projected enterprise against Algiers. The success of his former expedition seems to have inspired him with a taste for these maritime crusades. The present one, however, was undertaken against the advice of his admiral, Andrew Doria, at too late a period of the year. It was the 20th of October before the Imperial fleet appeared at Algiers, having on board a fine army of about 22,000 men, together with 100 Knights of St. John. Only part of the troops had been landed when a high wind, accompanied with a heavy fall of rain, carried away the tents, rendered the ammunition useless, and converted the encampment into a swamp; and a violent storm which followed wrecked the greater part of the fleet, and thus deprived the army of provisions. In these trying circumstances Charles behaved with great fortitude; whilst he shared the dangers and hardships of the meanest soldier, he displayed all the best qualities of a general. When the scattered ships that had escaped were reassembled, Charles commanded all the horses to be drowned in order to make room on board for the men; but scarcely had this been done when another storm again dispersed the ships. The anxious question now arose how the troops were to be carried home; but this point was soon decided by a pestilence which carried off the greater part of them. The Emperor was the last to embark, and after encountering many more perils, at length arrived with the remnant of his armament at Carthagena (December 1st).

The news of Charles's disaster was received at the French court

with transports of joy. The opportunity appeared to Francis favourable for commencing a new war, and an occurrence which had taken place in the preceding summer afforded him a pretext for declaring it. Soon after the conclusion of the peace between Venice and the Porte, Rincon, the French envoy at Constantinople, had returned home for fresh instructions, and was sent back in June 1541 in company with a Genoese named Fregoso, who was to act as French ambassador at Venice. Both these men were the Emperor's subjects. Rincon, as we have said, was a Spanish renegade; Fregoso was an opponent of Doria and the Imperial party at Genoa, from which city he had been expelled and declared a rebel; and as they had entered the service of Francis, a price had been set upon their heads. For the convenience of Rincon, who was very corpulent, and disliked the fatigue of riding or posting, he and Fregoso agreed to descend the Po in boats, disguised, and without passports. A kind of small underhand warfare was already going on in Italy between the troops of Du Bellay Langey, the French governor of Turin, and the Imperialists; and he and the Marquis del Guasto, the governor of Milan, were constantly on the watch to intercept each other's couriers. Some of Del Guasto's *bravi* having fallen in with Rincon and Fregoso proceeded to arrest them; the latter resisting, were killed in the skirmish which ensued, and their papers seized. Francis was loud in his complaints of this proceeding, which he denounced as a violation of the law of nations; for the present, however, he stifled his resentment, and except for the unfortunate termination of Charles's expedition to Algiers, would probably have suffered the affair to sink into oblivion. But no sooner did he hear of that event than he sought to connect himself with all who had any cause of discontent against the Emperor. He had already formed an alliance with the Duke of Clèves, who disputed Guelderland with Charles, and he now leagued himself with the Neapolitan malcontents; but he could not persuade Henry VIII. to enter any longer into his selfish plans. The alliance with the Duke of Clèves, besides affording an opportunity to attack the Netherlands on both sides, also enabled Francis to draw what troops he wanted from Germany through the Duke's dominions. On November 19th 1541, the French King also concluded at Fontainebleau a treaty with Christian III. King of Denmark, for a term of ten years, during which the latter engaged to close the Sound against the enemies of France [13]; and in the following July he effected, at

[13] Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 216.

Ragny, an offensive and defensive league[14] with Gustavus I. of Sweden.

Having thus endeavoured to set all Europe in a flame in order to gratify his private ambition and resentment, Francis, in the summer of 1542, called into the field no fewer than five armies; of which three were directed against the Netherlands; the fourth, commanded by the Dauphin, marched towards the frontiers of Spain; while the remaining one, under the Admiral Annebaut, consisted of the troops cantoned in Piedmont.

Hostilities began on the side of Clèves. The Duke caused one of his captains, Martin von Rossem, a sort of *condottiere*, to assemble his irregular troops on the frontiers of the Netherlands, but without expressly avowing him. To the remonstrances of the Queen of Hungary, the Duke replied that the troops were not his, and that he believed them to be destined against the Turks. Von Rossem, however, suddenly presented himself before Liége, and demanded a passage over the Meuse. The citizens shut their gates, and Von Rossem, crossing the river at a higher point, and devastating everything on his route, directed his march towards Antwerp, with the design of taking and plundering that city. René de Nassau, Prince of Orange, who attempted to arrest his progress, was defeated at Hoch Straet with a loss of 1400 men; but nevertheless succeeded in putting Louvain and Antwerp in a posture of defence.

These occurrences determined Francis to commence the war on the side of the Netherlands. He did not declare it till July 12th 1542, and then in the most virulent terms. Nicholas de Bossu, Sieur de Longueval, was sent to join Von Rossem's army, in order that its movements might be combined with those of the French forces. One French army, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, though virtually under that of Claude, Duke of Guise, the young prince's instructor in the art of war, assembled on the frontiers of Luxemburg; whilst another, led by the Duke of Vendôme, threatened the frontiers of Flanders. The Imperialists, not expecting to be attacked in Luxemburg, had made little preparation for defence. Damvilliers, Yvoy, Arlon, Montmédy, even the capital, Luxemburg, itself, fell rapidly before the French arms, and were for the most part cruelly handled, the capitulation of Luxemburg only being respected. Young and ardent, the Duke of Orleans was dissatisfied with such easy conquests; he longed to flesh his maiden sword in a pitched battle in the field; and hearing

[14] Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 228.

that one was likely to be fought by the army in the south under the command of his brother, the Dauphin, he suddenly dismissed the greater part of his troops, retaining only enough to cover the frontiers of France; a step of which the Queen of Hungary immediately took advantage to recover Montmédy and Luxemburg.

Francis was very much chagrined at this news. He gave the Duke of Orleans, though his favourite son, a very cool reception at Montpellier; and the Duke was further mortified by finding that there was no more probability of a battle being fought in the south than in the quarter he had just left. The Dauphin was at the head of 40,000 infantry, and 4000 cavalry. Margaret, the King's sister, wished this noble force to be employed in the recovery of Navarre; but, by the advice of Montpesat, Governor of Guienne, that project was abandoned, and the army directed against Rousillon, which it was thought would prove an easy conquest. The plan of the campaign was to take Perpignan, to obtain command of the sea, to occupy Le Pertuis, and thus to prevent any succours for Rousillon arriving from Spain. But the scheme was ruined by the dilatoriness of Francis, who ordered that nothing should be done before his arrival; and as he travelled with all the pomp and slowness of a royal progress, it was the middle of August before the Dauphin's army entered Rousillon. Meanwhile a body of Aragonese, under the command of the Duke of Alva, had thrown themselves into Perpignan, and Doria had landed artillery and ammunition enough for the most vigorous defence. The place, indeed, presented so formidable an appearance that Du Bellay compared it to a porcupine darting its quills on every side. The Dauphin did not appear before it till August 26th. The Admiral Annebaut, who had come from Piedmont to superintend the siege, conducted it unskilfully. The sandy soil rendered the works of the besiegers useless; the autumnal rains began to swell the torrents into rivers, and to render the situation of the French army extremely dangerous. On the 4th of October the King arrived within twelve leagues of Perpignan; when, finding that no progress had been made, and after several assaults had been repulsed, he ordered the siege to be raised. Thus this splendid army, the finest ever collected during the reign of Francis, retreated without striking a blow. The immense preparations which had been made on all sides ended only in the capture of a few small places near Boulogne and Calais by the Duke of Vendôme, and some others in Piedmont by Du Bellay Langey; a result which must be ascribed partly to the indiscretion of the Duke of Orleans, partly to the dilatoriness of Francis, but still more to the plan of

dividing the French forces, instead of striking in one quarter a decisive blow with their united strength.

During this campaign, the Emperor had remained quietly in Spain, without approaching the scene of action. After his return from Africa, he had visited in succession Tarragon, Tortosa, Valencia, Alcalà de Henarès, and Madrid, presenting his son Philip to the people, and encouraging the enthusiasm which the attack of the French had already roused. Meanwhile he had been quietly providing funds for carrying on the war. The Cortès voted him considerable supplies; he obtained a large dowry for his son by affiancing him to the Infanta of Portugal; and by ceding his pretensions to the Molucca Islands to the Infanta's father, John III., he procured a large sum by way of loan. The mines of America, too, had been more than usually productive, and he was thus better provided with means for carrying on the second campaign than he had been at the beginning of the first, while on the other hand the resources of France were almost exhausted.

The Emperor further strengthened himself by an alliance which he concluded with Henry VIII. The part taken by Francis in the affairs of Scotland had increased the coolness between him and the English King. Henry had been endeavouring to effect an alliance with James V. of Scotland, whom he wished to engage in the same measures of ecclesiastical reform as he had himself adopted in England, nor did the Scottish King seem disinclined to enter into his views; but the plans of Henry were defeated by the opposition of the Scottish clergy and the intrigues of the French Court, which foresaw the loss of its influence in Scotland in the event of a union between that country and England. Enraged at this disappointment, Henry resorted to force. An army of 20,000 men, under the Duke of Norfolk, crossed the Tweed in the autumn of 1542, inflicting great loss and devastation; and it is said that the melancholy occasioned by his ill-successes near Solway Firth hastened the death of James, who expired December 14th. This event caused a change in Henry's policy. He laid aside his hostile preparations against Scotland, and sought to bring about a union between the two countries by the marriage of his son Edward with Mary, the infant daughter of James. It was evident, however, that this plan would also be opposed by the French Court, and Henry therefore determined to effect an alliance with the Emperor. A treaty was accordingly concluded, February 11th 1543, by which the two sovereigns agreed that Francis should be summoned to renounce his alliance with the Turk, to compensate the Emperor for the losses and injuries which he had suffered from it,

and to execute all his previous agreements, whether with Charles or Henry. If the French King rejected these conditions, then war was to be declared against him, and to be prosecuted by each sovereign with an army of 20,000 foot and 5000 horse, and with a fleet carrying 2000 sailors, until the Emperor should have recovered the Duchy of Burgundy and Picardy, and Henry the rest of France. The treaty, which was not published till the following June, also contained some clauses more particularly relating to the contracting parties themselves; and especially they engaged reciprocally,—the Emperor, that no English book, Henry that no German one, should be printed in their respective dominions.[15] No operations, however, of any importance were undertaken in pursuance of this treaty till the year 1544.

The campaign of 1543 opened like the previous one with some successes on the part of Von Rossem, especially the defeat of the Imperialists at Sittard, March 24th. Francis was thus led again to direct his chief strength towards that quarter; but he had formed no settled plan, and his orders were vacillating and contradictory. After some operations of too little moment to be worth detailing, he retired towards the end of July to Rheims, where he dismissed part of his army, and forgot the affairs of war in the pleasures of the chace. In this campaign Francis received some assistance from the Danes, who made descents on the coasts of the Netherlands, and attempted to take Walcheren.

On the other hand Charles had determined on punishing his rebellious vassal, the Duke of Clèves, and with that view proceeded through Italy into Germany. The Italian princes flocked to pay him court at Genoa; and Cosmo de' Medici redeemed with 20,000 gold crowns the fortresses of Leghorn and Florence, which were held by Imperial troops. On the 22nd of June, Charles had an interview with the Pope at Busseto, in the Parmesan. Paul in vain endeavoured to persuade the Emperor either to purchase peace by ceding Milan to the King of France, or to establish in it Ottavio Farnese, Paul's grandson, and the son-in-law of Charles; but though the Pope offered 300,000 *scudi* for the investiture of Farnese, the Emperor refused to grant it.

Towards the end of July, Charles arrived at Spires, and made immediate preparations for punishing the Duke of Clèves. It was fortunate for the Emperor that he had secured the alliance of the Landgrave of Hesse. The Elector of Saxony, the Duke of Clèves's brother-in-law, was covertly assisting him, and even wished to

[15] Rymer, t. xiv. p. 768 sqq.; Herbert, p. 238.

procure his admittance into the League of Smalcald, to qualify himself for which, Duke William had received the sacrament in both kinds (February 22nd 1543). Philip, however, who had bound himself to the Emperor not to lend any countenance or support to the Duke of Clèves, would not consent to his admittance into the League. The Archbishop of Spires and the ambassador of the Elector of Saxony interceded with the Emperor in favour of the Duke; but Charles replied that if the Turks were at his very gates, his attention should be first directed to punish a rebel, who had chosen the moment of his country's greatest danger to ally himself with its enemies. The part played by the Duke of Clèves was indeed very annoying. Besides the usurpation of Guelderland, he procured for Francis the help of German troops, rendered possible an attack from Denmark, and destroyed the peace, and even neutralised the power of the Netherlands. Charles had brought with him a choice body of 4000 Spanish, and as many Italian veterans, to which he added 26,000 lansquenets, and 4000 horse, commanded by the Prince of Orange. And now Francis and his sons, who had been so anxious to do battle with the Emperor, were presented with a fair opportunity; yet with an inexplicable infatuation, which marked all Francis's operations in his later years, he was amusing himself at this critical juncture with hunting at Rheims, and abandoned the Duke of Clèves to his fate, an ally who had done him such good service, and whom he had united with the royal family of France. Charles laid siege to Düren; in four days a battery of forty cannon effected a breach; and on the 26th of August the place was carried by assault. A horrible massacre ensued, and on the evening of the same day not a living soul was left in Düren, except the troops who had entered by the breach. The fall and fate of Düren, the strongest place in the Duchy of Juliers, struck terror into the rest: Juliers, the capital, Ruremonde, Venlo, submitted; and the Duke of Clèves, who had despatched courier after courier to Francis with the most urgent prayers for assistance, but without effect, hastened to Venlo to throw himself at the feet of the Emperor. In this humiliating posture Charles suffered his rebellious vassal to remain a considerable time, without so much as deigning to look at him. Ultimately, however, he was admitted to a sort of capitulation. His hereditary dominions were restored, with the exception of two towns, that were retained as pledges for his fidelity; but he was required to give up Guelderland and Zutphen; to return to the Roman Catholic faith; to renounce the alliance of the Kings of France and Denmark; to swear fealty to the Emperor, and to the

King of the Romans; to release the people of Guelderland from the oath of fidelity which they had taken to him, and to transfer Von Rossem with his formidable band to the Imperial service.[16]

Francis began to bestir himself when it was too late. He re-assembled his army, marched into Luxemburg, and recovered the capital (September 27th). Hence, the Admiral Annebaut was ordered to proceed to the relief of the Duke of Clèves: but before he could set out, a herald arrived from that prince, to announce to Francis, that he had been compelled to abandon the French alliance, and at the same time to demand that his wife, the heiress of Navarre, should be sent to him, in whose favour he forwarded a safe-conduct from the Emperor. But Francis replied, that as his alliance was renounced, he was no longer the Duke's debtor, and that William with regard to his consort, had better apply to the King and Queen of Navarre, and see whether they were disposed to grant him their daughter. Neither they, however, nor Jeanne d'Albret herself, as Francis well knew, were inclined to carry out the marriage contract, which was now declared null and void. The Duke of Clèves subsequently married a daughter of King Ferdinand's, and five years afterwards the heiress of Navarre espoused Antony of Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme.

The remainder of the campaign of 1543 presents nothing worth relating. Francis advanced as far as Câteau-Cambresis, where his army and that of Charles were so near, that frequent skirmishes of outposts took place; yet neither monarch ventured to quit the heights to risk a general engagement. The chief incidents were the sieges of Landrecies and Luxemburg by the Imperialists. But, though the latter were joined by 6000 English, under Sir John Wallop, nothing important was effected, and in November, both armies went into winter-quarters. The only gain to the Emperor was Cambray, a free, and Imperial city, which had claimed the privilege of neutrality. Charles persuaded the citizens to erect a citadel, as a defence against Francis, and after his return from Landrecies, introduced into it a garrison, which held the city in subjugation.

While these things were passing in the north, the proceedings of the Turkish fleet under Barbarossa, the ally of Francis, drew down upon the latter the indignation of Europe. Agreeably to a convention between the Porte and Paulin, the French envoy, Barbarossa, with a fleet of 110 galleys and a quantity of smaller vessels, appeared in the month of May off the coast of Calabria,

[16] Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 265.

and landing large bodies of soldiers, destroyed the olives and the vines, and carried off into slavery all the inhabitants whom he could seize. Reggio was burnt in June without attempting a defence; the citizens having fled for safety to the mountains on the approach of the fleet. Before the end of the month, Barbarossa appeared at the mouth of the Tiber. Rome trembled. Numbers of the citizens sought safety in flight. The Cardinal de' Carpi was despatched to ascertain the intentions of those dreaded visitors, when a scene ensued such as Europe had not yet beheld. Paulin the French envoy was not ashamed to appear, and to avow himself the director of Barbarossa's movements. He assured the Cardinal that there was nothing to fear, that the Turks, as the allies of France, would respect the neutrality of the Pope; and Barbarossa, without committing any further ravages, directed his course towards Marseilles. Here he put up to public sale the unhappy captives whom he had taken in Calabria, and, strange to say, purchasers were not wanting.[17]

Barbarossa, who had expected to find at Marseilles everything in readiness for some grand enterprise, to be achieved by the united arms of Solyman and Francis, vexed and astonished to see in the harbour only twenty-two galleys and some transports, and these unprovided either with men, or provisions, or ammunition, broke out into curses and menaces, threatening the resentment of the Sultan if the summer were allowed to pass over unemployed. Paulin hastened to Francis to acquaint him with Barbarossa's threats, and returned with a few soldiers and orders to attack Nice, which had been already attempted without success by the Duke d'Enghien. The Duke of Savoy was totally unprepared to resist such an attack. Towards the end of August, the combined forces got possession of the town, though bravely defended by Montfort, a Savoyard gentleman; but the citadel, under the command of Paolo Simiane, a Knight of Malta, still held out; and on the 8th of September, the approach of Doria's fleet, as well as of Del Guasto with an army on the land side, compelled the Turco-Gallic forces to retire. Thus Francis had not even the consolation of success to place against the infamy of the undertaking. To propitiate Barbarossa's ill-humour, he ordered all Mussulman slaves in the French galleys to be liberated, and assigned Toulon as the winter-quarters of the Turkish fleet. All the French were ordered to evacuate that place, and a letter

[17] The best account of Barbarossa's cruise in 1543 is in P. Jovius, lib. xliii. sq.

written from it during the time of its occupation by the Turks describes it as resembling Constantinople.[18]

France was the only European power that acted offensively with the Mussulmans. The Venetians equipped a fleet to protect the coasts of the Adriatic, and Francis, unwilling to offend his ancient allies, sent Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, to excuse and gloss over his conduct. In a long harangue to the Venetian Senate, the Bishop quoted Scripture in Francis's defence, and showed how King David and King Asa had availed themselves of the services of the infidels![19]

Early in 1544 Charles repaired from Belgium to Spires to open the Diet in person. It was one of the most august that had assembled during his reign, and was attended by King Ferdinand, and most of the princes of the Empire. In his opening speech (February 20th), Charles dwelt chiefly on the unnatural alliance between the French and the Turks, and insisted on the necessity of crushing France in order to save Europe from the Turkish yoke. King Ferdinand supported the impression thus produced by relating the progress of Solyman in Hungary. The Protestant members of the Diet having professed themselves unconcerned with the quarrels of the Emperor, and affirmed that the French King had always been friendly to the liberties of Germany, the Emperor produced some letters written to him by Francis in 1540, in which this monarch, in consideration of the alliance concluded between them, promised his active assistance in suppressing the Lutherans, whom he denounced as rebels alike to the authority of their sovereign and of the Church. The indignation excited by this communication was increased when the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy related the capture of Nice, the only asylum that remained to his master, by the Mussulman pirates; and the King of Denmark's ambassador solemnly renounced the alliance contracted with Francis, who had rendered himself odious to all Christians by his league with the Turks. The French King, hoping that his treachery towards the Protestants would have remained concealed, had despatched the Cardinal John du Bellay, and the president, Olivier, to Spires, to conciliate the friendship of that party. But the herald, who had been sent forward to procure a safe-conduct for the French ambassadors, was dismissed, with the intimation that he might consider himself fortunate to escape with his life; as an envoy from the ally of the Mussulman pirates of Barbary was without the pale of Christian international law. Alarmed at this in-

[18] *Négociations, &c.* t. i. p. 567 sqq.

[19] *Commentaires* de Montluc, liv. i.

telligence, the ambassadors, who had advanced to Nanci, fled thence by night, and, on their return to Paris, Du Bellay published a manifesto, which, on the admission even of historians not unfavourable to Francis, was filled with the grossest inconsistencies and falsehoods. Sometimes the Turkish alliance was altogether disavowed, sometimes justified by examples drawn from the Old Testament; in a word, there was no subterfuge to which the ministers of the French King scrupled to descend.[20] Francis also endeavoured to clear himself in a remarkable letter to John Frederick the Elector of Saxony.[21]

The Diet voted the Emperor supplies both against France and the Turk, and Charles pledged his word to attack the Osmanlis on the conclusion of the French war. The discussion of the affairs of religion was postponed to another Diet, to be summoned exclusively for that purpose; unless a general council could be assembled, in which the Emperor promised to preside in person. Meanwhile the decrees of former Diets in favour of the Protestants were confirmed; the free and public exercise of their religion was allowed; they were again declared capable of filling the places of assessors in the Imperial chamber; and the custom of swearing on the relics the members of that tribunal, was abrogated in their behalf. These concessions were wrung from the Emperor by his political necessities. The Pope, in a letter, bitterly reproached him with them (August 24th), and Charles is said to have been secretly negociating at this very time with Paul respecting the methods of extirpating the Protestants.[22]

In Piedmont the war had not ceased during the winter. After the raising of the siege of Nice, Del Guasto had obtained some notable advantages over Marshal de Bouttières, successor of Du Bellay Langey, who had died in January 1543. Mondovi and Carignano had been recovered by the Duke of Savoy. The arrival of the Count d'Enghien, however, in the spring, arrested the progress of Del Guasto. The French and Imperial forces in Piedmont were nearly equal; but as both the money and credit of Francis were exhausted, he impressed upon D'Enghien the necessity of caution, and forbade him to risk a general engagement. Such an injunction was intolerable to the French nobles. Blaise de Montluc, a soldier of the true Gascon stamp, was despatched to the French court for the purpose of getting the *veto* removed, which he accomplished by

[20] The paper is in Freher, *Scripp. Rer. Germ.* t. iii.

[21] Published in the *Négociations, &c.* t. i. p. 575.

[22] Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 70, sqq.; Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 157.

his playful and spirited eloquence.[23] D'Enghien gained a signal victory over the Imperialists at Cerisola, more by the brilliant valour of himself and his troops, than by good generalship.[24] Del Guasto had told the people of Asti, when marching out towards Cerisola, to shut their gates against him if he did not return victorious. They took him at his word. Want of money, however, obliged D'Enghien to discharge the Swiss in his service, and the inconsiderate demand of Francis, who required him to send 12,000 of his best troops into France, not only rendered his victory fruitless, but also nearly disorganised his army. The only result was the recovery of Carignano. The Imperial army, however, was in almost as bad a condition, and both generals found it convenient to conclude an armistice of three months.

The Emperor, meanwhile, with the assistance of some of the leading Protestants, as Albert of Brandenburg, Maurice of Saxony, a young prince of twenty who had just succeeded his father Henry in the dukedom, and some others, had assembled an army of 40,000 men in Lorraine, which he joined towards the end of May, after it had already reduced Luxemburg and some other towns and was preparing to invade Champagne. The situation of Francis was perplexing. His league with the Turks had deprived him of all other allies; yet by them he had been treated more as a vanquished enemy than a confederate prince. During their stay at Toulon they had acted as if they were in an enemy's country, and furnished the benches of their galleys by carrying off all the men they could seize on the adjacent coasts, while the women served to supply their harems. Nay, Barbarossa even took the crews out of the royal galleys and left them totally useless. To induce so dangerous an ally to quit Toulon, Francis made him a payment of 800,000 crowns. Barbarossa sailed in April for Constantinople, again carrying terror and desolation along the coasts of Italy. This was his last notable exploit. He died two years after at a very advanced age (July 4th 1546).

Before Francis succeeded in assembling his army in the north, the Emperor had taken Commercy and Ligny and invested St. Dizier. The gallant defence of the last place, however, which held out till the 17th of August, allowed the French King some breathing time. Meanwhile the English forces had been engaged in the spring in a campaign in Scotland; but though Edinburgh was taken and pillaged, they were unable to maintain themselves there.

[23] Henry IV. used to call the *Commentaires* of Montluc, *La Bible du Soldat.*

[24] Pistols are said to have been for the first time used in this battle, by the Imperial troops. They were invented at Pistoia, in Tuscany.

In the summer the Duke of Norfolk landed at Calais with an English division, and proceeded to lay siege to Montreuil, while Henry crossed the Channel with the main body about the middle of July, and was soon after joined by some 25,000 Flemings and Germans. The original plan appears really to have been to cross the Somme and press on to Paris.[25] But Henry and Charles did not act cordially together. Each believed the other insincere respecting the partition of France, and this distrust ended at length in open hatred. Henry, instead of proceeding to join the Emperor, laid siege to Boulogne. An ancient author has described his forces. The van and rear consisted each of about 12,000 foot, 500 lightly armed horse, and 1000 more with breastplates and lances. Their uniform was blue with red trimmings. Interspersed were 1000 Irish, clothed in long tight shirts, and a cloak, their only clothing, while their heads had no other covering than their long hair. They were armed with three javelins and a long sword, and an iron guard protected the left arm to the elbow. The centre division, led by the King, consisted of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse all in red uniform with yellow trimmings. The artillery comprised 100 large guns and many smaller. A hundred one-horse mills to prepare their flour, and ovens to bake it, were conveyed in waggons. These and the baggage waggons required 25,000 horses; while 15,000 oxen and a vast quantity of other animals followed the army to supply it with meat.[26]

Both Charles and Henry were inclined to negociate with the French King; but the Emperor, in spite of his successes, was the first to treat. He had penetrated as far as Château Thierry, within two days' march of Paris. That capital was filled with consternation. The citizens were flying on every side both by land and water; the Seine was completely covered with boats filled with fugitives. Francis hastened from Fontainebleau, and accompanied by the Duke of Guise rode through the streets of Paris, haranguing the citizens and exhorting them to take courage. "If I cannot prevent you from being afraid," said he, "I will at least prevent you from being hurt." This address restored confidence, and a great number of citizens, students and others flew to arms.[27] The Emperor found a great difficulty in procuring subsistence for his army, and to winter in France seemed wholly impossible. Under these circumstances, negociations were opened at the little village of La Chaussée, between Vitry and Châlons, and instead of crossing

[25] See the plan of the campaign traced by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk (*Conciderations, &c.*) in *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 761.

[26] Botero, *Relationi Universali*, p. 276 (ed. 1640).

[27] Paradin, *Hist. de notre Temps*, p. 138.

the Marne, Charles retired to Villars Cotteret, and thence to Soissons, which he plundered. Francis eagerly embraced his proposals for a peace, and preliminaries were signed at Crespy in the Laonnois, September 18th.

Charles's conduct on this occasion seems precipitate, and must perhaps be ascribed to the policy which he had adopted of peace at almost any price with France, in order to pursue, without interruption, his two grand objects of reducing the Lutherans and checking the Turks. Yet it does not appear why he might not have dictated terms at Paris instead of Crespy. At least two months remained during which field operations might have been carried on; he was within two days' march of Paris; and Henry VIII., after taking Boulogne, which capitulated September 14th, was also in full march upon that capital; a circumstance, however, such was the want of communication between them, of which the Emperor was ignorant. And perhaps, indeed, Charles was as much disinclined to forward the schemes of that monarch as to increase the alienation of Francis by the humiliating capture of Paris.

By the treaty of Crespy each party was to restore the places taken by either since the treaty of Nice; the French were to evacuate the territories of the Duke of Savoy, with the exception of Pignerol and Montmelian, and the dispute between Francis and his uncle was to be referred to arbitration. Francis again renounced all claim to the kingdom of Naples, the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois and their dependencies, as well as to Guelderland and Zutphen. The Emperor, on his side, gave up the Duchy of Burgundy and the towns and lordships on the Somme, formerly held by Philip the Good. In order to render these terms more palatable, the Emperor offered some of the disputed provinces as a dowry either to his eldest daughter, Mary, or to his niece, the second daughter of King Ferdinand, whichsoever the Duke of Orleans might select for his consort; the former to bring him the Netherlands and Franche Comté, the latter the Duchy of Milan. The Duke was to declare within four months which of the princesses he preferred, and the marriage was to take place within a year. The Emperor was to retain possession of these provinces till his death, but the Duke of Orleans and his consort were to be made governors immediately. One of the stipulations was that Francis and the Emperor should co-operate in restoring the union of the Church; that is, should enter into an alliance against the Protestants, and should defend Christendom against the Turks; and Francis not only abjured the alliance of the latter, but also pro-

mised 600 lances and 10,000 foot for the war in Hungary.[28] At the same time another and a secret treaty appears to have been signed, the contents of which have never come to light, but which excited the suspicion and hostility of the Court of Rome.[29]

The peace of Crespy gave great offence both to the Dauphin and to the King of England. The former was dissatisfied because his father, in order to gain an establishment for his second son, had sacrificed the dignity of his kingdom, abandoned the ancient rights of the French crown, and thus curtailed those of the Dauphin when he should come to be King. And, though he would not offend his father by refusing to ratify the treaty, yet he secretly caused a notarial protest to be drawn up against it, which he signed at Fontainebleau (December 12th) in the presence of the Duke of Vendôme and the Counts d'Enghien and d'Aumale[30]; thus imitating the unworthy example of his royal father. The Parliament of Toulouse, at the instigation probably of the Dauphin's partisans, also entered a protest against the peace.

Henry VIII., on the other hand, was indignant that the Emperor should have concluded a treaty with France without his participation or even knowledge. He himself appears, however, to have entered into negociations with the French previously to the Emperor. The Earl of Oxford and the Bishop of Winchester, Henry's plenipotentiaries, had an interview with the ambassadors of Francis at Hardelot, near Boulogne, September 9th, when they demanded that Francis should abandon his alliance with Scotland, and pay up the arrears of money which he owed, as well as the expenses of the present war. The French ambassador, so long as Charles was menacing Paris, pretended to entertain these propositions; but no sooner had Francis concluded with the Emperor than he rejected them with scorn. On hearing that event, and also that the Dauphin was marching against him with his whole army, Henry, who had advanced to Montreuil, immediately retreated, and embarked his troops for England; leaving, however, a garrison of 7000 men in Boulogne, the capture of which place was the only advantage he had derived from the campaign.

After the peace of Crespy, the Emperor suddenly altered his policy towards the Protestants. Besides the assistance promised to Charles by Francis, in case of need, against the Turks, he afterwards undertook to mediate a peace between the Emperor and the Porte[31], and we have seen that a truce was actually concluded

[28] Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 279.
[29] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.*, B. iv. S. 347.
[30] Dumont, *ib.*, 288; Ribier, t. i. p. 578, sq.
[31] Lanz, *Corespondenz*, B. ii. S. 435, 455; *Négociations*, &c., t. i. p. 596 sqq.

between Ferdinand and the Turks in 1545.[32] Being thus delivered from his two most troublesome enemies, Charles, for the first time found himself free to act as he pleased in the religious affairs of Germany; and the change in his views was soon apparent in the diet that met at Worms in the following spring.

The Pope had been highly offended by the proceedings of the Diet of Spires as well as with the treaty of Crespy. The announcement of a national council to decide on ecclesiastical affairs, and the promise of a general council given without consulting the Court of Rome, were equally distasteful to him. Paul, that he might appear to act independently, resolved to anticipate any formal application; and on the 19th November 1544 he issued a Bull, summoning the adjourned council to meet at Trent on the following 15th of March. The short notice was purposely contrived in order that the assembly might consist almost entirely of his own courtiers and of Italian bishops, who would thus have the regulation of all the forms to be observed; but the prelates who then met were so few, being only about twenty in number, that it was found necessary to adjourn the council to the following 13th of December.[33] The Emperor overlooked the Pope's apparent slight. He was glad to see that a council had, at all events, been summoned, and he meant that its labours should not be confined to the eradication of heresy, but should also include a reform of the Church itself in its head and members, as formerly promised by his ancient tutor Pope Adrian. He therefore accepted the Pope's Bull, and gave orders that the doctors of theology, both in Spain and the Netherlands, should prepare to proceed to Trent. Before he quitted the Low Countries, he gave a specimen of what might be expected from him, now that he was at peace with France, by causing the University of Louvain to draw up a Confession of Faith in thirty-two articles, which cut short all the questions raised by the Lutherans. To these articles his subjects in the Netherlands were required to conform under pain of death; and to show that this was no unmeaning threat, he ordered a Calvinist preacher, named Peter du Breuil, to be seized at Tournay, and burnt alive by a slow fire in the public square of that town (February 19th 1545).[34] The German Protestants had reason for alarm, for the period of the religious peace was terminated *ipso facto* by the assembly of a council.

The Diet opened at Worms, March 24th 1545, was chiefly occupied with the affairs of religion. The Emperor, being laid up

[32] Above, p. 596.

[33] Sarpi, lib. ii. p. 105; Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 84.

[34] Sarpi, p. 106; Sleidan, lib. xvi.; Raynaldus, *ib.* p. 86.

with the gout at Brussels, did not appear till May 16th. The Protestants refused to grant any supplies for the Turkish war till their safety should be established by a perpetual law. They objected to the authority of the Council of Trent, declared that they would not vindicate their opinions before a body assembled purposely to condemn them, and demanded that a national council should be summoned instead, in which the disputed points might be settled, not by authority but by fair and amicable discussion. The Count de Grignon, the French ambassador, addressed them in menacing terms, and called upon them to submit to the council summoned by Paul. The Emperor declared that he had no power to call a national council; and Cardinal Farnese, the Papal legate, threatened that if the Protestants persisted in dictating laws to the Pope and Emperor, it might be necessary to have recourse to coercion. These dissensions were for a while appeased by a resolution for a fresh conference between the theologians of both parties, the results of which were to be referred to a new Diet to meet at Ratisbon. The Emperor, however, had begun to throw off the mask. As if it were no longer necessary to conceal his real sentiments, the Lutheran preachers were forbidden to hold forth at Worms; whilst his own chaplain, an Italian monk, was allowed to inveigh against them in the most furious manner, and to call upon the Emperor to fulfil the duty of a Christian prince by their annihilation.

In the phalanx of Protestant princes appeared only a single waverer. The youthful Duke Maurice of Saxony had, as we have said, succeeded his father Henry in 1541, and as head of the Albertine line of that house, he ruled all South Saxony, from Leipsic to the borders of Bohemia and Franconia. At the very commencement of his reign he adopted a line of policy to which he owed his subsequent advancement. Although a zealous Protestant with regard to doctrine, he carefully abstained from mixing himself up with the political views of the Protestant party, and consequently withdrew from the League of Smalcald. He had assisted King Ferdinand in person in the Hungarian campaign of 1542, as well as the Emperor in his expedition against the Duke of Clèves; on both which occasions he was distinguished no less by his zeal and intrepidity than by the gracefulness of his person and his dexterity in all military enterprises. At Worms he sought to ingratiate himself with the Emperor by inclining to recognise the authority of the Council of Trent; and by his talents and his insinuating manners he succeeded in gaining the confidence of Charles.

The views of the Emperor with regard to religious affairs were warmly seconded by the French King, who not only despatched an ambassador to Worms to support them, but also caused a committee of the doctors of the Sorbonne to draw up resolutions for the consideration of the Council of Trent; to which assembly he invited the university of Paris to send a deputation. At the same time he displayed, in his own dominions, his zeal for the holy Catholic faith by a persecution unparalleled since the time of Diocletian. The exhortations of his priests, who took advantage of one of those disgraceful attacks to which his health was constantly exposed by his profligacy, to urge him to make his peace with God by the slaughter of some thousands of persons who worshipped Him in a different manner from themselves, induced Francis to enforce an edict passed by the parliament of Provence so long ago as November 1540, the execution of which, at the intercession of the German Protestants, had been hitherto suspended.

Among the high Alps which separate France from Piedmont existed a scattered Christian population which had preserved from time immemorial in their religious worship traditions and customs widely different from those of the Church of Rome. They were called Vaudois, probably from the valleys which they inhabited[35] (*vaux*), and had experienced some persecution under the reign of Charles VIII., but had been saved by Louis XII. from the hands of the inquisitors. Their pastors, whom they called *barbas* (uncles), recognised with pleasure the similarity of their own tenets to those of the Protestants of Switzerland and Germany; nor could the Reformers themselves have seen without emotion the principles which they had deduced from reason and research so strikingly confirmed by the practice of a community whose remote and almost inaccessible position had preserved them during centuries from being infected with the errors and abuses which had gradually been engrafted on the Church of Rome. Except the questions of free will and predestination, there were few topics or practices in which they differed from the Reformers, and even in these they were, for the most part, persuaded by Farel to conform with the Protestants, in a great synod held in 1532, in the valley of

[35] We find these populations mentioned in the *Chronique de Saint Tron*, written early in the twelfth century, as contaminated with an inveterate heresy; and they could not, therefore, have derived either their doctrines or their name from Peter Valdo, who founded, towards the end of that century, a sect called *Les pauvres de Lyon* (the poor brethren of Lyons). They may be traced at least as high as Bishop Claude of Turin, who in the ninth century energetically protested against the worship of images and other Roman practices, Martin, t. iv. p. 6 sq.

Angrogna, in Piedmont, in which all the colonies of the Vaudois were represented.

It was on a settlement of these people, which had been established two or three centuries in Provence on the northern bank of the Durance among the mountains, which, rising near the celebrated fountain of Vaucluse, stretch away towards the Alps, that Francis, incited by the Cardinal de Tournon, determined to wreak the vengeance of persecution. Their industry had converted that rugged district into a smiling garden, abounding with corn, wine, fruit, and cattle; for one of their axioms was, "to work is to pray:"[36] a maxim often reversed by their Roman Catholic persecutors. After their connection with the Reformers, the Vaudois had departed from their former prudent reserve, and had drawn down upon themselves persecutions, which, in 1535, they had opposed with arms. On the 1st of January 1545, Francis addressed a letter to the Parliament of Provence, directing them to put in execution the decree of 1540, already mentioned, whose dreadful purport was, that all fathers of families should be burnt, their wives and children reduced to serfdom, their property confiscated, and their dwellings razed. And this was required to be done in such a manner, "that Provence should be entirely cleared and depopulated of such suborners."[37]

Three men of learning and liberality had attempted to avert this dreadful sentence: Chasseneux, a learned jurisconsult, first president of the parliament of Provence; Sadolet, the amiable and enlightened Bishop of Carpentras[38]; and William du Bellay Langey, the governor of Piedmont, which last had made a very favourable report of the Vaudois to the King. But Chasseneux was now dead, and had been succeeded in his office by Meinier, Baron d'Oppède, a man fitted for the execution of such atrocities. D'Oppède kept the King's mandate a profound secret till he had assembled a small army of about 3000 men, chiefly composed of disbanded soldiers from Piedmont, accustomed to the wars of Italy, and revelling in blood and plunder. He was assisted by the Papal legate, Antonio Trivulzio, who supplied 1000 foot soldiers and some cannon. When all his preparations were made, D'Oppède read the King's letter to the Parliament of Provence, April 12th, which immediately ordered the decree of 1540 to be executed. The next day D'Oppède,

[36] Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 346.

[37] "De faire en sorte que le pays de Provence fût entièrement dépeuplé et nettoyés de tels séducteurs." Bouche, *Hist. de Provence*, liv. x. t. ii. p. 615.

[38] It was he who once addressed to Melanchthon words particularly deserving to be remembered by all leaders of religious parties: "Non ego enim sum qui ut quisque à nobis opinione dissentit, statim eum odio habeam." Martin, t. viii. p. 330.

accompanied by Paulin, Baron de la Garde, whom we have known as envoy to the Porte, and companion in arms of Barbarossa, passed the Durance with his force, and immediately began the work of havoc. The crops and fruit trees were destroyed, the villages burnt, the inhabitants massacred. On the 18th D'Oppède arrived at the little town of Merindol. It had been abandoned by all the inhabitants except a poor idiot lad of eighteen, who was immediately tied to a tree and shot. At Cabrières about ninety of the townspeople had remained, and as they made a show of defending themselves, they obtained a capitulation granting them their lives. But no sooner were they in the hands of D'Oppède than he caused them all to be massacred, on the ground that no faith is to be kept with heretics. Those who had succeeded in escaping awhile were hunted down like wild beasts. With the exception of 600 or 700 of the more robust, selected for the galleys, nearly the whole population was destroyed.[39]

Although this cold-blooded massacre was heard in the greater part of Europe with indignation and horror, it was deliberately approved and adopted by Francis, the French clergy, and the Parliament of Paris. When the Swiss interceded for the few Vaudois still left alive, Francis bade them mind their own business and not interfere in the affairs of his kingdom. At the beginning of the following reign, the Dame de Cental, one of the proprietors of the district ravaged, instituted a suit in the Parliament of Paris against the authors of the massacre which had completely ruined her property, but that body acquitted them after twenty hearings, thus deliberately sanctioning this atrocious deed.[40]

In the following year (1546) the persecutions were continued in France. At Meaux, which continued to be a great centre of reform, fourteen persons were burnt together, and a great many others subjected to corporal or pecuniary penalties. It was fatal to any followers of Calvin if a French Bible, or the *Christian Institution* of that reformer, was found upon him. One of the most illustrious victims was Stephen Dolet, burnt August 3rd 1546, on the Place Maubert, at Paris, on the charge of heresy, atheism, and eating flesh on a fast day! He was the friend of Rabelais and Clément Marot, and a distinguished scholar, the author of some celebrated *Commentaries* on the Latin language.

France was at this time in a deplorable condition, the effect of its long wars as well as of mal-administration. Some of the pro-

[39] For this persecution of the Vaudois see Du Thou, liv. vi.; Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* liv. i.; Bouche, *Hist. de Provence*, liv. x.; Alexis Muston, *Hist. des Vaudois*, t. i. ch. v.

[40] Beza, *Hist. Eccl.*, t. i. p. 28; Sarpi, lib. ii. p. 115.

vinces were almost in a state of anarchy. Périgord revolted against the *gabelle*, and the judge sent to try the malcontents narrowly escaped being murdered. The war with England still remained on hand: Francis was determined to recover Boulogne; yet it was difficult to raise the necessary funds without imposing fresh taxes, which excited universal discontent. He was also meditating a descent on the southern coast of England as well as an attack on the side of Scotland. The Scottish regent Hamilton had at first consented to a marriage between the infant Mary and Edward Prince of Wales. The treaty, however, was scarcely signed (August 25th 1543), when listening to the Catholic fanatics, and that party which nourished an ancient enmity against England, he changed his mind, reconciled himself with Cardinal Beatoun, and connived at a violent persecution of the Reformers, several of whom were burnt alive. A small French force, under James Montgomery, Seigneur de Lorges, landed in Scotland to support this movement, and to assist in an invasion of Northumberland (July 1545). The combined Scotch and French forces marched towards the frontier, but Montgomery could not persuade the Scotch to cross the Tweed, and the campaign resulted in a few unimportant skirmishes with the Earl of Hertford.

The French naval expedition against England, though prepared on a more magnificent scale, had an equally fruitless result. The French navy was at that time much superior to the English. Their largest vessel, called a *Carraquon*, measured 800 tons and mounted 100 guns, most of which, however, must have been of small calibre. In rivalry of this extraordinary vessel, Henry VIII. had built an exact counterpart, also called a *Carraquon*[41], but so badly constructed as to be entirely useless. No better fate, however, attended the French vessel. Francis repaired with his court to Havre de Grace, to be present at the sailing of the expedition, when a grand fête was given on board the *Carraquon* (July 6th 1545). Large fires having been lighted for cooking, in spite of the remonstrances of the sailors, the ship caught fire, and was completely destroyed, together with most of its crew; and it was with difficulty that the court ladies and the military chests could be rescued. The armament nevertheless set sail. It consisted of 25 galleys brought round from Marseilles, 150 *vaisseaux ronds*, or ships of war, and 60 transports, the whole under the command of the Admiral Annebaut. On the 18th of July the French fleet appeared off the Isle of Wight. The English fleet was much inferior, con-

[41] It is difficult to say whether this be a proper name or an intensive of *caraque* viz., a large carrack.

sisting only of sixty vessels, some of which, called *ramberges*, a sort of advice boat, were adapted both for sailing and rowing. Nevertheless the English came out, but being too inferior in force to venture a close engagement, retired after a distant cannonade into Portsmouth. The French sunk the "Mary Rose," and the vessel called the "Great Henry" was near sharing the same fate. The French commander, however, did not venture to attack Portsmouth, and after making some descents on Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, set sail for Boulogne, which town was then besieged by Marshal de Biez. Annebaut landed some of his forces to construct a fort at Outreau, in order to command the entrance of the harbour: but on the appearance of the English fleet, which had been re-enforced, retired into Havre. The fort at Outreau proved useless, and the English had still free access to Boulogne.

While the siege of that town was proceeding, a great calamity overtook Francis, the death of his favourite son, the Duke of Orleans. The Dauphin he regarded with jealousy and hatred, and only a few weeks before a scandalous scene of anger and violence had taken place between them. Francis had wished to make the Duke of Orleans in some degree the rival of his brother, and regarded with satisfaction the future greatness which he had provided for him by the treaty of Crespy. But these hopes were destined to frustration. During the siege the King resided with his two sons at Forêt Moutiers, near Abbeville. The neighbourhood was infected with the plague, which the Duke of Orleans is said to have caught by venturing with his usual thoughtlessness into the house of a peasant. He expired September 9th 1545. This event deprived Francis of all the benefits he had promised himself from the peace of Crespy. At the same time, however, it revived his own pretensions in Flanders and the Milanese, which had been renounced only in favour of his son's marriage; and on this ground he opened fresh negociations with the Emperor. Charles, who was then at Antwerp engaged in borrowing money from the Flemish towns for the war which he was meditating against the Protestants, received the French ambassadors very coldly. After expressing some decent regret for the death of his intended son-in-law, he declared that it afforded no reason either why he should recognise claims which he had always repudiated, and which Francis had twice solemnly renounced, or why he should not demand the restitution of the dominions of Savoy for a prince who was at once his brother-in-law, his ally, and his vassal; and he declared that all he could promise was that if France did not attack him he would not attack France. With this answer the ambassadors, after staying

a week, were fain to return. Thus the unfortunate Duke of Savoy lost all hope of recovering his dominions, which, by the treaty of Crespy, Francis was not bound to restore till the Duke of Orleans had been put in possession either of Milan or the Netherlands.

The failure of Francis's negociations with the Emperor determined him again to change his policy. He recalled his prelates from the Council of Trent, then on the point of assembling; he also instructed his envoy at the Porte to do all in his power to thwart Ferdinand's negociations with Solyman, which he had been previously forwarding, and to induce the Sultan to recommence hostilities in Hungary. But being still embarrassed by his war with England, the French King did not venture upon an open rupture with the Emperor. That war had cost him much money and many soldiers, and as the winter approached his men died by hundreds in the camp. The German Protestants, alarmed by the preparations which Charles was making against them in Flanders, had in vain sought to reconcile the French and English monarchs, whose assistance they foresaw would be needful to them in the approaching struggle. But neither was yet prepared to accept the terms demanded by his adversary.

At the very moment when the Council was about to meet at Trent for the reformation of the Church, Paul III. occasioned a new scandal by granting his natural son, Peter Louis Farnese, Parma and Piacenza, with the title of Duke; a step also highly offensive to the Emperor, who regarded those cities as belonging to the Milanese, and he therefore refused to confirm the investiture. Such was the origin of the Duchy of Parma. The new Duke of Parma rendered himself so odious by his vices and crimes that he was assassinated two years afterwards (September 10th 1547), when Ferdinand Gonzaga, governor of Milan, took possession of Piacenza in the name of the Emperor. Philip II., however, restored, in 1557, Piacenza and its dependencies to Octavius Farnese, the son and successor of Peter Louis; and the house of Farnese continued to hold the Duchy of Parma as a fief of the Holy See till the extinction of its male heirs in 1731.

The affair of Parma did not disturb the understanding between Charles and the Pope, who were now both intent on putting down the German Protestants. The Council of Trent was at length opened for the despatch of business, December 13th 1545. The meeting of this assembly may be considered as forming a new epoch in the history of Europe, and we shall therefore postpone to another book the account of its proceedings. A general council

had always been regarded as affording the last chance of restoring the unity of the Church, and when its authority was rejected by the Protestants, no alternative seemed left but an appeal to arms. That extremity, which might have crushed Protestantism when in its infancy, had been hitherto avoided; but our next volume, containing the history of a century, will exhibit the rise, progress, and termination of the so-called religious wars, arising from the Reformation in Germany, France, and the Netherlands.

Luther did not live to behold these scenes of violence. At the very time when his doctrines were under examination at Trent, the lowly monk whose strong head and fearless heart had thus engaged in angry and anxious discussion, as over their dearest interests both in this world and the next, the highest, the most powerful, and the most learned men in Europe, was quietly expiring in the obscure little town that gave him birth. He had gone to Eisleben to reconcile a quarrel that had arisen between the Counts Mansfeld; and while engaged in this mission of peace, was attacked with inflammation, which terminated his life, February 18th 1546, at the age of sixty-three. The Elector of Saxony caused his funeral to be celebrated with great pomp. The dread with which Luther had inspired his adversaries may be gathered from the manner in which his death is recorded by Odoric Raynaldus, the annalist of the Church. "It is said," writes that author, "that the day on which Luther expired was signalised in Belgium by many of the possessed being delivered, because the devils quitted them to accompany Luther's soul to hell; though they presently returned to resume their functions."[42]

[42] *Ann. Eccl.*, t. xiv. p. 193.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018